2013 History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

General Instructions

Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

- SQA encourages positive marking
- markers should look to reward what the candidate has written, rather than penalise what the candidate has not
- the full range of marks is available to candidates. Award full marks to a response which is as good as can reasonably be expected from a candidate at this stage
- markers are reminded that they must not write comments on scripts. Markers can put the code letters in the margins (I, P, WCD, H etc) to show how they have awarded marks
- 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 conclusions are ineffective.	The introduction attempts to address aspects such as context, issues or line of argument and has basic conclusions.	The introduction is a competent presentation of the issues; it comes to a suitable, largely summative, conclusions.	There is a perceptive presentation of the issues; the conclusions arise logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body and attempts synthesis.	There is a fluent and insightful presentation of the issues; the conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.	There is a fluent and insightful presentation of the issues; the conclusions give a robust overview/ synthesis and a qualitative judgement 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 are 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 <u>must</u> fail.

Factors which do lead to an essay failing:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marking Part 2: The source questions

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

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, and explain how the point links to the views in the source 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 in 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 did agriculture underpin all other elements of Iron Age society?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which the agricultural economy underpinned Celtic society. The importance of a range of alternative aspects of society, such as religion, warfare and hierarchy could be discussed. The candidate would be expected to reach a conclusion on the extent to which society was underpinned by the agricultural economy in Celtic Scotland.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points suggesting agriculture underpinned society

- Cassius Dio suggested that northern tribes had, *no cultivated land…living by pastoral pursuits and by hunting…* – evidence refutes this and indicates agriculture was of utmost importance.
- Majority of land which was settled comprised undefended farmsteads – indicates universal importance of agriculture in Northern Britain.
- Underpinned all other elements of society – ability to co-opt and redirect surplus production enabled social elite to come to prominence.
- Production of agricultural surplus was essential to support the existence of specialised craft-workers.
- Production of prestige goods was dependent upon existence of agricultural surplus.
- Agricultural surplus production retained to serve and support the community.
- Agricultural surplus essential to enable the construction of homes and residences of power.
- Agricultural success underpinned profusion of monumental roundhouses in LPRIA – essential to show wealth and status.
- LPRIA witnessed arable expansion in certain parts of Scotland – facilitated social development.
- Increased agricultural settlement into the uplands – whole valleys in the Cheviots cleared of trees.
- Emergence of large semi-subterranean souterrains & 'four posters' (granary buildings) – indicative of intensification of arable production.
- Large number of souterrains reveals grain was used to serve small communities and villages.
- Have a picture of widespread farming across Scotland – important to all LPRIA communities.
- Agricultural cycle underpinned ritual and religion – sacrificial deposits of animal bones with human cremations suggests intimate links between agriculture and religion.

Points suggesting other factors or values underpinned society:

Warfare/Need for Defence

- Warfare, feuding and raiding perceived as rife, especially on tribal fringes and thus underpinned society.
- 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.
- Enormous time, effort and material resources invested in warrior paraphernalia and on apparently military defences – suggests warfare was a significant force.

Religion, ritual and superstition

- Ian Armit, Celtic Scotland, *religion, ritual and superstition would have permeated all aspects of life.*
- Sacrifice of prestigious goods indicates the importance of religion – important enough to justify the creation and destruction of material wealth – Duddingston Loch.
- Religion an integral part in reinforcing the social hierarchy.
- I Armit speculates that there may have been *human offerings to an underworld God, as payment for a good harvest.*

Expression of status

- The desire to/need to express status may have underpinned society.
- The adoption of La Tene art reflects society's heroic interests.
- Emphasis on heroic pursuits such as drinking, warfare and feasting evidenced by artefacts such as Torrs pony cap & drinking horns.
- The construction of majestic, elaborate monuments reveals importance of expressions of status.
- Social elite drew power from ability to show status – chronologically status was gained from control over the production and circulation of prestige goods, to the construction of community works to the construction of high status undefended settlements – all hold in common the need to express status.

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

- **A Kamm:** The Last Frontier – suggests war and fighting was inherent and integral in Celtic society.
- **Ian Armit:** Prehistory, A New Penguin History of Scotland, *the agricultural economy underpinned all other elements of society*.

Question 2

"Governor Agricola is no longer to be credited with the Flavian conquest of Northern Britain". **How valid is this view of Agricola's role in the Flavian conquest?**

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine arguments on Agricola's role in the Flavian conquest. The title allows for the traditional argument, that Agricola was responsible for the Flavian conquest, to be discussed. The candidate could discuss Agricola's actual achievements and they could evaluate the role of his predecessors in the conquest. The essay should reach a conclusion as to Agricola's real role in the Flavian conquest.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points discussing degree to which Agricola should be credited with Flavian conquest

- Tacitus tells us that Agricola took over as governor late in 77 AD and immediately began a series of military campaigns, first in North Wales and then into what is now northern England and Scotland.
- By 79 AD he had reached the Tay and then, after a few years of consolidation, he advanced further, up Strathmore and on as far as the Moray Firth.
- In 84 AD he won a decisive victory against the Caledonians at an unknown place called Mons Graupius.
- Agricola has been credited with establishing a Roman presence north of the Forth-Clyde line – this area has yielded a frontier, a remarkable collection of over 70 temporary camps, a legionary fortress and 14 auxiliary forts – all usually associated with Agricola.
- Recalled to Rome by the Emperor Domitian at the end of an unusually long 7-year term of office (length of service seen to reflect his special expertise).
- Tacitus tells us that *all Britain was taken and then immediately thrown away* – reflects his success in conquering the North.

Points discussing degree to which Agricola should not be credited with Flavian conquest

- Should not deny the presence of Agricola, for we know from inscriptions and other written sources that he did serve as governor of Britain. Indeed he may well have gained military achievements but his role has been overstated.
- Recent opinion suggests that Agricola's predecessors, Petillius Cerealis and Julius Frontinius, had undertaken the conquest of the Brigantes and SW Scottish Lowlands.
- The accepted Tacitean account has been relied upon too heavily, *this little book has been subjected to more analysis than almost any other non-religious text* (Wooliscroft).
- Petillus Cerealis (Governor from Ad 71-74) established a fort at Carlisle in the very north of England and his activities may well have extended north of Carlisle and even as far north as Strathmore.
- The fort at Carlisle was founded five years before Agricola's tenure of office even began, in the time of his predecessor, Q Petillius Cerialis.
- Academic, Shotter, has found Neronian and early Vespasian coins, which pre date Agricola, on a number of Scottish sites – Cerialian origins and activities prior to Agricola.
- Coloured and cast glass, which was fashionable in the early 70s in Rome, was found in sites including Newstead and Inchtuthill, indicating earlier occupation.
- Literary references support the view of an earlier occupation – the retired senior politician, Silius Italicus wrote a poem which suggests that all of Britain was conquered before the time of Vespasian's death.
- Pliny the Elder refers to campaigns against the Caledonians by the 70s.
- Poet Statius refers to Cerealis predecessor, Vettius Bolanus as actually setting up 'watchtowers and strongholds' in Caledonia.

- Evidence from the Gask Ridge provides evidence for a more prolonged Flavian occupation, although how prolonged still remains open to question – suggests it pre-dates Agricola.
- Sites such as Greenloaning, Shielhill South and Huntingtower along the Gask Ridge revealed signs of at least two and possibly three structural periods – does not fit in with view of Agricola's single phase of occupation.
- Wooliscroft and Hoffman suggest that *he was by no means a military figure* and he had a career of *wall to wall administration* – his role in the Flavian conquest was that of *creating the machinery of Roman provincial government*.
- Agricola was appointed primarily to put conquests actually gained by his predecessors onto a proper administrative footing and that what military ability he may have had was merely a useful safety feature.

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

- **A Kamm:** *The Last Frontier*, suggests that Tacitus' general outline of events stands up to scrutiny.
- **D J Woolliscroft & B Hoffman:** *Rome's First Frontier, The Flavian Occupation of Northern Scotland*, highlight the problems with the traditional chronology and narrative.
- **J G F Hind:** *Caledonia and its occupation under the Flavians* maintains that thanks to Agricola the *Northern peoples had been subdued between AD 83/4 and 90.*

Question 3

How significant an impact did conversion to Christianity have on Northern Britons in the post-Roman period?

The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the impact about the effects of the conversion to Christianity. The candidate could discuss the social, political, religious and cultural/linguistic differences brought about following conversion. The candidate can debate the extent of difference post conversion. The candidate would be expected to reach a conclusion about the overall significance of conversion.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Social

Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- Local customs must have declined as society became more homogenous.
- Religion was socially unifying – Picts, Vikings, Gaels, Angles and Britons all shared common faith.
- Status was conveyed through religious association – Northumbrian Kings, Pictish and Scottish nobles were taught to read and write as a way of guaranteeing status and authority.
- Society less reliant on oral rules – relied more on written laws.

Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Conversion was slow.
- Initially, impact was localised, resulting in some small Christian communities – not the conversion of the leaders or of the people as a whole.
- Conversion was initially confined to the social elite – minimal impact on the laity.
- Life did not fundamentally change overnight – essentially still the same barbarian warrior society.
- "Apostate" Picts suggests that Picts converted superficially to Christianity and then denounced it – suggest minimal short term impact.

Religious

Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- Christian monotheism replaced polytheism.
- A Christian moral code circulated the North.
- Decline in use of natural places such as groves, forest clearings and pools as a place of worship.
- Emergence of centralised places of worship.

Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Some pagan practices endured.

Political

Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- St Columba wielded political influence over succession and style of kingship.
- Religious figures ordained kings – Aedan mac Gabrain was allegedly ordained by St Columba in 574.
- Kings used Christian faith to legitimise their reign and to seek political unity – Nechtan wrote to Northumbrian seeking advice on how to make the Pictish church fall in line with the Northumbrian one – an attempt to increase control over the Picts.
- Majesty of Kingship and nearness to God became intertwined.
- Nature of Kingship redefined (Sally Foster) – kings acquired saintly attributes.
- Christian clerics acted as "agents in areas" beyond a leader's physical reach – extended distance over which authority was held.
- Aided political unity of Kingdom of Scotland – Angles, Picts, Scots and Britons all became Christian – common beliefs & values, lessened ethnic and linguistic differences.

Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Leaders still depended upon warfare and prestige to rule their peoples.

Cultural/linguistic

Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- Decline then total absence of pagan symbols on Pictish sculpture stones – demise of pagan artistic tradition.
- Pictish stone carving reached a high point post conversion – Saint Andrew Sarcophagus demonstrates Byzantine & Coptic influences.
- Stimulus to art – boxes for art, reliquaries for saints' bones, altar goods, Class II and Class III stones are increasingly sophisticated, Book of Kells may have been started in Pictland.
- Literacy developed – prior to Christianity all we had was the ABCD stone from Traprain Law. See literate monks and increasing number of literate laymen.
- Bible and Psalter promoted literacy.
- Numeracy developed.
- Development of monastic libraries – Portmahomick Monastery.
- Impetus to development of a literate society – writing used to legitimise claims to secular power – Kings List and Senchus Fer nAlban.
- Northern Britain was plugged into network of European cultural influences – greater cultural unity.
- Polygamy replaced by monogamy.
- Place names changed – eg see appearance of names such as *Eccles* from Latin ecclesia/ church.
- Change in burial practice – see long cist burials.

Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Aspects of paganism prevailed – symbols such as fish and oak leaves were pagan and consciously used in Christianity.
- Polytheism continued in part.

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

- **Smyth:** *Warlords and Holy Men* – highlights the slow, gradualist nature of conversion.
- **S Foster**, *Picts, Scots and Gaels* – nature of Kingship redefined by Christianity.
- **B Crawford**, *The formation of the Scottish Kingdom, in A New Penguin History of Scotland* – highlights that we see signposts of conversion but little evidence of an actual spiritual conversion.

Question 4

How important a part did the demand for land play in attracting the Vikings to Northern Britain?

The aim of this essay is to analyse the factors which attracted the Vikings to Northern Britain. The title allows the importance of the demand for land to be discussed. The candidate could bring to bear other factors which attracted Vikings such as the desire for removable wealth, trading links and the maritime accessibility of the North. The essay should reach a conclusion on the importance of land in attracting Vikings to the North.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Demand for land

- The desire for good land in the right coastal environment was a key factor in Viking's choice of settlement site.
- Theory that Viking population had outgrown the agricultural potential of their Scandinavian homeland – land was being divided into smaller and smaller fragments, incapable of sustaining a family unit.
- A "youth bulge" led to the families along the western seaboard of Norway, where fertile land was in short supply, seeking land in Northern Britain.
- Younger sons, political exiles, mercenary warriors and traders all had the option of becoming colonists in land now familiar from the tales of returning raiders.
- Northern and Western Isles offered ideal farming land with immediate access to coastal waterways.
- Northern Britain was "a home from home".
- The Vikings who came to North Britain were from Norway in the main and were pastoral farmers whose life-style was based on the raising of cattle and sheep with a little growing of oats and barley where possible. The Northern and Western Isles, as well as looking like home, were ideal for this.
- Orkneyinga Saga tells us of Svein Asleifarson who would sow seed in the spring, raid in the summer and then return home to harvest grain – fertile land in the North sustained Viking lifestyle.
- Land closest to Scandinavian tended to be settled by Viking families, eg Shetland was settled by families looking for land whilst further west, Isle of Skye was settled by lone unattached male colonisers.
- Topographically the Isles provided a multitude of the type of settlement sites the Vikings wanted: ease of access to the sea; grazing land for livestock; plenty of drinking water; fuel and building materials; Orkney has very good soil and plenty of sandstone for flags for building; Shetland has patches of good soil; the machair on parts on the Hebrides, both Inner and Outer, is good for farming; plenty of shelving beaches; the lie of the ground favoured portages; conditions were ideal for fishing, both pastoral and arable farming and for fowling.
- Climatically the winters were warmer than in Scandinavia, mild enough to out winter stock, especially sheep.

Maritime accessibility/strategic attraction

- Maritime links and the importance of sea routes came first.
- Geographically the Northern Isles were unmissable: Shetland was 70 miles and 24 hours from Norway and the long chain of Shetland, Fair Isle, Orkney and Caithness was bound to yield a landfall.
- The coastlines were in some areas similar to fjords.
- The prevailing winds blew the Vikings West in the Spring and East in the Autumn.
- Plenty of safe anchorages: eg Scapa Flow could shelter hundreds of longships.
- Possession of the Northern and Western Isles opened up the whole of the Irish Sea and the Western Approaches.
- The islands off the northern coast of Scotland were at the centre of the Viking "sea roads", made them the obvious choice as a base for further expansion and raids into Scotland and Ireland.

Raiding and Trading

- Monastic sites repeatedly looted – Iona in 795, 802 and 806.
- Abbeys had portable loot in the form of communion plate, adornment of Gospels, Reliquaries, Vestments and Psalters with gold, silver and precious stones.
- Orkney historian Tom Muir states that some of the monasteries were basically unguarded banks of cash with a sign above them saying 'free money' – tempting for Viking raiders.
- Monks in 878 forced "in flight from the foreigners" to move St Columba's relics.
- Gold and silver treasures from monasteries could be converted into personal wealth.
- Protection money could be extracted from terrorised natives.
- Native settlements yielded slaves and livestock in abundance – Vikings took items that they could sell on a world market, women and young men as slaves, animals for farms back home and weapons for their raids.
- Over wintering on the Northern Isles would give Vikings access to Atlantic Trade and beyond – plug them into a broader trading network.
- Viking influence in Strathclyde would give access to trading networks between York and Dublin.

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

- **A Ritchie:** *Viking Scotland*, talks of not just loot and plunder, desire for land a key factor.
- **B Crawford:** *Scandinavian Scotland* – emphasis on the importance of maritime links and extent to which North was familiar environment.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen* – argues that attraction of Northern Britain was mixed – a route way, a source of loot and a source of land.
- **C Downham:** *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland* – highlights the importance of trading links.

Question 5

"Britain received a third tribe, namely the Irish (the Scotii)". **How valid is this view of the origin of the Scots.**

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the origins of Dal Riata and the Scots in the post Roman period. The evidence for the migration hypothesis that the Scots migrated from Ireland should be discussed and the evidence to suggest indigenous development should be discussed. The essay should reach a conclusion as to origin of the Scots.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points discussing view that Scots were not indigenous

Historical Evidence
- Origin legends dating from 8th century – suggest that Scots from north eastern Antrim migrated into western Scotland, displacing a native Pictish or British people.
- Historian *Bede* mentioned in his Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation states that Britain received a third tribe, namely the Irish – named Dalreudini after their leader, Reudai.
- *Annals of Tigernach*, c 500AD reads "Fergus Mor Mac Erc, with the nation of Dal Riata, took or held Britain and died there" – statement of invasion and colonisation.
- *Senchus Fer nAlban* – provides a genealogy of Dal Riadan kings from Fergus Mor.

Archaeological Evidence
- Lack of excavation in Argyll has impaired understanding.
- Personal Jewellery – workshops for pennanular brooches found in Argyll and in Ireland.
- Brooch workshops found at Dunadd in Dal Riata and in Ireland at Dooey & Donegal.
- Crannogs found both in Scotland (Argyll) and Ireland.
- Even if there was not mass movement, there could have been a more conservative elite takeover of the native ruling dynasty.

Linguistic evidence
- Been perceived as the securest evidence for an invasion by the Gaels.
- Gaelic speakers definitely present in early medieval Argyll.
- Adomnan writing on 7th century Argyll is in a Gaelic speaking world.
- Place names and personal names referred to by Adomnan are Gaelic, the people of Argyll are the "*Scotti in Britain*".
- St Columba, a Gaelic speaker, allegedly needed translators when he travelled to Pictish areas.
- Modern place names on Argyll are mostly of Goidelic origin where in the east there is a substantial Britonnic element.
- No Brittonic place names in Argyll – suggests obliteration or displacement of Brittonic speakers.
- Ptolemy in 3rd century cited Epidii in Argyll (a Brittonic name in P Celtic) – that the name is replaced by Gaelic one suggests population movement.

Points discussing the view that the Scots were indigenous:

Historical evidence

- Origins legends designed to legitimise and show the descent of a ruling dynasty from a powerful, mythical figure.
- Manipulation of genealogies with Middle Irish historians promulgating a view of Irish kingship influencing Scottish kings.
- Claims made to bolster Dal Riata claims to territory in Antrim.
- David Dumville dismisses Bede and The Fergus Account.

Archaeological evidence

- *The settlements show very little sign of the transportation of material culture to Dalriadic Scotland…* Leslie Alcock.
- Lack of archaeological evidence to indicate mass population movement.
- Little sign of movement in the archaeological record according to Ewan Campbell.
- The characteristic Irish settlement types are not found in Argyll – circular enclosures with earthen banks (raths) or stone walls (cashels) and crannog are either not evident or pre-date the proposed movement.
- Irish crannog date from c.600AD whilst Scottish ones have been constructed since the Iron Age – perhaps "a shared cultural milieu".
- Characteristic settlement in Dal Riata is the hilltop dun, built from the early Iron Age – form a settlement type distinct to Argyll & there is no evidence of a change in the normal settlement type at any point in the first millennium.
- Possibly, have cultural influences going from Scotland to Ireland rather than vice versa!
- No apparent change in domestic equipment.
- Not one example of zoomorphic pennanular brooches in Argyll whilst these were the most common type on Ireland.
- Dress pins – one example of a spiral ringed pin in Argyll compared to over 40 examples in Ireland.
- Any similarity on brooches suggest movement from Scotland to Ireland as Scottish brooches date to the 7th century whilst the Irish brooches dates from the 8th century.
- *There is no evidence in the archaeological record for any population movement from Ireland to Scotland, other than by travel by occasional individuals* Ewan Campbell.
- Alleged "Goideli invaders" are archaeologically invisible.

Linguistic evidence

- To base evidence on use of Ptolemy's use of Brittonic term "Epidii" – is inherently weak – possibly that Ptolemy transmitted the Brittonic form of a Goidelic tribal name.
- Early medieval commentators regarded the Highland Massif as a linguistic divide, separating Brittonic and Goidelic – the western coast of Scotland and Ireland were not really separated since the Irish sea and North were an open line of communication.
- Early Ireland was a sea based society and would undoubtedly have made the one day journey across to western Scotland – Argyll and Ireland only 20 miles apart – allowing same language to be spoken.
- No real evidence that Irish elite came and took over material culture and settlement forms as we'd see some native language in place names.
- Suggestion is that people of Argyll maintained regional identity through Iron Age and early medieval period.
- See reverse engineering whereby Irish writers have tried to explain Scottish influence in Ireland by saying that Scots came from Ireland.

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

- **Sally Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, highlights Iron Age origin and close connections with Ireland.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen*, *Scotland AD80-1000* – Scots infiltrating from as early as the third century.
- **Ewan Campbell:** *Saints and Sea Kings* – suggests there is no evidence to support the view of migration from Ireland.

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of Severus' methods of control 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 A** and **B** about differing interpretations of Severus' methods of control in Northern Britain.

Source A

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

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- Severus imprisoned natives in POW camps whilst campaigning in Northern Britain.
- Severus brought in forces in an attempt to quell native unrest.
- Pushed well into Scotland.
- Severus sent some hostages to Rome.

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

- Patricia Birley suggests that the approx. 300 prison huts are too small and too basic for Roman soldiers, and too close to each other to be used for livestock.
- The date of the huts coincides with an uprising of Maeatae and Caledonians against Roman rule, uprisings of 209 and 211.
- Researchers believe that prisoners built their own huts, which would explain their native architecture – similar to native huts and about six metres in diameter.
- The huts in the internment camps housed male prisoners and their families.
- Robin Birley suggests that the POW huts endured for only six months before being destroyed and a new fort built on top – assumed prisoners were sent home.

Source B

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

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- Severus focused on the East Coast and his intended target was Tayside, home of the Maeatae.
- Massive supply dump at South Shields.
- Unsuccessful attempts to draw the natives into pitched battles.
- Severus and his son attempted to control the North by 'taming' natives with grand Roman installations and engineering works.

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

- Severus sought to control the North through making treaties with the Caledonii and Maeatae and territory ceded.
- Severus made great use of his sea support.
- Severus minted coins celebrating Roman victory in 211 after treaties were agreed between the Caledonii and Maeatae.
- Severus concentrated on the east with bases at Cramond and Carpow, by the Tay.

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

- Cassius Dio records that Severus took along with him from Rome *an immense amount of money* – some of this, in the form of silver and gold, was no doubt paid to the Caledonians.
- The guerilla warfare tactics of the natives impaired Severus' ability to control the North.
- Cassius Dio tells that Severus forced the Britons to come to terms, on the occasion that they should abandon a large part of their territory.
- Severus sought to control the North with an unprecedented number of elite troops – the imperial guard – nine cohorts each of 1000 men with accompanying cavalry, the new Second Legion as well as four fleets (including the classis Britannica).
- He sought a combined military and naval campaign to control the North.
- Colin Martin suggests that Severus pursued a ruthless method of control: genocide and he attempted to wipe them out by systematic devastation of the landscape.
- Colin Martin suggests Severus sought to control by systematically destroying the productive capacity of such an area – burning the standing or stored crops and killing the livestock.

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

- **C Martin**: *To Scotland then they came, burning,* suggests Emperor Severus attempted genocide in Scotland.
- **A Kamm:** *The Last Frontier* suggests that gold and silver was used to negotiate a truce between natives and Rome.
- **A Moffat:** *The Wall, Rome's Greatest Frontier* stresses the brutality of the Severan campaign, *the annihilation of war bands and the society which sustained them.*

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on Severan methods of control in Northern Britain.

Question 2

How useful is Source C as evidence of the extent of Viking control of the Northern and Western Isles?   **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** as evidence of the extent of Viking control of the Northern and Western Isles in terms of:

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

- Norse saga was written around 1230 (three centuries after the events they record) by an unknown Icelandic author.
- The saga is as much a fictional story as a historic document – romanticised but crucial piece of history.
- Compiled from a number of sources, combining oral legends with historical facts in order to tell the lives of the earls of Orkney and how they came about their earldom.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- Norwegians controlled Northern & Western Isles through punitive expeditions in retaliation for the Viking raids from Orkney and Shetland.
- They subdued and destroyed settlements.
- Norwegian elite dominated Orkneys and Shetland so comprehensively, these places were theirs to give to other Vikings.
- The Norwegian King bestowed titles on local supporters.

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

- **Orkneyinga Saga** presents an interpretation that Orkney was conquered by Harold Fairhair, King of Norway from when it remained under Norse control.
- Sagas reveal that the inhabitants of Northern Isles were all 'subjects' of the Earls such as Earl Sigurd.
- Saga evidence from the Historia Norwegia suggests domination, *In the days of Harold Fairhair, King of Norway… stripped these races of their ancient settlements, destroyed them wholly, and subdued the islands to themselves.*

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

- Analysing all the arguments and debates over the years, we are generally left with two opposing viewpoints – the Vikings either dominated Northern Isles and Western Isles inhabitants or integrated.
- Speculation that the Vikings dominated by taking land and dispossessing native Picts.
- Peaceful co-existence suggests by presence of Pictish artefacts (pins, combs & pottery) found in Viking settlements in the Northern Isles.
- Buckquoy reveals significant evidence for integration – littered with Norse and native artefacts.
- Absence of battle sites or mass graves suggests integration rather than domination.
- Wainwright once argued natives were *overwhelmed by and submerged beneath the sheer weight of the Scandinavian settlement*, they '*were overwhelmed politically, linguistically, culturally and socially'*.
- Absence of pre-Norse place names in Orkneys suggest total Norse domination.
- Survival of native place names in the Western Isles suggests integration rather than "genocide" (Brian Smith).
- Picts and their Christian faith prevailed – Vikings adopt Christian faith, indicative of integration rather than domination.
- Ritchie suggests, *a relatively peaceful process of Norse colonisation rather than a military conquest.*
- Moffat & Wilson present DNA evidence to suggest enduring Viking domination.

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

- **A Moffat & J Wilson:** *The Scots, A genetic journey* highlights significant Viking legacy & domination in Northern Isles.
- **J Richards:** *The Blood of the Vikings*, confirms that the Vikings did not just raid and retreat to Scandinavia, but settled in Northern Britain for years.
- **A Ritchie:** *Pict and Norseman in Northern Scotland*, suggests successful integration, with establishment of a close relationship between Vikings and native Northern Britons.

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 as evidence of the extent of Viking control of the Northern and Western Isles.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the warlike nature of Pictish society?   12 Marks

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for the ability to establish the views of the source AND accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider contextual recall, including historians' views, which the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the value of **Source D** in providing a full understanding of the warlike nature of Pictish society:

Provenance: Accurate comment can earn credit as appropriate.

Points from source which shows candidate has interpreted significant view(s):

- Picts moved from plundering, pillaging and extortion to open pitched battles.
- Picts had system in place to free warriors for temporary or permanent duty.
- Military aggression used to determine claims to land.
- Military aggression used in the rise to, and consolidation of power.

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

- Picts engage in open pitched battle with Angles at Battle of Nechtansmere, 685AD.
- Picts were able to raise resources sufficient to support large navies, 150 Pictish ships wrecked in 729 & Burghead served as a naval base.
- Sculpted stones reveal spears, axes, shields and sword – indicative of warlike society.

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

Warlike nature evidenced at forts

- Approx. 30 stone bull plaques from in and around the fort at Burghead suggest an association between the site and strength and power.
- Evidence of ritual drowning/killing of royal prisoners in Pictland suggested by the presence of the fort's large well.
- Hills exploited with citadels and enclosures – Dunadd and Dundurn, multiple ramparts at Clathcard Craig.
- Monumental entrances – to suggest military might of inhabitants.

Warlike nature evidenced from symbol stones

- Decapitation may have been practised – as depicted on Sueno Stone.
- Sculpted stones show spears, axes, decorated shields and swords.
- Aberlemno Cross Slab reveals the Battle of Nechtansmere against the Anglian king, Ecgfrith.
- Aberlemno Cross Slab reveals presence of foot soldiers defended with shields, lance and spear, also see Pictish cavalry & warlike nature of society – raven eating Ecgfrith's corpse.
- Militaristic stance of leaders evident on Sueno Stone and Dupplin Cross.

Other evidence of warlike nature

- Pictish kings recorded as drowning enemy leaders in 734 and 739.

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

- **M Lynch:** *Scotland, A New History* suggests, *Their culture was the culture of the warrior...*and further comments *Whatever the Picts were, they are likely, as were other peoples either in post-Roman Western Europe or in contemporary Ireland, to have been an amalgam of tribes, headed by a warrior aristocracy which was by nature mobile. Their culture was the culture of the warrior...*
- **S Foster:** Picts, Gaels and Scots suggests, *Early historic period throughout British Isles characterised by warlike, heroic kings…*
- **A Ritchie:** The Picts, states, *the existence of forts and the records in monastic annals of battles and sieges testify to the warlike aspects of Pictish society...*

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the degree to which a consideration of **Source D** provides a full understanding of the warlike nature of Pictish society.

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

"King John's poor reputation is more a result of the work of English or 'pro-Bruce' chroniclers than of a study of the events of his reign". How justified is this view?

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about whether or not the widely held view of King John as a weak king is largely the result of accepting chroniclers' accounts at face value. Candidates may well attempt to compare the views of chroniclers with specific events of John Balliol's reign; they may also show that several contemporary historians take a far more positive view of the reign. They may, therefore, also include evidence which suggests that the negative view taken by the chroniclers is not justified.

Evidence that King John's poor reputation is more a result of the work of English or 'pro-Bruce' chroniclers than of a study of his reign

- Many chroniclers, such as John Barbour wrote during the reign of King Robert II and were keen to legitimise the Bruce dynasty by questioning the legitimacy of the Balliol kingship. There was a need to justify the Bruce usurpation of 1306.
- The Lanercost chronicler makes reference to King John's weakness in paying homage to King Edward.
- Guisborough is similarly critical of King John's rule.
- Andrew Wyntoun, writing many years after the events he describes, in the early C15th, refers to King John as 'Toom Tabard'.
- The English chronicler, Rishanger, referred to King John as a 'lamb amongst wolves'.
- John of Fordoun refers to the lack of support King John experienced from many nobles by 1295.

Evidence that King John's poor reputation is not simply a result of the work of English or 'pro-Bruce' chroniclers, and is *not* justified by a study of his reign

- John was the last of the claimants to accept the overlordship of King Edward during the Great Cause.
- John attempted to govern using the established mechanisms of Scottish government in conjunction with the Comyn family.
- King John summoned parliament on at least three occasions.
- He attempted to extend royal authority by creating a new sheriffdom in the west of Scotland.
- King John did make attempts to withstand the demands made on him by the English during the 'Test Cases'.
- He made an anti-English alliance with France in 1295.
- King John withdrew his homage in 1296, rejecting the basis of King Edward's claim of overlordship.

Evidence that King John's poor reputation is not simply a result of the work of English or 'pro-Bruce' chroniclers, but *is* justified by a study of his reign

- King John paid homage to King Edward on three occasions.
- When King John allowed himself to be called as a witness in English courts, compromising his royal status.
- He quickly buckled under English pressure when he attempted to defend his position in the English courts.
- John ceded a considerable amount of his royal authority to the 'Council of 12' in 1295.
- The military defeat of 1296.
- The abject nature of his humiliation at Stracathro, which gave rise to the later 'Toom Tabard' epithet.
- King John made no serious attempt to regain his throne after being deposed in 1296.

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

- **Amanda Beam** argues that King John's 'weakness' was largely a result of him taking seriously his position as a vassal of King Edward.
- **Ranald Nicholson** claims that King John set out to be *no less a king than his predecessors*.
- **Michael Penman** explicitly argues that King John's reputation has suffered unfairly at the hands of the chroniclers.
- **Caroline Bingham** largely accepts the 'traditional' view of John Balliol as a weak king.

Question 2

"William Wallace's actions between 1296 and 1305 did more harm than good to the cause of Scottish independence". How far do you agree with this statement?

The candidate is required make a balanced judgement about whether the actions and career of William Wallace damaged the cause of Scottish independence. Candidates may look at the impact of specific acts and/or look at the longer term consequences for Scotland of Wallace's military and political activities.

Evidence that William Wallace's actions between 1296 and 1305 did more harm than good to the cause of Scottish independence

- Wallace's rebellion in 1296 led directly to the major English invasions of Scotland in 1297 and 1298, ultimately crushing serious Scottish resistance for a considerable time.
- Wallace's leadership divided the traditional leaders of the Scottish political community.
- Failure to coordinate with the 'noble rebellion' at Irvine (1296).
- Absence and poor performance of the 'noble' cavalry at the Battle of Stirling Bridge.
- Wallace's raids into England were largely ineffective and provoked King Edward I to take personal charge of the 1298 campaign.
- Wallace's guardianship was not universally accepted; Robert Bruce only joined the Guardianship after Wallace's downfall.
- Wallace favoured a Balliol restoration which prevented the Bruces from supporting him.
- The defeat at Falkirk shattered the ability of the Scots to muster a significant force.
- Wallace was forced to resign the Guardianship, the leadership of which was resumed by the traditional nobility.
- Wallace remained a controversial figure after 1298.
- He was betrayed in 1305 by a Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Menteith.
- William Wallace became a personal symbol for King Edward of his desire to avenge the defeat of 1297.
- Wallace's execution was used to make a powerful propaganda point to the Scots.

Because of his status:

- Edward would find it difficult to negotiate with him
- Nobles might be reluctant to support him
- Latterly his uncompromising stance became an obstacle to a peace following Comyn's submission
- Could he have planned and organised better
- Did his solo diplomatic activities create fiction in the Bruce/Comyn Guardianship
- Did he walk away from the Guardianship too readily?

Evidence that William Wallace's actions between 1296 and 1305 did not do more harm than good to the cause of Scottish independence

- Wallace was able to gather considerable support for his cause, especially amongst commoners.
- Wallace's rebellion may have galvanised the nobles into more active resistance, prompting the muster at Irvine.
- Wallace's rebellion was part of a genuinely 'national' uprising, and became co-ordinated with Andrew Murray's rising in the north.
- The victory at Stirling Bridge delivered a significant blow to the English and propelled Wallace to the leadership of the political community.
- Wallace's guardianship provided leadership when little was being offered by the traditional nobility.
- Wallace attempted to revive links with foreign powers (the Lubeck letter).
- In appointing Lamberton to the See of St Andrews, Wallace created a bishop who would be a consistent supporter of Scottish independence.
- Wallace may have been part of the Scottish delegation to Rome in 1300.
- Wallace's guerrilla tactics were to become a mainstay of Robert the Bruce's military strategy later on.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that Wallace in fact brought much needed continuity to the struggle for independence following the defeat at Dunbar in 1296. He believes that Wallace worked alongside the traditional nobility. He views Wallace's raiding as largely ineffective.
- **Andrew Fisher** sees Wallace as being of great significance, actively reinvigorating the cause of independence.
- **Michael Penman** emphasises the continuing factionalism during Wallace's Guardianship.
- **Michael Brown** notes Wallace's importance in 'maintaining the Scottish kingdom but also observes that the main records about him arise out of the implacable hostility he aroused in the English.

Question 3

How far does the support of the Scottish Church explain Robert the Bruce's victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1310?

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the extent to which the support of the Scottish church helps to explain Robert the Bruce's victory over his Scottish rivals. Candidates may examine the role of the church in military and/or political terms, as well as balancing this with other factors which help to explain Bruce's success.

Evidence which helps to explain how far the support of the Scottish Church led to Robert the Bruce's victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1310

- Duns Scotus had delivered rulings which legitimised the kingship of Robert the Bruce.
- The Turnberry Bond made by Bruce and Lamberton in 1304 provided Bruce with a considerable basis of support from the Church.
- Bishop Wishart of Glasgow was quick to offer his support to Bruce after he seized the throne in 1306.
- Both Wishart and Lamberton also provided armed retinues to Bruce.
- The Church gave Bruce access to the 'machinery of government, allowing him to issue writs and breves from an early date.
- The role of Abbot Bernarde Linton de Arbroath was crucial in this.
- Clergy were able to preach in favour of Bruce from the pulpit.
- The Declaration of the Clergy, 1310, showed the clergy's support for Bruce and attempted to legitimise his kingship.

Evidence which helps to explain how far other factors led to Robert the Bruce's victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1310

- The death of King Edward I in 1307 considerably weakened English resolve to prosecute the war in Scotland, allowing him to concentrate on fighting his Scottish opponents.
- Bruce scored an early victory at Loudon Hill which allowed him to break out of the southwest of Scotland.
- Bruce left his brother Thomas to subjugate the Balliol lands in Galloway.
- Bruce was able to win victories in the west of Scotland which encouraged more people to join him.
- The defection of the Earl of Ross and others to his side left the Comyns isolated in the north of the country.
- The victory at Oldmeldrum and the herschip of Buchan effectively ended Comyn resistance.
- Bruce pioneered tactics designed to denude his opponents resources, such as the razing of castles.

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

- **Neil Oliver** has claimed that the Church was vital in encouraging and promoting Bruce's war.
- **Geoffrey Barrow** emphasises the military and political skill of King Robert, whilst acknowledging the importance of support from the Church.
- **Michael Penman** argues that the Church was crucial in lending legitimacy to Bruce's military struggle.
- **Caroline Bingham** gives credit largely to Bruce's own actions for his success in the civil war.
- **Alan Young** emphasises the weakness of the position of the Comyns after 1306.

Question 4

How successfully did King Robert consolidate royal authority within Scotland between 1314 and 1328?

Candidates are required to analyse the evidence concerning the consolidation of royal authority within Scotland. Whilst the main focus of the question demands a study of the domestic government of Scotland in the period, some candidates may well also refer to King Robert's attempts to secure the kingdom from the English.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert did successfully consolidate royal authority within Scotland between 1314 and 1328

- Parliament was quickly convened at Cambuskenneth in the aftermath of Bannockburn.
- The Statute of Cambuskenneth (1314) moved to disinherit those who opposed King Robert.
- King Robert used the Chancery at Arbroath to promulgate law.
- King Robert aimed to re-establish the mechanisms of Scottish government as they had been during the reign of King Alexander III.
- The appointment of a Chamberlain and Chancellor.
- The appointment of two justiciars.
- Created a new sheriffdom in Argyll.
- Used parliament to pass legislation.
- The 1318 parliament at Scone confirmed systems of military service and reformed the criminal law; also settled the succession in favour of Robert Stewart and made provision for arrangements in the event of a Minority.
- The 1326 Parliament confirmed the choice of David Bruce as heir.
- The Declaration of Arbroath (1320) underscores the king's obligations to secure the realm and can be interpreted as a significant statement of support for King Robert.
- King Robert was able to distribute lands and titles to his key supporters such as James Douglas and the Earl of Moray.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert's success in consolidating royal authority within Scotland between 1314 and 1328 was limited

- King Robert faced a constant struggle to assert his legitimacy in the light of his 'usurpation' of 1306.
- Several leading nobles never came to the King's peace; such as the Earls of Dunbar and Strathearn.
- Thomas Randolph ruled Moray as a regality, perhaps indicating the limited nature of royal influence in the area.
- The Declaration of Arbroath can be seen as evidence of the weakness of Bruce's position, and an effort to isolate the regime's opponents.
- The De Soules plot of 1320 shows the continuing strength of the Comyn/Balliol faction.
- The stability of the Scottish political community did not long outlast King Robert's death in 1329.

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

- **GWS Barrow** argues that Robert was extremely successful in consolidating royal power and deserves the epithet 'Good King Robert'.
- **Michael Penman** suggests that King Robert was nowhere near as successful at establishing royal authority as the contemporary record suggests.
- **Colm Mcnamee** claims that King Robert was in a very strong position domestically by the 1320s.
- **Michael Brown** believes that the success which King Robert had in consolidating royal authority was largely down to his own abilities, and was unlikely to outlive him.

Question 5

To what extent was the Treaty of Edinburgh of 1328 the product of war-weariness on both sides?

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the extent to which the Treaty of Edinburgh was the product of war weariness on both sides. Candidates may choose to argue that there is more evidence of war weariness on one side than the other. This factor should be considered in the light of other evidence which may suggest other reasons why the treaty was made.

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh was the product of war-weariness on both sides

- The outbreak of war between England and France in 1327 significantly reduced the appetite for war with Scotland amongst the English.
- English nobles had become weary of the Scottish raids into Northumberland.
- The Harcla rebellion of 1321 showed that some northern English nobles were prepared to side with the Scots if that would hasten the end of the conflict.
- After over twenty years of war, it was becoming increasingly clear that neither side could deliver a decisive military blow.
- Neither Bannockburn (1314) nor Old Byland (1322) brought significant progress towards peace.
- The English campaigns of 1319 and 1322 similarly failed to lead to substantive talks.
- After the fall of Berwick in 1319 the English had lost control everywhere in Scotland – and there was no sign it would be restored on the foreseeable future.
- The truces of the 1320s indicated a desire by both sides to end the fighting.

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh was the product of other considerations

- Edward II, who had consistently refused to make any concessions to the Scots was deposed in 1327 and murdered in 1328, allowing a new regime to take a more conciliatory approach.
- The new English regime of Isabella and Mortimer was very unstable and England faced a long Minority, so they were keen to make peace.
- There was a growing recognition in England that King Robert's position in Scotland was increasingly strong, especially after the De Soules plot.
- By the mid-1320s the Papacy was putting pressure on both sides to end the conflict.
- The removal of King Edward II led to a resumption of Scottish raids on the north of England, ending the 13 year truce.
- King Robert was prepared to make major concessions in order to achieve recognition both of Scottish sovereignty and his own legitimacy.
- £20,000 to be paid to the English.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that the intransigence of King Edward II had long been the key stumbling block, and that his deposition was therefore crucial in allowing peace to be made.
- **Ranald Nicholson** sees the Treaty as a pragmatic recognition of the relationship between the countries which had existed in practice for some time.
- **Michael Penman** sees the Treaty as reflecting an English fear that the resumption of Scottish raids into England actually marked a renewed determination to prosecute the war.
- **AAM Duncan** views the Treaty as reflecting the eagerness for peace on both sides.

(2) Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views of the role of the Guardians in defending Scottish independence between 1286 and 1292? 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** on the role of the Guardians between 1286 and 1292, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

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

- The Turnberry meeting only consisted of those who supported the Bruce claim to the throne.
- The Guardians were able to maintain routine administration.
- The Guardians lacked the authority of a king in dealing with factionalism amongst the nobility.
- The Guardians actively sought the support of King Edward of England to try and maintain stability in Scotland.

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

- The Guardians governed in the name of the Community of the Realm of Scotland and maintained government under their own seal.
- The Guardianship was designed to try and avoid the dangers of factionalism.
- Robert Bruce, as a potential claimant to the throne was excluded from the Guardianship; as was John Balliol.
- The Turnberry Bond appears to have been a deliberate attempt by the Bruce faction to undermine the authority of the Guardians.
- The Guardians viewed King Edward I as a friend of the Scottish kingdom before 1291.

Source B

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

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

- Wishart drafted the Scottish reply, on behalf of the startled Scots, where the Guardians rejected Edward's claim of lordship.
- They responded to Edward that only a king could answer his point on overlordship.
- They defended themselves by taking King Edward to task, arguing that i*t was inappropriate to threaten a weaker nation with force.*
- Robert the Bruce acted in collusion with King Edward.

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

- Wishart as Bishop of Glasgow was to be a consistent supporter of Scottish independence.
- The Guardians met with the English at Norham in 1291, to discuss terms of his intervention in the succession crisis.
- When Edward went over the heads of the Guardians and extracted homage from the claimants, the Guardians also later accepted his overlordship.
- The Guardians were dismissed and then re-instated by Edward, with the addition of an English Guardian.
- King Edward arrived at Norham with an armed retinue.

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

- The Guardians reflected the balance of Scottish society; comprising 2 bishops, 2 earls and 2 lords.
- The Guardians governed following the death of King Alexander III, and were expected to rule during the minority of Queen Margaret.
- The Guardians negotiated the Treaty of Birgham and the Treaty of Salisbury with England, which aimed to maintain Scottish independence in the event of a dynastic marriage between Margaret and Prince Edward of England.
- They also negotiated the marriage treaty with King Eric of Norway.
- Factionalism was a constant problem during the Guardianship; one of the Guardians, MacDuff of Fife, was murdered.

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

- **GWS Barrow** describes the composition of the guardianship as *politically astute and constitutionally impeccable.*
- **Alan Young** sees the Guardianship as being dominated by the Comyn interest.
- **Andrew Fisher** has criticised the Guardians for being insufficiently robust in the defence of the Scottish kingdom.
- **AAM Duncan** agrees that the Guardians lacked the authority of king.

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 role of the Guardians between 1286 and 1292.

Question 2

How useful is Source C as evidence of the policies pursued by King Edward to control Scotland between 1305 and 1307? **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 understanding the policies of King Edward I towards Scotland between 1305 and 1307 in terms of:

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

- This is a legal agreement regarding the future governance of Scotland.
- The Comyns and their supporters had a considerable input into the drawing up of the Ordinance.
- The Ordinance was drawn up as a result of the collapse of the Comyn administration following the surrender of the Comyn led Scots in 1304.
- The Ordinance represented the latest in a series of attempts by the English to establish a system of control for Scotland since 1292 (cf the experience of direct government from 1296).

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

- John of Brittany was to govern Scotland on behalf of King Edward I.
- Sheriffs, appointed by the king's lieutenant could be either Scottish or English.
- Laws made since the reign of King David were to be reviewed.
- Any matters they cannot agree on will be put in writing and taken to the king in Westminster.

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

- Scotland is described as being a 'land'; no longer as a kingdom.
- The Ordinance was the first time since 1297 that King Edward had attempted to include the Scottish Community of the Realm in the government of Scotland.
- Notably the Comyn faction.
- The Ordinance made alterations to Scots law, including outlawing the use of Breton in official documents.
- Strategically important sheriffdoms in SE Scotland were kept in English hands.
- A council of Scots was set up to advise the King's Lieutenant.
- Stirling Castle was to be administered by the Scots.

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

- John of Brittany never took up his post as Lieutenant of Scotland.
- The country was administered by Bishop Lamberton, Robert Keith, John of Sandal and John Kingston.
- The Ordinance marked a switch in tactics for King Edward, who attempted to include leading members of the Scottish community in the government of Scotland, especially the Comyns.
- Robert Bruce may well have been disappointed at not being given a more senior role in the new dispensation.
- Bruce's murder of Comyn and subsequent coronation in 1306 meant that the terms of the Ordinance were never implemented.
- King Edward planned an invasion of Scotland in 1307 in response to Robert's usurpation, reverting to the earlier strategy of giving enemies of the Crown no quarter.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** sees the Ordinance of Scotland as *mild and statesmanlike*.
- **Fiona Watson** regards the Ordinance for Scotland as *a serious assault on the kingdom*, reducing its status to a 'land'. She also sees the English occupation as having little real impact, especially North of the Forth.
- **Michael Prestwich** has argued that the extent of Edward I's military failure in Scotland between 1298 and 1304 has been exaggerated.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence of the policies pursued by King Edward I to control Scotland between 1305 and 1307.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain King Robert's military tactics in the war with England between 1310 and 1313? **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 military tactics used by King Robert between 1310 and 1313 in terms of:

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

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

- King Robert avoided pitched battle, preferring guerrilla tactics.
- King Robert bluffed and delayed the English by offering decoys and leaking details to the English to act as decoys.
- The Scots raided northern England as far south as Durham.
- King Robert besieged castles, taking them by stealth rather than by siege or storm.

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

- King Robert aimed to use naval strength to keep the vital supply lines to Ireland open across the 'Western Approaches'.
- The Isle of Man was taken by the Scots during this period.
- Scots raids utilised lightly armed 'hobelars' for speed and mobility.
- Durham was the only English town to suffer widespread killings.
- Blackmail was so successful that the northern counties of England contributed nothing to the English exchequer between 1311 and 1314.
- Castles at Roxburgh, Perth and Edinburgh had all fallen to the Scots by the end of 1313, taken by stealth.

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

- King Robert's military position was eased by the failure of King Edward II to campaign in Scotland after 1310 until the Bannockburn campaign of 1314.
- King Robert relied on his brother Thomas to subdue Galloway and many of the raids into England were led by Thomas Randolph.
- Bruce had made alliances with the Earl of Ulster and the Lord of the Isles.

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

- **GWS Barrow** who describes King Robert's efforts between 1310 and 1314 *one of the remarkable military achievements of British history* and who describes Robert as *cautious in strategy; bold in tactics*.
- **Maurice Keen** has praised King Robert for successfully out-manoeuvring a superior foe.
- **Michael Prestwich** blames King Edward II's personal incompetence for much of the English failure in the period, not least because of the endemic problem of faction in England.
- **Colm MacNamee** sees Edward's failure to commit to a major campaign in Scotland as crucial in leaving the major Scottish castles vulnerable to attack.

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 military tactics pursued by King Robert between 1310 and 1313.

The Renaissance in Italy in the 15th and early 16th centuries

Part 1 Essays
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent is it possible to argue that humanism in the Italian Renaissance was simply a revival of antiquity?

The aim of the essay is to enable candidates to assess whether or not Italian Renaissance humanism simply involved a revival of antiquity or whether there were other aspects to it, including original thought.

Evidence supporting the view that Italian Renaissance humanism was simply a revival of antiquity

- The search for pure, uncorrupted texts lay at the root of the work of early humanists like Niccolo Niccoli and Petrarch.
- Petrarch was inspired by the new-found works of Cicero and Livy.
- Love of the Latin language was close to the heart of philologists such as Lorenzo Valla.
- Republican Rome became the model of good governance, the society to emulate.
- Manuel Crysoloras as professor of Greek at the University of Florence inspired his students to study Greek literature, thought and art.
- The Studia Humanitatis, the arts syllabus taught at the universities, dealt with grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy. The revival of classical Roman learning was fundamental to this.

Evidence challenging the view that Italian Renaissance humanism was simply a revival of antiquity

- Some humanists were inspired by the example of Republican Rome and wanted to see the same civic virtue in their own society. Humanism became for such people a prompt to an active life, to participation in the governance of the city.
- At one level Leonardo Bruni's Panegyric of the City of Florence was a defence of Florentine republicanism against the Milanese despotism of the Visconti from 1390 to 1420.
- The classics were not merely revived. They were adapted. Neo-platonism was not simply a revival of the ideas of Plato. It also incorporated the ideas of Aristotle, Pythagoras and other Greek philosophers and attempted to reconcile these with Christian beliefs. In this sense it was original and not mere copying. Neo-platonists rejected some aspects of Plato's beliefs
- Florentine humanist Collucio Salutati did not study ancient history, politics, diplomacy and military matters merely for their own sake. He saw a political purpose in writing history. He observed that a knowledge of the past taught men how to act in the present.
- The classical world had been pagan, yet many leading humanists were prominent Christians, including several popes. This suggests that they adapted classical thought to their own needs. They rejected Plato's belief that the soul exists before birth and his homosexuality.

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

- **R. Hole** argues that the Renaissance revival of antiquity had at its heart *books and the study of classical languages and texts.*
- **J.R Hale** pointed out that *unless the word humanism retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead*, suggesting that humanism was scholastic rather than having a practical application.
- **Hans Baron** argued that Florentine humanism served to strengthen Florentine republicanism against Milanese despotism. He termed such humanism *civic humanism.*
- **George Holmes** sees Bruni and Florentine humanists as primarily academic rather than practical in their intent.
- **George Holmes** and **Jerry Brotton** see in humanism a fusion of the classical world and Christianity.

Question 2

What factors best explain why Venetian art of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was so different from that of other Renaissance states?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to reflect on what made Venetian art of this period so distinctive from that of other states, including Florence and Rome. It will be necessary as well clearly to identify the nature of the differences. Candidates will be expected to refer to particular paintings or buildings to illustrate their points.

Factors which might explain why Venetian art was so different:

A unique setting

- Despite being a man-made, urban environment, or perhaps because of this, a taste developed for pastoral settings in the art. Even traditional religious themes were recast in pastoral terms by Venetian artists. The safety and security of the city from attack allowed a rich artistic tradition to develop.

A vast trading empire

- Trading with Muslims.
- Venetians admired Islamic culture and sought out Ottoman goods.

Mythical and Byzantine heritage

- The basilica of San Marco was modeled on the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. It had been built to house the relics of St Mark (taken from Alexandria in 828AD).
- San Marco's became a display case for spoils as well as a reliquary for spiritual treasures from the east.
- Unlike most of the great cities of Italy, the foundations of the city did not date from the classical period. Venetians claimed that the city had been founded by a band of noble Trojans after the fall of Troy. Thus the city could claim to be older and therefore superior to Rome.

A rejection of symmetry

- A rejection of symmetry in city planning and in art came from the irregular shape of the islands and the piece-meal founding of new islands. The facade of San Marco's is unapologetically asymmetrical. Its greatest contrast can be seen in Alberti's church facades of the later quattrocento: S. Andrea and S. Sebastiano in Mantua.

An engagement with light

- For example, the chromatic richness of the work of Giovanni Bellini.
- The effect of light on water.
- While frescos were the medium of choice for Florentine and Roman painters, Venetian artists quickly learned that frescos soon fell apart in the humid climate of the lagoon. For this reason, Venetian painters pioneered and established the practice of painting in oil on canvas.

A focus on public ceremony

- Many Venetian paintings are bustling with activity, crowded, almost chaotic, rich in circumstantial detail.
- Venice was a republic and although power was vested in the hands of a small elite group, all citizens expected to participate or at least to witness the major ceremonial events of the state. These might include the "promissione" of the new Doge as well as major religious celebrations. This is reflected in the art.
- The Scala dei Giganti, the great ceremonial staircase in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace, was designed as a monumental plinth for the Doge during the coronation ceremony. It framed and displayed him in spectacles of state.
- Social stratification in Venice had a significant impact on the patronage of art. Consensus was highly prized and personal ostentation discouraged, particularly within the patriciate and amongst the cittadini, so as to avoid envy and unbrotherly competition.
- While many painters in Florence emphasised the majesty, emotions and graceful gestures of a handful of figures in scenes of classical serenity, Venetian painters, in contrast, often employed an eyewitness style, packing in as many details as possible into a scene, generating panoramic, busy images, and emphasising the cosmopolitan dynamism of the city.
- Venetian art was employed in the service of political power, not so much in dynastic portraits of important individuals as in allegorical depictions used to exalt the Venetian state.

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

- **Patricia Fortini Brown** refers to the *art of public life* in Venice and argues that spectacles displayed and reinforced the social and political hierarchy, and provided a means for cohesion through participation in a group activity that transcended distinctions of caste, class and condition.
- **Deborah Howard** has demonstrated how a variety of Venetian architectural details, including the roof-top terraces and stone screens that adorn Venetian palaces, echo and emulate Eastern forms and designs.
- **John Ruskin** wrote in the nineteenth century that, *the Venetians deserve a special note as the only European people who appear to have sympathized to the full with the great instinct of the Eastern race.*
- **Elizabeth Horodowich** shows how Venetians were not nearly as fascinated by Ancient Greek and Roman art and literature as were their Florentine counterparts. One of the characteristics of the Renaissance in Venice was that classicism came comparatively late.
- **Vasari** argued that Venetian painters emphasised light and colour where their Florentine counterparts emphasised design and hard contours.

Question 3

To what extent were the Medici "princes of Florence" in all but name between 1434 and 1494?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to assess the nature of the rule of the Medici family in Florence, under the leadership of Cosimo il Vecchio, Piero the Gouty, Lorenzo il Magnifico and Piero di Lorenzo before the latter's exile. Candidates will need to define what they understand the word "prince" to mean in this context. Candidates will need to discuss the powers of the Medici, official and unofficial, including any changes in that power during the years 1434-1494.

Evidence that the Medici were in effect "princes of Florence"

- Pope Pius II referred to Cosimo de' Medici as *not so much a citizen as a master of his city*.
- Political meetings were held at Cosimo's house. The magistrates he nominated were elected.
- Cosimo was accused by Rinaldo degli Albizzi in 1433 of *attempting to raise himself above the rank of an ordinary citizen*. He was exiled for a year.
- The Medici were international bankers and their wealth gave them immense power. Cosimo's father had been banker to the Papacy. This gave him considerable influence in Florence and beyond. J.R Hale described Cosimo as probably the richest man in Europe at the time.
- Guicciardini writes that, *nothing was built or made without his* (Cosimo's) *opinion and judgement being asked; and several who had to build something went to him for his opinion*.
- Cosimo pointed out to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, that a republic could not be run in the same way as a despotic regime.
- Cosimo ran Florence from behind the scenes. He preferred Michelozzo's plans for the Palazzo Medici to the more extravagant plans of Brunelleschi which he considered too showy for an ordinary citizen. In 1464 Cosimo was granted the title *Pater Patriae*, implying a paternalist rather than self-seeking control of the city.
- Lorenzo delighted in the full light of publicity. He conducted foreign policy as if he were prince of Florence, dealing directly with foreign powers and calling on the Signoria merely to rubber stamp his decisions.
- Lorenzo's court, though not huge, was certainly magnificent enough to be considered princely. He acted as a princely patron of scholars and artists, much like Federigo da Montefeltro in Urbino or the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua.
- Opposition to Medici control boiled over in 1478 in the Pazzi Conspiracy, an attempt by their enemies to murder Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano.
- Savonarola denounced the Medici in 1494 as tyrants who had destroyed the traditional liberties of the Florentines.
- The Medici became Dukes of Florence only in 1537.

Evidence that the Medici were not in effect "princes of Florence"

- Throughout the period Florence remained a republic.
- Florentines were proud of their republic and obsessed with the fear that one faction or one family would take control. Leonardo Bruni extolled the virtues of republican rule, seeing Florence in the early years of the fifteenth century as the heir of the Roman Republic. Membership of the Signoria was chosen by lottery with names taken out of a bag in order to protect the independence of the Signoria. However, the Medici proved to be adept at subverting the constitution by influencing the scrutiny "a mano", whereby the members of the Signoria were chosen by the scrutineers.
- Cosimo adopted a frugal life-style, trying to avoid conspicuous consumption.
- Cosimo was head of state on only three occasions in thirty years, for a total of six months.
- Each of the Medici rulers had powerful enemies and faced serious changes to their influence, culminating in the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. This does not necessarily mean that they could not be considered princes. Even princes faced challenges to their rule in fifteenth century Italy. The savagery with which Lorenzo dealt with the Pazzi conspirators suggests he had a prince-like control of the courts. He executed over seventy conspirators.
- Medici power was based on wealth not heredity. Under Lorenzo's stewardship the bank lost huge sums. By 1492 all branches outside Florence had closed, radically reducing the influence of the Medici in the city.

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

- **Jacob Burckhardt** saw Cosimo's powers as lying more in his cultural influence than in the narrowly political. He refers to his *leadership of the culture of the age*, but he does recognise that Cosimo was still in effect a prince.
- **Dale Kent** describes Medici rule as the most complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest. *A single party embraced the state.*
- **John Hale** refers to Medici rule of Florence and its foreign policy as *taut oligarchic control*.
- **Anthony Molho** claims that Cosimo held power *not because of force, not because of his control of the electoral processes, but because he had created a political machine which made it possible to reward those who cooperated with him*.

Question 4

How valid is the view that Giorgio Vasari's "Lives of the Great Artists" presents a distorted view of the development of art during the Italian Renaissance?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to show their knowledge and understanding of the importance of Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Great Artists, widely seen as the first work of art history, and to make a judgement as to the extent to which it presents a distorted view of the development of art in the Italian Renaissance. Candidates will be expected to refer to the shortcomings of the book, including Vasari's bias and teleological approach.

Evidence that Vasari does not present a distorted view:

- Vasari worked tirelessly to acquire evidence for the "Lives". He travelled throughout Italy, read relevant correspondence, questioned the artists or their surviving friends.
- Vasari knew personally some of the later artists and certainly saw their work in their original context. He refers to contracts between patrons and artists. Vasari attempted to verify many of his assertions by delving in the archives. He writes that, *I made this digression for the sake of truth.*
- There is some truth in Vasari's basic thesis, that Florentine art was the finest of the age. This came about, as Vasari wrote, because of an environment of continuous critical appraisal, industriousness and the exercise of good judgement, alongside a striving for glory and honour.

Evidence that Vasari presents a distorted view:

- Vasari was a Tuscan, born in Arezzo, dedicating his work to his patron Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in 1550. He repeatedly praises Florentine artists, suggesting a Tuscan bias.
- Vasari deliberately denigrates the art of the medieval period in order to exaggerate the contrast with the new art of the Renaissance. He writes of how the barbarian invasions had ruined Italian art and they *no longer had any good customs or ways of life*.
- Vasari's "Lives" fits into the humanist notion that history should instruct and encourage through the record of notable careers and notable achievements. Its usefulness is therefore limited to some extent by its purpose.
- Vasari firmly believed in the notion of progress in art, a notion which is now questioned by some modern art historians or critics. When ancient Rome fell, art declined. All the Italians knew of art was the flat, lifeless style derived from Byzantium. Then around 1250 art was reborn. It grew to maturity in three stages, exemplified by Giotto, Masaccio and then Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo. These represented the childhood, youth and maturity of art. Earlier Renaissance artists are said to have laid the foundations upon which later artists could build to reach sublime heights. The "Lives" ends in the 1560s, with Michelangelo's death in 1564, with art now mastering and triumphing over nature.
- Vasari was writing a century and a half after some of the early artists, for instance Donatello. Many of his stories are unverifiable. Others seem to have been invented by Vasari for effect. Vasari tells the same story of the talent of young artists working as shepherds being discovered by passers-by. The tale is told of Giotto but then repeated for the Sienese painter Beccafumi. The coincidence is hard to believe.

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

- **JR Hale** is of the opinion that enough of Vasari's facts are accurate to ensure the status of the "Lives" as the quarry from which all histories of Italian Renaissance art must be hewn.
- **Richard Turner** writes of how Vasari elevated the idea of Florentine supremacy in the visual arts to the canonical status that it would enjoy for centuries, beginning the story with Cimabue, who was vanquished by Giotto, and ending with Michelangelo, who surpassed both nature and the antique at a qualitative level upon which no mere mortal could hope to improve. The message was clear, he writes, *Better to be Tuscan than Italian, and better to be Florentine than Tuscan.*
- **Geraldine A. Johnson** writes that whilst some art historians continue to assume that Vasari's text can be used with confidence as evidence for what "really" happened, *in many instances it is clear that the "Lives" are as much an accumulation of hope, desires, and myths as any work explicitly labelled as fiction.*
- **Andrew Graham-Dixon** claims that Vasari's view of history rested on a misconception of the relationship between the self-consciously new age of the Renaissance and the period which preceded it – the Dark Ages, as he saw it, being a time of more or less undifferentiated ignorance and stasis. *It makes more sense to think of the Renaissance as a culmination rather than a rebuttal of certain medieval tendencies.*

Question 5

Was the concept of the "Renaissance Man" more of an ideal than a reality?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to demonstrate what they understand by the term "Renaissance Man" and to illustrate the qualities expected of such men. They will also be expected to make a judgement on the extent to which certain key candidates met the criteria of a "Renaissance Man" before concluding whether the concept was more of an ideal than a reality.

Evidence that the concept was an ideal:

- The concept originated in Burckhardt's "Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy" in 1860.
- Leonardo da Vinci, put forward by many people as the archetypal Renaissance Man, in fact finished remarkably few works of art. His reputation is built upon a very small number of works.
- Humanists debated the virtues of the active and the contemplative life. Few men, if any, managed to live up to the expectations of them both.
- A Renaissance Man would require a rounded approach to education that was typical of the ideals of the humanists.

Evidence that the concept was a reality:

- A Renaissance Man needed to be a polymath, with expertise in a number of different subject areas. Leon Battista Alberti wrote that, *a man may do all things if he will*, showing his confidence in Renaissance humanism. He encouraged the notion that people should embrace all knowledge and develop their capacities as fully as possible. Thus the gifted people of the Renaissance sought to develop skills in all areas of knowledge, in physical development, in social accomplishments, and in the arts.
- Poliziano wrote of Alberti that, *he was a man of rare brilliance, acute judgement, and extensive learning... Surely, there was no field of knowledge however remote, no discipline however arcane, that escaped his attention.*
- Leon Battista Alberti, who was a priest, architect, painter, poet, scientist, mathematician, inventor, and sculptor, was in addition a skilled horseman and archer.
- Federigo da Montefeltro tried to present himself as accomplished in many fields, a soldier and a scholar, creating a magnificent court in Urbino.
- Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) exhibits many of the qualities required of a Renaissance Man. He was a painter but also had a great influence on sculpture and architecture through his plans and drawings. Art claimed only a part of his activity and energies. He had a boundless curiosity about nature and sought to penetrate its innermost workings. A survey of his numerous extant drawings shows him to have been interested in what we would call botany, physiology, geology and zoology. The influence of his anatomical drawings gives him a claim to be regarded as the founder of the modern study of anatomy.
- In addition to his drawings, Leonardo kept voluminous notebooks. These reveal the great importance he attached to mathematics. *Let no man who is not a mathematician read the elements of my work.* He dealt with various branches of physics and was deeply interested in the subject of flight. The behaviour of water received a great deal of attention from him. His geological interests extended to paleontology. In addition to his theoretical studies, he also devised machines for various practical purposes, even though these inventions normally did not progress beyond the drawings he made of them.
- A gentleman or courtier of that era was expected to speak several languages, play a musical instrument, write poetry. Baldassare Castiglione, in his *The Book of the Courtier* wrote a guide to becoming a polymath.

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

- **Geraldine A. Johnson** repeatedly refers to Burckhardt's ideal of the multi-talented "Renaissance Man" but also suggests that such an ideal was inevitably realised by only a very limited number of wealthy, elite, and usually male humanist-scholars, nobles and clerics.
- **Burckhardt** writes of how Alberti studied music, law, physics, mathematics, painting and literature. He says, *He acquired every sort of accomplishment and dexterity, cross-examining artists, scholars, and artisans of all descriptions, down to the cobblers, about the secrets and peculiarities of their craft.*

The Renaissance in Italy in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the role of art in the Italian Renaissance?   12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the role of art in the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments may earn credit. This may include:

- Alberti was a polymath who transformed the theory and practice of the visual arts with his treatises on painting and architecture.
- Alberti lent intellectual respectability to painting by grounding it in the rational laws of mathematical perspective. He gave pictorial composition a dignified structure derived from rhetoric. He recommended mythological subjects for narrative painting.
- Alberti's treatises were closely studied by patrons such as Lorenzo de' Medici and Ercole d'Este and influenced them.
- Artists clearly influenced by Alberti's treatises include Lorenzo Ghiberti, Fra Angelico and Domenico Veneziano. Alberti was closely associated with Donatello and Brunelleschi. *On Painting* is dedicated to Brunelleschi.

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

- Painters have a divine power of creativity.
- Painting preserves the likeness of a subject for future generations, in effect immortalising the sitter.
- Painting strengthens true religious faith by presenting images of the divine.
- Paintings are both beautiful and pleasing.

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

- Patrons were in part motivated in their patronage of artists by a desire to be remembered after their death. Giovanni Rucellai listed *commemoration of myself* amongst his reasons for paying for artistic projects (including Alberti's facade of the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence). Memorialisation accounts for the huge scale of Pope Julius II's planned tomb in St Peter's.
- The rise of accurate portraiture allowed the representation of the dead to the living. The portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro presented his image to posterity.
- Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote of Cosimo de' Medici that he was motivated by a desire for God to have mercy on him and so commissioned various religious works of art, including Fra Angelico's frescos in San Marco's.
- Donor paintings were common throughout the Renaissance, with images of the donors worshipping the Holy Trinity (Masaccio) or worshipping the Christ Child in Nativity scenes by Botticelli. The aim was to promote salvation.
- Papal patronage of the arts in the High Renaissance was in part motivated by a desire to project an image of papal power and religious orthodoxy. Julius II's new St Peter's could be seen in that light, as could Perugino's *Charge to St Peter* in the Sistine Chapel, showing Christ bestowing the keys of the kingdom of heaven upon St Peter and by extension upon the papacy.
- Some painting was in part motivated by a love of beauty and simply for pleasure. Many nudes are first and foremost erotic, for example Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus*.

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

- Alberti did much to raise the profile of painting amongst the arts. He implied that the artists' powers were divine and thus worthy of respect, contradicting those who argued that painting was a mere manual skill of limited value. This idea was later taken up by Leonardo da Vinci in his *Trattato*. Equally, Giorgio Vasari describes the artists of the High Renaissance as divine.
- It is debatable if painting really did strengthen sound religious beliefs. Much of Renaissance art takes its inspiration from pre-Christian, classical history and mythology, for example Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*.
- Alberti does not list glorification of the city amongst his roles of art. Many Renaissance patrons and artists sought to show their love of their own city in the beauty and magnificence of their work.

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

- **George Holmes** writes of how Alberti wanted art to move away from traditional notions of symbolism, allegory or mere decoration to a wholehearted presentation of art as a realistic portrayal of nature and humanity. *On Painting* established the image of the artist as a man of culture portraying nature.
- **Richard Turner** writes that Alberti closely associated painting with two of the liberal arts, geometry and rhetoric, so implicitly elevating its intellectual status. By recounting the importance of painting to the princes and leading citizens of antiquity, he implied that beyond intellectual recognition, artists were owed an improved place in society. He also comments that whilst most art of the fifteenth century was Christian in subject matter, Alberti refrains from discussion of Christian art and takes subjects from ancient literature as his main examples.
- **Mary Hollingsworth** comments that in their palaces and chapels, their fresco cycles, altarpieces and tombs, rich businessmen manifested a strong desire to proclaim their worldly success as well as the need to expiate their guilt for the world to come. They desired to give visual expression to their wealth and status.

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 of the role of art in the Italian Renaissance.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the exercise of power by the Popes of the High Renaissance? **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 B** and **C** on the exercise of power by the Popes in the High Renaissance in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: Any relevant and appropriate provenance can earn credit.

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

- Julius reasserted the political power of the papacy in Italy.
- Julius restored the papal finances.
- Julius' pontificate was broadly successful and was in fact a golden age.
- Julius dramatically improved the appearance of the city of Rome.

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

- Julius recovered the territories taken by Cesare Borgia and reasserted control over the Roman barons.
- By 1513 the power of the French in Italy had collapsed.
- Julius issued a bull against simony and actively supported missionary enterprises in the New World and the reform of the Benedictines.
- Julius began the system of strict annual auditing of the papal accounts. His monetary reforms, including the issue of the new silver *guilio*, helped avoid a papal bankruptcy.
- Julius's patronage of the arts laid the foundations for the High Renaissance. He expanded the Vatican library and began the papal collection of antique sculpture. He employed Michelangelo, Bramante, Raphael and others to celebrate the power of the Church and the truth of its doctrine.
- He began the building of the new St Peter's and commissioned the Sistine ceiling from Michelangelo and the Stanza della Segnatura from Raphael.

Source C

Provenance:

- Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was a Dutch Renaissance humanist, priest and theologian.
- Julius Exclusus was published anonymously in 1514, a year after Julius' death. Opinion is divided about why it was anonymous. Some say it was to avoid retribution from the Inquisition. Others argue it was because the work would be seen as a slap in the face by Pope Leo X, Erasmus' patron and the man who was to legitimise him by papal dispensation in 1517.
- Erasmus was a well-known critic of Julius' pontificate, extending his ideas in his work *In Praise of Folly.*

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

- Julius failed to live up to the religious expectations of his role as pope.
- Julius was more interested in waging war than pursuing his spiritual role.
- The pope was lustful.
- Julius had neglected his spiritual function in his determination to build magnificent new buildings for the papacy in Rome.

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

- Under the Borgia Pope Alexander VI sensual pleasure and dynastic ambition were not uncommon in the papal curia. He had several children after he became pope. He promoted the careers of his own children.
- On becoming pope in 1513 Leo X is reported by the Venetian ambassador to have commented, *Let us enjoy the papacy since God has given it to us.*
- Leo X is reported to have indulgenced his tastes for hunting and feasting.
- Pope Julius II and Adrian VI campaigned against simony and nepotism.
- Pope Clement VII is said to have lived simply and even his worst enemies were unable to suggest that his was anything other than a blameless or moral life.
- Julius fought in defence of jurisdictions and territorial rights in Italy. These rights were seen to be the papacy's by divine sanction as well as by legal right and long-established custom.
- Canon law forbade the clergy to shed blood (but did not ban them from uttering exhortations to violence, or accompanying, directing and granting absolution to its perpetrators).
- Holy War was not just to be directed against the Muslim foe. It was also to be fought in Christendom, sometimes against heresy, schism or disobedience committed by secular rulers.
- Julius swore on his election as pope to reclaim the territories in the Romagna wrongly alienated from the church. He launched a series of campaigns to reconquer the papal states by attacking the Baglioni of Perugia and the Bentivoglio of Bologna.
- Julius is reported to have put on armour to fight his enemies. He allegedly commissioned Michelangelo to produce a bronze sculpture of himself with a sword in one hand for the portico of the church of San Petronio in Bologna.
- Julius played a key role in the 1509 campaign against Venice over the republic's refusal to give up Rimini, Faenza and Ravenna.
- By 1510 Julius' avowed intention was the total eviction of foreign or barbarian forces from Italy. His intention according to the papal master of ceremonies was *to exterminate the French king and all Frenchmen.*
- In his winter campaign of 1510-11 against the Duke of Ferrara and his allies, Julius took personal command in an offensive military operation, the siege of Mirandola.

- Leo X's attempts to raise money to restore the papal finances and to pay for the new St Peter's included selling Indulgences, papal letters offering a pardon of sins in exchange for money.
- Julius was a financial genius and brilliant administrator. He carefully supervised all aspects of papal administration. He began the system of strict auditing of the papal accounts.
- Julius dreamed of a great campaign against the infidel, the Turks. In 1509 he ordered the construction of galleys for the project. He hoped to celebrate mass in Constantinople within a year.
- Julius and Leo X were keen to rebuild Rome so it would be a worthy capital of the Church. A new St Peter's basilica was to be built. Michelangelo, Bramante and Raphael were employed by the papacy to make Rome and the papal apartments more magnificent. Julius commissioned Michelangelo to design and construct a hugely impressive tomb for him in St Peter's.

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

- **Guicciardini** in the 1530s wrote that, *Julius's concern and intention was to exalt the temporal greatness of the Church with the arts of war*.
- **D.S.Chambers** takes the view that it was not a new fashion for popes to participate actively in warfare. Justification was found in the Old Testament and the idea of just war formulated by St Augustine. The portrayal by Erasmus is a *gross if not wholly undeserved caricature*.
- **Vasari** states that statues of Victory with conquered provinces at their feet were meant to be among the figures adorning the pediment of Julius's tomb.
- **Machiavelli** admired Julius for restoring the papal states to the position held four centuries previously.
- **J.R. Hale** refers to Julius as a financial genius and brilliant administrator.

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 exercise of power by the Popes in the High Renaissance.

Question 3

How fully does Source D describe the experience of women during the Italian Renaissance?   **12 Marks**

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an explanation of the experience of women in the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Provenance: Any relevant and appropriate provenance can earn credit.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view:

- Artists commissioned by women celebrated the husband and his court.
- Humanism placed women under male-dominated social conventions.
- Humanism replaced courtly love with a male-dominated classical culture.
- During the Renaissance women were dependent upon their husbands.

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

- Francesco Barbaro argued that a woman should love her husband, lead a modest life and have diligent and complete care in domestic matters.
- The role of women was constrained by childbearing and rearing, and the preaching of the Church. These made it very hard for women to participate in the public sphere.
- Isabella d'Este played a key role as a patron of the arts in Mantua. It was however the court of her husband, Francesco Gonzaga, which the artists made magnificent. Leonardo and Titian both painted for her.
- Leon Battista Alberti set very strict limits on the lives of women in his treatise *On the Family*.
- Under medieval traditions of courtly love women had been afforded a leading role, placed on a pedestal and worshipped by their admirers who would attempt to prove their worth to the lady. Women had been of primary importance in courtly love. In the Renaissance, classical models replaced medieval romance and chivalry. Medieval courtesy had shaped the man primarily to please the lady. However in the early modern state this changed to a situation where the ways of the lady were determined by men.
- With the rise of humanism women lost their role as tutors of young children to humanist scholars.

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

- During the Renaissance a few pioneers such as Leonardo Bruni and Lauro Quirini, recognised that women could be educated. Cicero had taught that the defining characteristic of humanity was the ability to reason and thus some humanists argued that women were worthy of education.
- Educated women in the Renaissance include Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Laura Cereta of Brescia, Cecilia Gonzaga, Vittoria Colonna and Cassandra Fedele of Venice. Such women are the exception rather than the norm.
- The alternative to a life of dependency upon male relatives was to enter a nunnery or to turn to prostitution.
- Dowries were of great importance to Renaissance women. They were the key to the way in which women launched their children into adulthood. Dowries reverted to women on the death of a husband.
- Candidates may give consideration to the experience of women of different lower social classes.

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

- **Margaret L King** argues that women were increasingly aware of the need to obtain an education and that this led them to question the assumptions upon which society was built. The age of feminism dawned before the age of the Renaissance closed.
- **Joan Kelly-Gadol** argues that women were disempowered since their lives were reduced to the home.
- **Burckhardt** describes gender relations during the Renaissance as based upon a perfect equality. Peter Burke argues that few statements in Burckhardt's book are more misleading.
- In *The Courtier*, Castiglione suggests that the Renaissance lady might play an aesthetically significant role but her position was never the equal of her husband. Lack of skill in arms set a firm limit to the powers of women. Her role was primarily decorative.
- **Stanley Chojnacki** refers to the exclusion of women from public life where fathers and sons consorted. Renaissance society could be characterised as one in which mothers contributed but fathers commanded.

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 experience of women during the Italian Renaissance.

Georgians and Jacobites: (Scotland 1715-1800)

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

What factors best explain why the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 achieved no more than "stalemate, retreat and ultimate fiasco"?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the relative importance of causal factors which resulted in the 1715 rising being unsuccessful. The quote used in the question refers to the culmination of the rebellion at Sherriffmuir and the squandering of Mar's excellent position before and during the battle. Candidates should analyse the leadership, tactics and support for the rising to explain this anti-climax. Additional central issues which may be referred to include English and European support. Higher quality candidates may also comment upon the Hanoverian response, reaching a balanced conclusion.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Leadership of James VIII

- Distant, unattractive and lacking charisma.
- Barely present during the rising. Landed on the 22nd of December, two months after Sherriffmuir by which time effective momentum had been lost. Sailed to France on the 4th of February having contributed little to the cause.
- Lack of presence throughout ensured rebellion lacked effective leadership, ending in fiasco.

Leadership of the Earl of Mar

- A self-interested and opportunistic politician with no military experience. Mar squandered numerical and strategic advantage before and after Sherriffmuir.
- The rising was characterised by abortive, unsuccessful strategies and continual hesitation. A pre-emptive seizure of Edinburgh castle stalled and was then hastily abandoned, while the planned western advance on Glasgow collapsed due to poor organisation.
- Details of events at the battle of Sherriffmuir – stalemate and effective if not actual defeat though military operations did continue until February 1716.

Support within Scotland

- 1715 was easily the largest and most threatening Jacobite rising, partly as a result of widespread economic and political opposition to the Treaty of Union.
- The strength of arms was considerable. Mar's 16000 strong host was the largest Jacobite army of any rising. Significantly, considerable support came from the great landed families of the north east and, to a lesser extent, the lowlands.
- 70% were Highland clansmen – the only Jacobites within Great Britain that retained an armed capacity. However, few western clans played an active role and no Highland chief gave the rising unqualified support.
- Majority of Scotland's population was anti-Catholic. Whig and Hanoverian propaganda successfully separated Protestantism and Jacobitism, as a result support for the Stuarts became synonymous with Catholicism.
- Stuarts were inextricably linked with opposition to the Union, yet the Union guaranteed the Presbyterian Church. Thus, the Jacobites failed to gain the support of the Kirk which enjoyed a near total control of the lowland population in the early eighteenth century.
- Similarly, although the Jacobites committed themselves to the re-establishment of the Scottish parliament, the Stuarts had a record of hostility towards the institution as reigning monarchs.

English Support

- The small force of Northumbrian Jacobites which joined with Jacobites from the Scottish borders represented the total English contingent, and was the only occasion when English Jacobites raised and led their own host in any rising.
- Lacking effective leadership and purpose, and suspicious of their Scottish allies, they were encircled and defeated at Preston on the 12th of November.

Foreign Support

- Jacobitism allowed Britain's enemies an opportunity to gain military advantage during a period rivalry and continual warfare. Thus, French and Spanish policy was inconsistent and self-interested.
- French support was vital – France was the greatest military power of the age.
- In 1702 Louis XIV recognised James VIII as the King of Great Britain, while in 1708 France committed substantial naval and military resources to support Scottish Jacobites. However, during 1715 support was not forthcoming as the Duke of Orleans inherited power from Louis XIV.
- Spain did supply some financial assistance to the rising, but no military aid.
- Following 1715, Scottish Jacobites declared their participation in any future rising would be dependent on foreign assistance.
- High quality candidates may argue that French support, or lack of, further undermined the Jacobite cause as the concept of a returning Catholic monarch, backed by a foreign Catholic army was unlikely to win popular support in Scotland.

Hanoverian response

- Hanoverian army led by John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll – an able commander, thorough effective and open to his officers' advice.
- Tactical superior of Mar. Succeeded in forcing a stalemate at Sherriffmuir despite being outnumbered by three to one.

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

- **Mackillop:** confirms the inadequate response from English Jacobites – *in England Jacobitism was nearly always a social form of political disaffection which preferred getting on the wrong side of a claret bottle than a bullet or bayonet.*
- **Lynch:** focuses on Sherriffmuir, stressing the importance of a first major victory that never came to galvanise support amongst sympathetic, but hesitant Jacobite supporters.
- **Devine:** *In 1715 there had been a real chance of Stuart counter-revolution. Opportunities for real progress were there, but they had literally been thrown away by inept leadership.*
- **Pittock:** an influential critic of Mar, he dismisses his leadership in concise terms. *Mar was more interested in diluting his army's effectiveness than using it.*

Question 2

How important a factor were the methods of the tobacco lords in establishing Glasgow as the "tobacco metropolis of Western Europe"?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the various factors which contributed to the spectacular success of Glasgow's tobacco industry. A high quality answer should discriminate between legal and illegal methods and compare the significance of these practices against other relevant factors, arriving at a balanced conclusion.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Methods used by the Tobacco Lords

- Development of smuggling on a huge scale enabled Glasgow's merchants to exploit the opportunity for trade with America by undercutting their English rivals including Liverpool, London and Whitehaven.
- Estimated that in the two decades following the Treaty of Union Scottish merchants paid duty on only a half to two thirds of their colonial imports. A balanced comment will note that the reorganisation of the customs service in 1723 reduced the scale of illicit practices.
- Close family partnerships and clannish alliances allowed the tobacco lords to manipulate burgh politics. Notably, the dominant role of the city's Merchant House ensured local policy making pertaining to the provision of infrastructure, including the dredging of the Clyde and the improvement of harbouring facilities, were prioritised to the advantage of the tobacco barons.
- Improved port facilities allowed merchants to abandon satellite ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow by the 1750s as over 200 wharves and jetties were able to support ocean-going ships.
- Tradition of sending young men to Virginia as part of their mercantile training gave Glasgow's merchants further advantage, consolidating relationships with Scots-American emigrants many of whom became important figures in the plantation economies of Virginia and Maryland.
- Efficient business methods reduced costs through innovations in purchasing, marketing and shipping, enabling Glasgow to account for 40% of UK tobacco trade by 1765.
- In particular, the store system allowed lower purchase prices and faster turnaround times, while increased ownership rather than chartering of ships reduced costs further.
- The tobacco lords were noted for their willingness to invest in a wide range of industries, founding the city's first three banks. Industrial developments, such as shipbuilding innovation and the pioneering construction of dry docks (1762) was supported by the commercial enterprise of the tobacco lords, which in turn led to more efficient trade through a considerable multiplier effect.

Geography

- Whatley notes that a key period of expansion, 1739-40, during the War of Jenkin's Ear, was beneficial for Glasgow as the passage around the north of Ireland was significantly safer than more southern routes.
- Glasgow's location gave fortuitous access to Atlantic trade, enabling shorter sea crossings and resultantly lower freight costs across the Atlantic.
- Higher quality responses will be careful to note that any comment regarding Glasgow's location should not be overstated, given 90% of all tobacco was re-exported east to European markets.

Treaty of Union

- Pre-1707 Scottish tobacco trade small scale – Scottish merchants prevented from trading directly with English colonies by the Navigation Laws.
- The Union guaranteed free trade to the colonies and the English home markets, providing a context within which the growth of the industry was possible.
- Massive expansion in the Glasgow tobacco trade in the years immediately after the Union in sharp contrast to the stagnation of the trade across the rest of Britain – Glasgow was the only part of Scotland thriving in the politically sensitive year of 1715.
- Continuation of illicit practices tolerated partly because Scotland was now within the Union. Benign British rulers would have been unlikely to have afforded such an attitude to foreign competitors.
- Scottish ships now sailed under the protection of the Royal Navy's cruisers and 'strong convoys'.

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

- **Lynch:** argues that the Tobacco Lords' methods were instrumental to the success of the industry, particularly in the early eighteenth century. *The tobacco trade until the mid-1720s grew not through the new opportunities offered by free trade but through the long-honed skills of Scottish merchants of carrying on an illicit trade evading customs regulations. The enterprising Scot in the 1707 generation was often the smuggler or black marketeer.*
- **Devine:** emphasises the impact of illicit methods used by Glasgow merchants which were so widespread as to cause fierce resentment in England. *The view from Westminster was that Scots were not paying their way through taxation because of the enormous scale of smuggling and systematic revenue fraud…research has confirmed that between 1707 and 1722 Scots paid duty on only half their imports from Virginia and Maryland.*
- **Whatley:** Acknowledges the colonial trade opportunities afforded by the Treaty of the Union, though ultimately stresses the illegal practices of the tobacco lords *much of their success was based on their ability to evade on a massive scale and bend to their own advantage the customs regulations.*
- **Smout:** *Glasgow found it had to push hard (and smuggle hard) to muscle in on a market occupied for a century by English merchants.*

Question 3

"Urban areas had become the dominant presence in the society and economy of Scotland by 1800." How valid is this description of the growth of Scottish towns and cities during the eighteenth century?

The aim of this essay is to assess the extent and nature of the growth of Scottish towns and cities by the end of the eighteenth century. Essays should analyse the migration of the rural population to Scotland's cities during a time of unprecedented population growth. In response to the deliberate wording of the question, candidates should also define the growth of cities beyond mere size of population, accounting for both social and economic change. A recognition of regional trends may feature in high quality responses. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Patterns of population growth

- Scottish population: 1707 estimated – 1 million; 1755 – Webster's survey 1 265 000; 1801 census – 1 608 000.

Evidence which may suggest urban areas dominated Scotland's society and economy

- Growth in the population of towns considerably outstripped that of the countryside. In 1750 – 9% of the population lived in towns – by 1800 this figure had doubled, by which time nearly 1 in 4 Scots lived in towns or cities.
- In a league of urbanised European countries Scotland progressed from 10th in 1700, to 7th in 1750 and 4th in 1800.
- Growth of towns was most pronounced in the western burghs of the Clyde valley. Between 1755 and 1801 the populations of Falkirk and Kilmarnock doubled, while Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley more than trebled. This spectacular growth was largely due to the initial stages of industrialisation.
- Edinburgh and the eastern seaports including Leith, Dundee and Aberdeen also experienced significant, if less rapid expansion.
- Edinburgh's New Town was imbued with political significance, its street names confirming the new Whig Scotland's loyalty to the House of Hanover. It also redefined class divisions, as the urban poor remained in the old town.
- Glasgow's western district consisted of thirteen new streets and squares. Perth and Aberdeen had analogous, smaller scale developments.
- These developments resulted in new middle class urban communities; provide a contrasting model of urban development from that associated with industrialisation and the arrival of workers from the countryside.
- The administrative, judicial and economic role of towns and especially cities was reinforced and redefined, partly as a result of the emergence of town planning. New public buildings and open spaces emerged, such as Glasgow's Chamber of Commerce and George Square.
- Scotland's rapid rate of economic growth in the late eighteenth century was at least partly due to the increased urbanisation and resultant greater concentration of consumers and producers enlarged pools of labour and external economies such as reduced transport costs.

Evidence which may suggest urban areas did not dominate Scotland's society and economy

- Every rural region of Scotland registered population growth during the late eighteenth century.
- Although the urban population was growing faster than that of the countryside, the rural population remained a far larger proportion of the total Scottish population at the end of the eighteenth century.
- The agricultural revolution transformed the rural economy. Increased production and productivity and the re-organisation of agricultural practice significantly increased output. Devine estimates that vegetable production doubled while animal production increased sixfold between 1750 and 1820.
- Substantial increases in food production provided the foundation for both industrialisation and urbanisation.
- Rural hinterlands became steadily more prosperous, resulting in increased incomes of tenant farmers and landlords.
- Vast majority of the population employed in agriculture or rural based industry.
- Early industrialisation was not necessarily an urban phenomenon – in 1795 rural Renfrewshire had more cotton spinning mills than Glasgow. Water powered mills often required rural locations including New Lanark and Deanston. Steam power not widely adopted until after 1800.
- Other major industries including pig iron manufacture and coal mining were often located in villages.
- By the 1830s an estimated two thirds of Scottish weavers lived in villages and small towns.
- Aside from Inverness, complete absence of significant urban development in the Highlands.
- Continued pre-eminence of elite landed gentry.

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

Smout: concludes that urbanisation impacted on a minority of the Scottish population by the end of the eighteenth century – *even by 1830 a great many more people lived in a rural environment, as they always had done, than in a town…as late as 1820 seven Scots out of ten still lived in rural communities: the farm and the village were still not replaced as the typical social environment in which a man spent his life.*

Devine: emphasises the extent and rapidity of urbanisation in the latter eighteenth century. *Town expansion in Scotland…was altogether more abrupt and swift. The towns were no longer adjuncts to an overwhelmingly rural social order, but had become the dynamic centres of economic change.*

Nenadic: underlines the inherent difficulty in drawing definitive conclusions when examining population migration in eighteenth century Scotland due to the prevalence of temporary migration. *Though a minority of the population lived permanently in towns at this time, many who lived in the countryside spent some part of their life in a town or city.*

Question 4

How important a factor was the French Revolution in explaining political unrest in Scotland in the 1790s?

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to analyse the nature and development of Scottish society in the last decade of the eighteenth century by assessing the relative impact made by the ideals associated with the French Revolution. An examination of Scottish society immediately prior to the French Revolution could provide an appropriate context which can be set against the increased political activity of the early 1790s. The conclusion will be a balanced assessment of the evidence presented.

Candidates may introduce their response by analysing evidence which predates the French Revolution such as:

- The impact of the teachings of Enlightenment figures such as Francis Hutcheson and that of American independence, and the dissemination of associated ideas through pamphlets and newsletters.
- 1782-3 burgh reform movement launched by Thomas McGrugar (Zeno). Freeholders agitating for county franchise representing most counties in Scotland met in Edinburgh, though ambitions were limited to modest reforms extending the franchise to the propertied classes.
- Increased interest in political affairs indicated by increase in the number of newspapers, from 8 in 1782 to 27 by 1790 and their increasingly politicised content.
- Higher quality responses may balance the previous point with the seemingly contradictory evidence generated by Scottish elections. Thus it is possible to argue the years immediately preceding the French Revolution were characterised by political apathy and indifference due to rampant corruption – only 9 county and burgh elections contested in 1790.

Factors which may suggest the French Revolution's impact was significant:

- February 1791 publication of volume 1 of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* generated significant interest in the ideas associated with the French Revolution 'well beyond the political classes'. Paine's writings went beyond reform and were genuinely revolutionary including universal suffrage.
- Candidates should identify 1792 as the key year, the watershed being the failure of constitutional monarchy in France which was replaced by more radical republican government. This triggered a wave of politicised activity in Scotland much of which was specifically targeted at Henry Dundas, Home Secretary, whom many Scots identified as the personification of the establishment. Volume 2 of Paine's *Rights of Man* was also published. By the end of 1793 over 200 000 copies had been sold across Britain.
- Agitation represented new popular opposition.

Key events 1792:

- July – establishment of the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People, rapid expansion and assembly of the British National Convention of the Friends of the People in November. Candidates may note that revolutionary objectives were rejected in favour of 'moderate firm and constitutional proceedings'.
- August – King's birthday riots across Scotland including Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen. In Edinburgh riots culminated in an attack on the residence of Henry Dundas. Riots continued sporadically through 1792 across Scotland.
- Numerous instances of public disorder across Scotland indicate a popular anger against 'Old Corruption' including the erection of liberty poles, planting of trees of liberty, wearing of the redcaps, torching of Dundas effigies and further rioting
- Establishment of localised 'Societies of the Friends of General Reform'
- Cultural references – Burns poem, 'A man's a man for aw that'.

Severity of government response indicating significant impact:

- Supported by Robert Dundas, the Lord Advocate, the Court of Justiciary led by Lord Braxfield issued harsh sentences to protestors including Thomas Muir who was deported to Australia and Robert Watt who was executed.
- 1793 ownership of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* declared an act of treason – Devine notes this simply increased its popularity. Norman MacLeod, MP for Inverness observed the government action *acted like an electric shock: it set people of all ranks a reading*.
- 1793, following France's declaration of war, lawyers, teachers, tradesmen and shopkeepers of allegedly 'Jacobin' sympathies were dismissed or boycotted.
- Ministers of the Kirk declared parliamentary reform a threat to Christianity.

Factors which may suggest the impact of the French Revolution was limited:

- In addition to political discontent, economic and social factors contributed significantly to the unrest of the 1790s.
- In 1792 corn prices reached a 10 year high while agricultural improvement caused large scale population displacement.
- Gross exaggeration to state that the majority of the Scottish population became politicised. Even at its height, unrest was localised and sporadic.

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

- **Devine:** *the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 changed everything and set the scene for an unprecedented challenge to the existing regime… the ideas of the revolution had a catalytic effect and gave fresh impetus to political discussion.*
- **Whatley:** argues that the initial stimulus for much of the political activity was a lack of burgh reform and the corruption of political patronage rather than a direct stimulus from the French Revolution.
- **Murdoch:** notes that, although many of the ideas associated with the French Revolution are universal constitutional issues, the Scottish reaction was uniquely focused on Henry Dundas as the established representation of the status quo.

Question 5

To what extent does John Cockburn of Ormiston deserve to be considered the most significant contributor to Scotland's agricultural revolution?

The aim of this essay is for candidates to ascertain which of the improvers made the greatest contribution to the Scottish agricultural revolution. Candidates should interpret individual improvers contributions in their fullest sense, encapsulating themes such as influence upon contemporaries through their ideas, scale of improvements undertaken, the dissemination of good husbandry through influential texts and wider achievement beyond the obvious improving of their own lands. There are numerous improvers who may be considered and comparison of a range of individuals should be credited, though candidates should not be penalised for omitting any particular individual. Using the relevant evidence, a balanced conclusion may then be made.

The candidate might compare the achievements of:

John Cockburn of Ormiston

- An early improver of the first generation, and thus a genuine pioneer.
- Unusual in that beyond economic gain Cockburn can be considered a cultural improver. Cockburn was pro Union, and believed agricultural improvement would allow Scotland to justify its place in eighteenth century Britain.
- Between 1714 and 1746 Cockburn oversaw a far reaching programme of improvement. All steadings were rebuilt, enclosure, hedge planting.
- Paid for tenants and their sons to learn husbandry in England.
- Granted unheard of 19 year leases in exchange for tenants agreements binding them to improve the land at their expense, emulating Cockburn's improvements on his home farm.
- Unlike typical gentry of the era, Cockburn adopted an active interest, continually inspecting husbandry and even corresponding directly with tenants when on business in London.
- Re-built the local farm-toun into the 'new-town' of Ormiston providing a market for surplus produce and facilities including a brewery, distillery and bleachfield.
- 1747 – Cockburn declared bankrupt, however it may be argued that a lack of success as a businessman and having an impact upon the agricultural revolution may not necessarily be incompatible. Many of his tenants continued in their improved husbandry whilst benefiting from the material infrastructure which became his legacy.

Archibald Grant of Monymusk

- Like Cockburn, Grant was an MP, wealthy landowner and pioneer improver whose efforts to modernise the husbandry practised on his lands ran in parallel with Cockburn's.
- Proved improvement was compatible with sound business practice, restoring through necessity his family fortune through the implementation of efficient methods.
- Invested heavily in infrastructure, such as his planned village of Archiestown to provide not only a marketplace but also employment in textile manufacture.
- Imported European workers to instruct on agricultural and industrial techniques.

Sir John Sinclair

- Influential landowner who actively involved himself in the encouragement of his tenants to adopt improvement.
- Prominent member of the Board of Agriculture and the Highland and Agricultural Society Sinclair instigated agricultural research and investigation on a vast scale, culminating in editing the Statistical Accounts and the General Views of Agriculture.
- Prolific, widely read author who denounced customary practice, which he claimed relied upon implements 'of the worst description' ensuring 'all attempts at improvement would be in vain'.
- Numerous publications provided an important impetus for progressive ideas.
- Financed new and improved infrastructure including the redesign of Caithness and the establishment of Thurso.

Thomas Hope of Rankeillor

- Member of the gentry who toured England and Europe in search of agricultural innovation.
- Instrumental in forming and running Edinburgh's Honourable Society of Improvers which itself was instrumental in disseminating knowledge of the new husbandry.
- Became particularly adept in the use of drainage, gaining repute for the draining of Edinburgh's south loch which was replaced by the meadows.

Henry Home, Lord Kames

- Prolific agricultural author and publicist Kames wrote extensively on the importance of the practical application of science in agriculture most famously in his publication of the influential 'Gentleman Farmer' 1776.
- Commissioned extensive agricultural studies to record and publicise best agricultural practice.
- Provided capital for ambitious rural transport improvements including road improvements, bridges and the cutting of canals.
- Gained fame for the scale of his improvements on his Blair Drummond estate which included the drainage and cultivation of 330 acres of marsh, described by a contemporary as *the most singular and considerable improvement in Scotland*.

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

- **Smout:** identifies Cockburn as being particularly important in applying and dissemination improved farming practice. *It is impossible not to be impressed by the energy and vision with which a man like John Cockburn of Ormiston burst open the high walls of tradition on his estate.*
- **Whatley:** notes Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk's considerable investment in infrastructure in both planned towns and associated industry.
- **Adams:** confirms Lord Kames influence upon contemporaries courtesy of the enormous scale of improvement at Blair Drummond.
- **Devine:** emphasises the pivotal role of the individual improvers as a collective force in the promotion of agricultural change. *The landed class was at the heart of the process, not necessarily through routine personal involvement by at a more strategic level through the support they gave to their professional factors.*

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715-1800)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the reasons for the changes in Scottish schooling 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 A** as an adequate explanation of the reasons for the changes which took place in Scottish schooling, in terms of:

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

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- The Kirk no longer had absolute control as the largeness of some parishes encouraged the development of alternative schooling.
- A growing demand for literacy encouraged the rapid growth of private schools.
- The rise of business and the professions led to fundamental changes in subjects taught and the type of teachers employed.
- Financial necessity encouraged some teachers to broaden the curriculum.

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

- Rapid population growth, migration and the parish school system were incompatible, diluting the Kirk's control over the schooling of the growing non-rural population.
- Although the Kirk's influence remained strong, as Ministers and elders appointed masters and supervised instruction in parish schools, a general secularisation of society was gradually weakening its influence.
- The foundation of town academies providing an intensive education in 'modern' subjects represented an even more radical response to the demands of the business and professional communities.
- The success of town academies, such as Ayr, Stirling and Perth focus on 'new subjects' with specific links to commerce led to an expansion of the academy movement acting in itself as a powerful agent of change.

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

- The reformation had used education to instil Christian adherence to children. However, secularisation across Scottish society created considerable social pressure for change.
- Scottish schools were becoming more varied – burgh grammars and academies were augmented by numerous private institutions. All of these schools were out with the direct control of the Kirk providing greater choice for parents thus providing further impetus for change.
- University reform permeated down to schools, partly as a legacy of the reformation's attempts to create an integrated system of education.
- Significant regional variation existed between rural and urban development. Urbanisation placed significant strain on increasingly densely populated town's grammar schools.
- Town councils played an important role in the development of grammar schools, emphasising the study of Latin and progression to the Universities.
- The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) supplemented the parish system in the Highlands for evangelical and political purpose.

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

- **Withrington:** acknowledges the strength of the partnership between the state and Kirk in developing Scottish schools during the eighteenth century – *the state…gave parliamentary backing for the funding of a parochial school system and the church acted as managers for the whole enterprise.*
- **Mackie:** emphasises the powerful position of the Kirk upon Scottish education. *a…result of clerical insistence was an Act of 1696 compelling the heritors of every parish to provide a commodious house for a school. By the early 1690s Scotland appears to have had extraordinarily good provision for schooling.*
- **Smout:** in recognition of its expansion and rate of change Smout labels eighteenth century education 'a growth industry, arguing that the changing nature of education, reflected its changing purpose which was largely due to the demands of the emerging middle and professional classes.
- **Herman:** links the role of the Kirk, and in particular the Education Act of 1696, with the relatively high rate of literacy. *One thing is certain: Scotland's literacy rate would be higher than that of any other country by the end of 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 **Source A** is helpful in explaining the reasons for the changes in Scottish schooling in the eighteenth century.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1745?   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 reasons for the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1745 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- Charles's esteem of his Highland army was exaggerated leading to over-confidence in their potential.
- Early in the '45, Government troops were poorly trained and this led Charles to underestimate the Government troops.
- an ill-chosen field – this greatly favoured conventional British tactics and weaponry.
- the Highland troops were not effectively commanded.

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

- Victory at Prestonpans on the 20th of September was total. Cope was a very ordinary general. His force of 2500 was disposed of decisively in twenty minutes. Thus, Charles's admiration of his Highland army was within a clear context.
- The invasion of England was partly justified by the ease of victory at Prestonpans and their ability to defend 'fortress Scotland'.
- Culloden Moor suited the tactics and updated techniques of the Hanoverian army, such as Cumberland's reformed bayonet drill and the use of grape shot.

Source C

Provenance: Relevant comment on authorship.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- French support was vital to the success of the rising – Charles should not have started the rising by raising his royal standard without it.
- Mr O'Sullivan, whom you trusted with most essential things, was exceedingly unfit and committed terrible blunders – his orders were completely confused.
- Tactics of the Government forces with their front fire and flanking us when we went upon the attack destroyed us without any possibility of our breaking them.
- You trusted Mr Hay to order provisions The Jacobite army lacked appropriate supplies, leaving the Highlanders starving prior to battle.

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

- Charles's seven hundred professional French soldiers and munitions never landed, being forced to return to France after bombardment by HMS Lion. Further French assistance was extremely limited and a full invasion, despite Charles's rhetoric, was never promised.
- Advised by O'Sullivan, Charles insisted on fighting an orthodox defensive action at Culloden despite opposition from a number of his senior officers led by Lord George Murray.
- Food, and critically money, were running short by April 1746. Charles's army was underfed, underpaid and in an increasingly desperate situation.

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

- Lord George Murray was the military genius of the Jacobite army. Throughout the campaign he favoured a more cautious, defensive strategy than Charles with whom he had a volatile relationship.
- The 'fortress Scotland' policy favoured by Charles and some of his senior officers including Lochiel was, according to Pittock, strategically inept. He states that the rapid capture of London was never likely if Scotland was used as the landing point of the rising.

Other factors which led to the failure of the rising include:

- Regionalised support in Scotland – little support in the Lowlands and outright opposition in Glasgow and the west. Uneven support throughout the Highlands.
- Lack of support in England. Charles' disingenuous assurances of pledges from English Tories undermined his leadership when they failed to materialise.
- Charles's authority was further undermined by his promise of French invasion and refusal to participate in the command of his army during the retreat from Derby.
- Factionalism within the Jacobite command. Most celebrated was the fractious relationship between Charles and Lord George Murray. However, there were frequent disagreements amongst others, as seen by the council's decisions to invade England and retreat from Derby.
- Charles's Catholicism was a propaganda gift for the Hanoverians who portrayed him as a foreigner from Italy, the home of popery.
- The abortive night raid on Cumberland's camp prior to Culloden.

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

- **Szechi:** critical of Charles's tactics and leadership throughout the rising *his strategic vision was poor.*
- **Pittock:** downplays the likelihood of France committing to an invasion *Charles himself was an embarrassment to France, who wished to downplay his importance to some of its allies.*
- **Devine:** emphasises the lack of support for Charles's cause rather than the specific events at Culloden. *Scottish backing during the rising was remarkably thin on the ground long before the crushing defeat of Culloden; it was this together with the virtual disappearance of support in England rather than force of arms in itself which ultimately ended the last hopes of restoration.*

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 reasons why the Jacobite rising of 1745 failed.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as evidence of social change in the Highlands in the late eighteenth century?   **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 D** as evidence of social change in the Highlands in the late eighteenth century, in terms of.

Provenance:

- Samuel Johnson was a famous literary figure of the eighteenth century, publishing poetry, essays and most famously The Dictionary of the English Language.
- Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* is one of the most detailed descriptions of Highland life in the late eighteenth century and is recognised as a monument of English literature and Highland history.
- An Englishman, Johnson's motivation was to observe the traditions and lives of the Gaelic speaking inhabitants of Scotland.
- His book was written in the company of the famous biographer James Boswell, and described their tour of the western Highlands, Hebrides and the lowlands.

Points from the Source:

- Conflict between the chief's need to increase their revenue and consequent increase in rent.
- The Highlander's inability to pay increased rent and eviction.
- The decline in clanship as commercial tenants replace clan members, as clan chiefs become landlords.
- Describes the consequential emigration of the Highlanders in significant numbers.

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

- *Duthchas* – the traditional role of the clan chief to provide protection and land to his people was, at its essence, a principle of heart and mind. Traditional clan land management prioritised accessible landholding rather than the maximisation of agricultural production for a market economy.
- Increasing consumerism amongst chiefs, including the purchase of second homes, furniture and clothing grew in parallel with unprecedented rent increases – Glengarry rentals increased 472% between 1768 and 1802.
- A new commercial tenant emerged. Usually Lowland or English, they had little ethnic or hereditary link to the clan chief.
- The competitive allocation of land to the highest bidder was a major causal factor in the emigration of Highlanders in unprecedented numbers.

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

- The decline in clan values was a long-term trend preceding the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, by the 1770s there was an acceleration in the rate of social change.
- Commercial forces which pressurised the social contract of clanship as southern markets grew for Highland products such as cattle and timber.
- Increasing absenteeism of clan elites who established second homes in London or Edinburgh was symptomatic of societal change in the Highlands.
- Significant emigration from the Highlands began in the 1730s, primarily from Argyll and Sutherland.
- Some Highlanders were forcibly evicted – others were compelled by financial necessity, while some simply chose to leave.
- Although recent historiography has placed less emphasis on the impact of Culloden and government legislation on the decline in clanship, government intervention reinforced the long term decline in Gaeldom.
- Societal change also included the demise of the traditional township (baile), the disappearance of the tacksmen, the migration to coastal land and the widespread introduction of commercial sheep farming.

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

- **Cameron:** confirms the acceleration of clearance in the 1780s and underlines the importance of both the introduction of sheep and the demand for men for military service during the American War of Independence.
- **Devine:** emphasises the role of a massive increase in demand for Highland produce which led to the destruction of traditional Highland society. *There were already signs that profit was starting to take precedence over the ancient social responsibilities of the elites… evidence suggests that this social contract was already under acute pressure in some parts of Gaeldom even before the '45.*
- **Macquarrie:** the demise of clanship was caused by *commercial productivity and profitability replacing kinship as the means to organise relations between Highland elites and their clansmen.*

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 social change in the Highlands in the late eighteenth century.

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

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was the Kansas-Nebraska Act the most significant reason for the emergence of the Republican Party by 1856?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the reasons for the formation of the Republican Party by 1856 and in particular, assess the importance of the Kansas-Nebraska Act as one of several reasons for the emergence of the Republican Party. The candidate would be expected to analyse the importance of the Kansas-Nebraska Act as part of the long and short term reasons for the emergence of the Republicans. In this way the candidate may reach a balanced conclusion regarding the importance of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in the emergence of the Republican Party by 1856.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Awakened the spectre of the slave power.
- Prompted a coalition of anti-slavery groups eg Anti-Nebraska Party, The People's Party and Republicans.
- Stephen Douglas' repeal of the Missouri Compromise caused outrage in the North.
- The competition for control of Kansas sparked a race between pro-slave and free soil settlers giving a focal point for the Northern political voice.
- Lecompton versus Topeka state legislatures in Kansas.
- 'Bleeding Kansas'.

Southern political power, Anti-Slavery sentiment & Slave Power Conspiracy

- Many Northern Democrat voters sought a new political party as the Democrats were dominated by Southern opinion.
- Democrat control of the Presidency for nearly fifty years.
- Five out of seven Supreme Court judges were from Southern States.
- The Democrats appeared to be committed to advance the cause of slavery; hence the Slave Power Conspiracy theory which dominated Northern thinking.
- 'Bleeding Sumner'.
- Northerners opposed slavery's extension into the territories.
- Republicans viewed slavery as restricting the South's economic growth.
- The Republicans were one of a number of anti-slavery coalitions in the North.

Nativism

- Mass immigration from Europe to Northern cities.
- Rise of the 'American Party' or Know Nothings.
- Strong link between the hierarchy of the Democratic Party and the Catholic Church.
- Most Catholics voted Democrat.
- Religious and political opposition to immigration but critically social and economic motivations also.
- However not all Republicans held Nativist views. Lincoln famously stated his opposition to the Know Nothings in 1855.
- Perhaps a degree of inevitability that the Know Nothings would be dominated by a Northern coalition movement.

Collapse of the Whigs

- The rise of new political movements in the North won mass support in 1854 elections – Whigs ceased to be a main political force.
- The Democrats seriously lost out in 1854 elections.
- Division of Whigs into sections following Kansas Nebraska Act.
- Issues of temperance, anti-immigration, anti-Catholicism fatally divided Whigs.

Northern Economic Policies

- The protective tariff.
- Concept of 'free labour'.
- Government aid for internal improvements and the desire for a homestead law.
- Multi-faceted appeal of the Republicans – a rainbow coalition of Northern ideals.

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

- **McPherson:** Republican Party developed a free-labour rationale for their vision of capitalist development. Counter Southern attacks upon system of wages and division of labour. Republican support came from upwardly mobile Protestants and farmers operating within the national market.
- **Tulloch:** Birth of Republican Party in aftermath of the Kansas – Nebraska controversy. Republicans attracted those opposed to Southern determination to maintain slavery.
- **Craven:** Accused Republicans of seeing slavery as a personal sin and of Southerners as 'un-American'.
- **Beard:** Republicans were vehicle to establish supremacy of Northern capitalism throughout the USA.
- **Farmer:** Given its ideas, it was believed the Republican Party could never be more than a Northern sectional party – rescued by events in Kansas.
- **Gienapp:** Republicans united in opposition to 'slave power'. Know-Nothings had eroded previous party loyalties.
- **Reid:** Political evangelicalism permeated the developing Republican Party. Sectional issue crucial to Republican philosophy.

Question 2

How justified is the view that military operations in the Western theatre were at least as important as those in the Eastern theatre in the course of the Civil War?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the importance of the Western Theatre to Union military strategy. The candidate could choose to analyse the issue as part of the debate over 'East versus West.' The candidate could consider the extent to which Confederate Strategy appeared to ignore the importance of the Western Theatre in favour of the Virginian Theatre thus allowing the candidate to reach a balanced conclusion regarding the importance of military operations in the Western Theatre to eventual Union victory in the Civil War.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Western Theatre – the key to military strategy

- Potential for Union victory in the West was great due to its sheer size, its lack of natural defence lines and rivers flowing into the heart of the Confederacy.
- Grant's successes in February 1862 opened up the South's 'soft underbelly'.
- Battle of Shiloh prevented the Confederacy regaining the initiative in the west.
- The capture of Vicksburg opened up the Mississippi to Union shipping and split the Confederacy in two.
- Key Union military victories dealt severe blows to Confederate morale eg Battle of Murfreesboro forcing Bragg's army into retreat, Battles of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge forcing Confederate forces to retreat into Georgia in disarray.
- The experiences on the battlefield in the Western theatre would be critical for generals such as Grant and Halleck when they came to fight in the East.
- Union successes in the West ultimately opened up the route for Sherman's march on Atlanta in summer 1864.

Difficulties for Union strategy in the West

- Key problems organising its Western forces.
- Problems of command and control.
- Difficulties in communication and therefore coordinating a strategy.
- Union had to police areas conquered, therefore tying up men that could have been used to fight elsewhere.
- Difficulties in guarding an extremely long supply line.

Virginian/Eastern Theatre

- 'Forward to Richmond' from Northern press encouraging victory by capturing the Confederate capital.
- This is where the most decisive battles took place!.
- Grant versus Lee.
- Army of Potomac versus Army of Northern Virginia.
- The Naval Blockade restricted trade and supplies entering and leaving the Confederacy. The 'Anaconda Plan' was critical to eventual Union victory allowing the Union land forces to enforce its superior 'manpower and resources.'

Difficulties for the Union in the Virginian Theatre

- Union forces faced real difficulty in the Virginian theatre with determined defence of Virginia eg 'Stonewall' Jackson at First Manassas/Bull Run in July 1861.
- Earlier victories gave the Confederate forces in Virginia an 'esprit de corps' and allowed the Confederates to ensure reinforcements to defend the line along the Potomac River.
- But the Confederacy with its defence of Virginia would struggle even more than Union forces to fight in the Western theatre.

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

- **Tulloch:** Grant realised the importance of grasping the details of ammunition, supplies and transport. Whilst victory in the West was a necessary pre-requisite for Northern victory, it did not guarantee it *per se*;
- **Fuller:** critical of Lee for ignoring Western theatre;
- **Liddell Hart:** Sherman understood the concept of deep strategic penetration;
- **Connelly:** North's most able commanders began duty in the West;
- **Jones:** critical of Lee for depriving West of men and reinforcements. Union had to rely on supplies brought by river and rail to supplement what they could find in the area;
- **Reid:** Western theatre posed problems of command for all generals, North and South;
- **Parish:** After February 1862, the South lost much of its confidence in its ability to defend its western front.

Question 3

To what extent have criticisms of Jefferson Davis as a wartime leader been exaggerated?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess Davis's political abilities in his leadership of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. Candidates may make a comparison with Abraham Lincoln but this should not be the sole consideration of the essay. Rather the candidate should consider Davis's strengths and limitations with possible reference to Lincoln as a comparison thus reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the validity of the criticisms of Jefferson Davis' wartime leadership of the Confederacy.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Criticisms exaggerated

- Davis had a respected military and administrative background, proving himself as a Mexican war hero and in the US Senate as War Secretary.
- Davis had a realistic view of the war's length.
- He was poorly advised by many Confederate generals eg Lee could have advised Davis to change the Confederate capital.
- Davis established the Confederacy and put a decent political team in position from nothing in 1860.
- Lee held Davis in high regard.
- Davis gave key military commanders freedom and trust.
- He made difficult and bold decisions eg imposing martial law on areas threatened by Union invasion or higher taxation on land, cotton and slaves.
- Dedication to the Southern cause and worked hard to establish a sense of Confederate nationalism.
- The Confederacy did fight for four years under his leadership.

Criticisms justified

- Davis did not clearly define and express his war aims for the Confederacy.
- Davis struggled to manage competing factions within the Confederate Government.
- Davis was criticised by his own war department staff for his lack of knowledge and interference. Vice President Stephens called Davis 'My poor blind and deaf dog.'
- Beauregard and Johnston both blamed Davis for military failure.
- Davis did not deal effectively with the problems facing the Confederacy which resulted from the length of the war eg morale and food shortages.
- Davis struggled to control state governors which cost him and the Confederate cause dearly eg Vance and Brown.
- Davis struggled to establish good working relations with many of his political colleagues. His personality seems to have made him more enemies than friends. Constant feuds in his government undermined the Confederate war effort eg during the war he appointed four Secretaries of State and six Secretaries of War.
- Davis had poor judgement and ability to appoint effectively, both politically and militarily.
- He was well known for his indecision.
- Disastrous Confederate economy.
- Davis left foreign policy to others in his government. He failed to ensure a proactive diplomatic effort, rather expecting events during the Civil War to achieve his diplomatic aims. He also relied too heavily on the importance of cotton on achieving his diplomatic aims.

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

- **Potter:** *If the Union and the Confederacy had exchanged presidents with one another, the Confederacy might have won its independence.*
- **Katcher:** Davis narrow-minded, vindictive to imagined slights, not prepared to compromise
- **Gallagher:** Davis did do well, just an absence of capable subordinates.
- **Vandiver:** Many failings but Davis did have "nerve".
- **Eaton:** At many points during the Civil War it could be argued that it was impossible for Davis and the Confederacy to achieve victory in the Civil War.
- **Rhodes:** *…far behind Lincoln as a compeller of men.*

Question 4

"It seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected."

How valid is Lincoln's assessment of the difficulties he faced during the 1864 Presidential campaign?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the comparative depth of wartime difficulties facing the North in 1864. Candidates may choose to concentrate on the 1864 Presidential Election as a springboard for wider discussion or take a chronological approach. Both are acceptable but should be marked according to the complexity of their arguments. Candidates would be expected to look beyond the politics of Washington by considering the military and domestic difficulties facing Lincoln and his administration thus reaching a balanced conclusion of the difficulties facing Lincoln during the 1864 Presidential election campaign.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Military difficulties:

- Low level of success in Western and Eastern Theatre at start of the year, eg, Grant's Wilderness Campaign, Sigel in Shenandoah, Sherman at Kennesaw Mountain.
- Army of the Potomac had mixed degree of success in early 1864 despite superior manpower eg Grant's Wilderness Campaign, May/June 1864 and Cold Harbour, June 1864.
- Casualty figures very high, 32 000 5-12 May 1864 – "Butcher" Grant & apparent failure of Total War tactics.
- Enlistment difficulties & use of "green" black troops.

Military successes:

- Grant's perseverance resulted in a change of fortunes from June 1864 threatening Petersburg and Richmond forcing Lee and the Confederates into a defensive formation.
- Success of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley.
- Siege & capture of Atlanta by Sherman and the capture of Mobile by Farragut reduced casualties or placed Union troops closer to success.
- Capture of Atlanta was a significant morale boost to Northern morale and Lincoln's campaign.
- Military success eventually reduced problems on the home front.

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

Northern domestic issues in favour of Lincoln:

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

Political difficulties for Lincoln:

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

Political advantages for Lincoln:

- Democrats chose McClellan as their candidate but could not agree on a platform for election being divided by peace and continuation of the war.
- Democrat campaign lacked serious political challenge, resorting to calling Lincoln a "negro lover."
- Lincoln did have the support of the Republican Party and the Republican voters on the whole. Chase and Fremont, the challengers for nomination failed to mount any serious challenge.
- Renaming the Republican Party, the National Union or Union League enhanced the potential for re-election as it presented a united front.

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

- **Glatthaar:** Northern regiments rarely filled by 1864.
- **McPherson:** states that domestic gloom in May was changing to optimism and further suggests a greater chance of elections in November rather than August.
- **Tulloch:** Northern public appalled and demoralised by casualty figures.
- **Archer Jones:** Grant's campaign was a *political liability* for Lincoln.
- **Reid Mitchell:** failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pro-war party defeat.

Question 5

How far can it be argued that the Civil War changed social and economic conditions in both North and South?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the impact of the Civil War on the social and economic conditions in both the North and the South. The candidate may choose to include a brief analysis of the socio-economic structure of North and South before the war or to compare the situation during the war with the ante-bellum structure in order to assess the degree of change. Either approach is valid and candidates should be given credit for their approach in reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the impact of the war on social and economic conditions in the North and the South.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

North: Social Conditions

- Army provided a vehicle of social mobility.
- The war brought the growth of an entrepreneurial class and age of 'new money' eg Carnegie and Rockefeller.
- War brought about a loosening of the restrictions on the role of women eg Clara Barton.
- The war significantly reduced immigration easing 'nativist' issues.
- The rich arguably became richer while the poor arguably became poorer.
- Earnings of many in the North actually dropped.

North: Economic Conditions

- The war encouraged the rise of big business and industry in the North to supply military demand. Businessmen began to think in millions rather than thousands in their industrial production (eg shoes, rifles). This broadened the horizons of business beyond the war.
- Expansion of existing manufacturing centres eg Pittsburgh.
- Development of new industries eg canning industry of Swift and Armour.
- Increasing mechanisation of farming and industry to meet civilian and military demands.
- Introduction of the 'Greenback Currency'.
- The experience of individuals eg Carnegie and Rockefeller laid the foundations for the rise of 'American Capitalism'.
- The impact of the Homestead Act 1862 to increase farming in the North Western territories changed Northern farming beyond the war.
- Higher customs duties continued after the war.
- Some Northern industries suffered eg New England Cotton Mills.
- Much of the labour force served in the armed forces which slowed down economic production.

South: Social Conditions

- The Army provided a vehicle for upward social mobility in the South.
- However, with the exception of Nathan Bedford Forest, all of the Confederate Officer corps were members of the plantation aristocracy.
- Southern dependence on women to keep the home front going had an impact on production.
- Challenge to the domination of the planter class by new businessmen.
- Impact on slaves – many escaped when it was safe to do so and many plantation owners had to negotiate with remaining slaves to ensure work rates.
- Civilian morale had collapsed by the end of the war.

South: Economic Conditions

- Development of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond.
- The necessity for a change in the use of Southern plantations from cotton to food production.
- Use of taxation to fund the Confederate war effort.
- The war forced Southerners into new economic activity therefore a degree of diversification.
- The Union naval blockade ensured food shortages across the South and inflation in the Confederate economy.

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

- **Batty:** Southern resentment at imposition of conscription led to friction between Congress and the ordinary white voter.
- **Parish:** complaints (on both sides) of a 'rich man's war but a poor man's fight.' Southern people could not adapt quickly or efficiently enough to new ways thrust upon them. Confederacy, despite upheavals of war, remained a predominantly rural and agricultural society.
- **McPherson:** southern wartime taxation exacerbated class tensions and caused growing alienation of the white lower classes from the Confederate cause. Northern economy more adaptable to demands of war. War speeded up mechanisation of industry due to tight labour market. Great increase in the employment of women.
- **Ashworth:** war years were ones of increasingly severe economic dislocation and for most of the Southern white citizens, of severe economic hardship. Southern agriculture was pauperised by the war. Southern capitalism was severely damaged by war. Negative impact of ending of slavery on Southern economy. In North, the war produced institutional changes that were beneficial to Northern capitalism.
- **Thomas:** Ante-bellum agrarian inertia proved a formidable obstacle for the South during the war. Southern economic dependence on women. Transformation of Southern political economy was a temporary response to demands of war. Planters dominated Confederate officer corps.
- **Spiller, Clancey, Young and Mosley:** North developed a stronger and more efficient financial system.
- **Dillard:** War directed US capital into uneconomic financial areas, causing a slowdown in rate of industrialisation.

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

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the impact of the Dred Scott decision, 1857?
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 of the impact of the Dred Scott decision, 1857, in terms of:

Provenance:

- Frederick Douglass – leading abolitionist. Escaped from slavery to the North in 1838 and became a leading and respected figure in the abolitionist movement. Colleague of William Lloyd Garrison from 1841 leading him into public speaking and writing. The May 14th 1857 speech was delivered on the anniversary of the American Abolitionist Society.
- Supreme Court decision delivered on 6th March 1857 by Chief Justice Roger Taney judging that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories, thus ruling the Missouri Compromise as unconstitutional.
- Relevant scarcity of black/slave sources, not typical of Northern views.

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

- The prospects of the struggle against slavery seem far from cheering.
- Slaveholders mean to cling to their slaves as long as they can, and to the bitter end.
- Supreme Court dominated by pro-slave opinion.
- Slave power conspiracy growing in strength.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 impact of the Dred Scott decision, 1857.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the causes of the Civil War?   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 reasons for the cause of Civil War in 1861 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- Northern agitation against slavery has been intensifying for 25 years.
- The Republicans (a sectional party) elected on a northern vote has introduced policy to end the expansion of slavery.
- Lincoln has been elected as President and whose anti-slavery views were well known across the South.
- Republicans believe that war should be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

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

- Perceived Northern aggression against slavery and the rise of the abolitionist movement from 1835 and the abolition of slavery by the Mexican government in Texas prompting the outbreak of the Mexican War.
- Republicans formed in 1854; anti-slavery movement purely with a Northern support base.
- The Republicans controlled the House and Senate in 1858.
- Lincoln elected President in 1860. His views were clear and well known across the South following the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858.
- Prevention of slavery in the territories, Topeka government and Lincoln's views.

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:
- The Civil War was not about slavery but about economics ie. industry versus agriculture.
- Equality impossible; territorial expansion was a key source of tension.
- Each side battled for control of government.
- Their political philosophies growing out of their economic and social systems were impossible to reconcile.

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

- North and South divided into two sections – contrasting in many ways eg industry versus agriculture, free labour versus slave labour, interventionist government versus limited government.
- Territorial expansion the key to tension eg Texas, Mexican War, California, Kansas, Nebraska – should these new territories be free or slave?
- Control of government meant representation for the controlling section and the dominance of their ideology eg tariff in the North meant potentially lower profits in the South therefore the economy of the South would be threatened.
- Economics rather than slavery caused the war, however slavery was arguably at the heart of the economic and social differences.

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

- Southern fears of her becoming a minority within the federal union.
- Southern press hostile to all northern actions eg portrayal of Republicans as the party of the black, which would encourage social and racial chaos.
- Lincoln portrayed as a direct threat to the social/economic status of the South, and this justified immediate secession if he were to be elected.
- North regarded the South as 'un-American' and out of step with mid-19th century values.
- Impact of John Brown's raid – struck a sensitive nerve in the Southern psyche.
- Disputes over tariff legislation.
- Economic disagreements over funding of internal improvements.
- Splits within the Democratic Party that allowed for the election of Lincoln.
- Political disagreements over the future nature of the American republic.
- Issue of slavery and more importantly slavery expansion.
- Northern perception of a 'slave-power' conspiracy.
- Concept of a 'blundering generation'.
- Doctrine of states' rights.
- Davis: The South seceded in defence of states' rights. The Republican Party had engineered war to further their political and economic domination over the South.

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

- **Randall:** revisionist historian – leading proponent of the 'blundering generation' thesis.
- **Charles and Mary Beard:** have argued that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.
- **Rhodes:** slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War.
- **Stampp:** slavery was the prime cause of the Civil War.
- **Craven:** war was the result of the irresponsible actions of the Abolitionists.
- **Foner:** the ideology of the Republican Party was at odds with Southern values.
- **Nevins:** the moral issues associated with slavery was the catalyst for civil war.
- **Brian Holden Reid:** commented that the Southern people were hated by the Northerners. The Southern approach was defensive and many saw secession as an alternative to war.

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 reasons for the causes of Civil War in 1861.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation?
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 consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation, 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:

- Encouraged slave insurrection in the Confederacy and slaves to escape, thus undermine the Confederate war effort.
- Lowered the morale of Confederate forces.
- Ended the potential European recognition of the Confederacy and therefore European support.
- As a war aim rather than a moral decision, Lincoln undermined the notion of liberty in his decision.

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

- Lincoln argued – *freedom has given us the control of 200,000 able bodied men, born and raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much has it subtracted from the strength of our enemies.* Indeed there were 179,000 Blacks in the Union armies at the end of the war, most of whom were former slaves.
- Britain could not be seen to recognise a nation that supported slavery, despite the benefits the Confederacy brought to Britain.
- The Emancipation Proclamation had no effect on slavery in Union slave states. September 1862 – no slave had been liberated. British Prime Minister, Palmerston, was critical as was the world's media.
- Lincoln barely mentioned the Emancipation Proclamation in his annual address to Congress in December 1862 – many questioned this.

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

- Lincoln did turn the war into a revolution with the Emancipation Proclamation
- Emancipation boosted Northern morale adding a humanitarian ideal as well as a preservation of the Union to the war effort.
- Lincoln was now assured the support of radical Republicans in Congress.
- The Emancipation Proclamation destroyed the Northern pro-war coalition. Conservative Republicans withdrew their support for a period. War Democrats did not approve.
- The Emancipation Proclamation only freed slaves in select geographical areas. Emancipation depended on the advance of Union armies. Freedom did not reach many Blacks until well after the end of the war.
- Kentuckians resisted the proclamation fiercely, even keeping 65,000 slaves captive while challenging the decision legally.
- Lincoln described the Emancipation Proclamation as "an act of justice" as well as "military necessity".
- The Proclamation meant that the Confederacy could no longer look for a peace settlement if it insisted on retaining slavery.
- The Black recruitment came at a critical point in the war as Whites were less willing to volunteer and in 1864 when 100,000 Whites did not re-enlist, the 125,000 Black were essential to the end of the war.
- An eighth of Union troops around Petersburg were Black. This was critical to the strategy of 'Total War'.
- The Emancipation Proclamation required Republicans to pass a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery as the Proclamation lacked the necessary force in legal terms.
- In the 1862 elections, the Republicans lost control of five states and thirty-five congressional seats.

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

- **Randall & Donald:** war took a new turn as a result of the Proclamation.
- **Rawley:** widened war's purpose.
- **Quarles:** blacks entered at time of real shortage, swung war in favour of Union.
- **McPherson:** proclamation more important than Congressional Acts, black enlistment one of the most important acts of the war.
- **McPherson:** turning Point theory; victories of 1864/5 unachievable without 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 helpful in offering a full explanation of the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation.

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

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

"The upheaval of 1868-1869 had not merely eliminated the Shogun, but marked a decisive step towards achieving a centralised state." To what extent did political reform achieve this aim after 1868?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the extent to which a centralised state was established after 1868. This will include an overview of the political reform that took place as the new Meiji regime transformed the autonomous Han system into prefectures, and then established a centralised government to oversee these prefectures. Discussion of the development of a centralised sense of national identity would also be appropriate. It would be relevant for the candidate to begin by giving an overview of the decentralised system as it existed under the Shogun to permit evaluation of the extent to which it was transformed, thus reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the extent to which Japan became a centralised state.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence which supports the view that Japan had been a decentralised state prior to 1868

- Details about the decentralised system of government prior to 1868.
- Reform was essential because the Tokugawa only had direct control over 25% of the country.
- Introduced a decentralised form of government through the division of Japan into Han, and the careful positioning of Daimyo.
- Control structures such as the caste structure and orthodoxy associated with Neo-Confucianism.
- System based upon loyalty and trust – this was waning by mid-19th century.
- Tempo Reforms highlighted the weakness of the decentralised form of government.
- Japanese people were also divided by differences in dialect and their strong ties to their village and neighbourhoods, where often their families had lived for centuries.

Factors which highlight the progress towards a more centralised state after 1868

- 1869 – Beginnings of abolition of caste structure, which allowed for all peoples to be answerable to the emperor and his representatives, as opposed to the next social grouping above them in the caste structure.
- 1871 – Abolition of the Daimyos' domains and their replacement by prefectures. This effectively all came under the control of the emperor (and eventually the new government), and allowed the new Meiji regime to implement centralised policies and reforms. They were also able to collect taxes directly from all parts of Japan – something the Tokugawa had not been able to do.
- Generally Daimyo accepted posts as governors of their former domains and their retirement was on comfortable pensions.
- 1889 the government promulgated the Imperial Japanese constitution. Drawing on the Prussian model it set in place a two-house chamber – the House of Peers and House of Representatives – which consolidated central control over Japan.
- Barely one per cent of the population were able to vote – so, although centralised, active participation was not encouraged.

- These two houses had the power to pass laws, approve the budget and discuss national policy – which all highlights the huge step away from the decentralised system of government as had existed prior to 1868.
- Basic aim was the centralised control of Japan in the theoretical 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.
- What took precedence was the right of the nation – not the individual – which consolidated the centralisation process.
- Political centralisation was focused on the emperor – the new constitution stressed the duties of the subject rather than the rights of the citizen.
- According to Article 11, the emperor assumed centralised control of the army and navy, had the power to appoint the prime minister, cabinet members, military chiefs of staff and other senior advisors.
- Meiji regime worked hard to combat parochialism and secure popular identity with a newly centralised Japan.
- National political parties established drawing support from all of Japan, highlighting establishment of a centralised state.
- Suppression of political parties calling for greater democracy by state evidence of their centralised powers (contrast with Tokugawa failure to implement tempo reforms).

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

- **Benson and Matsumura:** *criticism of the shogun developed eventually into a coherent – and near revolutionary – programme which involved overthrowing the shogun's regime and replacing it with a government headed by the emperor, around whom a renewed sense of national unity would be developed.*
- **Hunter:** argues that the Meiji Constitution did not create *a unified nation under an absolute emperor, nor a parliamentary democracy, but a series of major groupings, each of which could utilise the imperial position to impose its policies on the rest of the population.*
- **Buruma:** challenges the idea that any sense of national unity came from political reform. National unity was armed unity. National education was military education. The samurai virtues were now applied nationally. Loyalty and obedience to the emperor, who was paraded around the country in military uniform, was the highest form of patriotism.
- **Hunter:** believes that *the acts of political centralisation carried out after 1868 were aimed at building a united nation capable of withstanding the western threat. For that purpose it was imperative that the fragmentation and divisions of the Bakufu era be replaced by a substantive unity, at least in the face presented to the outside world.*
- **Hane:** cites that *the new political leaders were confronted with formidable tasks. They had to end Tokugawa feudal order and establish a tightly controlled centralised government.*

Question 2

How successful were the educational reforms of the Meiji era?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the significance of the educational reforms that occurred after 1868. Candidates might explore the nature of the reforms themselves, how they illustrate the backlash against perceived excessive westernisation after 1890 and how education was manipulated by the state to develop loyalty and subservience to the emperor and the state. Candidates may also make the link between the need for an educated workforce to help Japan modernise and achieve equality with the West, thus reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the importance of educational reform.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

The success of the changes

- Meiji regime was able to build upon a solid foundation of relatively high rates of literacy.
- Initially education reform was highly influenced by the West.
- Influence of missionary schools, which particularly influenced the education of girls.
- Western works of literature were translated into Japanese in early Meiji era.
- Ministry of Education set up in 1871, which restructured primary, secondary and tertiary sectors along western lines.
- Influenced by the Iwakura Mission –and especially the French system.
- Imperial Rescript of Education – 30th October 1890 – and its role in directing schools to place more emphasis on moral education, developing a sense of nationalism and loyalty to their emperor.
- Key figures of Motodo Eifu, who played an important role in shaping the direction of Japanese education, Inoue Kowashi, who established a private academy, and Mori Arinori, who was minister of Education from 1885 until his assassination in 1889 (because some believed his reforms were too Western).
- Universities established – 1897 second university (after Tokyo) established at Kyoto,
- Education was used as a vehicle to modernise Japan with a new ideal whilst still retaining an identity with her cultural past.
- Education was a primary agent in the cultural revolution.
- Improvements in education provision were also essential to create an educated workforce for Japan to embark upon their rapid process of modernisation and industrialisation.
- Japanese people had greater accessibility to the new ideas and new techniques.

The limitations of the changes

- Concern that education was becoming too Westernised by the 1890s.
- Education reforms reflect the division that existed within Japanese society towards excessive Westernisation – and the hybrid nature of the reform process.
- The impact of the educational reforms was somewhat limited until the abolition of school fees in 1899. By 1909 almost 100% of boys and girls attended primary school.
- Educational reforms very much focused on the education of boys. Girls did not have access to education beyond the compulsory 4 years until 1899, when at least one girls' high school was set up within each prefecture.
- Universities remained accessible only to males.
- 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.
- Neo-Confucianist notions of loyalty and filial piety obvious in the Rescript.

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

- **Storry:** contends that *the progress of education moulded the people into a nation of patriots…The government needed literate soldiers, factory workers, business employees and government employees to achieve its goal of enriching the nation and challenging the Unequal Treaties.*
- **Hane:** suggests that *the children were taught they owed three great obligations, to their emperor, to their parents and to their teachers.*
- **Beasley:** argues *the Rescript was condemning the indiscriminate emulation of western ways.*
- **Hunter:** believes *the prime objective of the (education) structure was the needs of the state and its main goals were the provision of skills and patriotic morality among the many to produce a literate and pliable workforce.*
- **Benson and Matsumara:** summarises *education it is said has been the chief tool in shaping national identity.*

Question 3

Recent historians have drawn attention to "the indispensable part played by women in Japan's economic advance". How valid is this view?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the undoubtedly important role that women played in the industrial development, not only within the expanding manufacturing industry (especially textiles), but also their important continuing role within agriculture. It would then be relevant to go on to discuss the other factors which aided the initial establishment of these factories, such as government support, the role of the West, the establishment of the Zaibatsu and the economic foundations of the Tokugawa. Indeed, women played such a pivotal role during the Tokugawa period, dominated by agriculture, that their role in industry after 1868 could be seen as a continuum of the norm. The candidate will then reach a balanced conclusion regarding the role played by women in Japan's economic advance.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support that women played an indispensable part

- Freed up by the abolition of the caste structure, women became the dominant workforce within the textile industry.
- Throughout this period, women consistently formed the majority of the workforce within Japanese factories.
- Often paid a high price for this in terms of their working conditions and the physical and emotional impact.
- Women were often sold into contracts with factories by their parents, and lived in dorms attached to the factories.
- Yet at the same time, the accepted view of women was still to be 'good wives and wise mothers.'
- Often when women married, they left the factories.
- Small numbers of women went from textile workers and domestic service to become typists, telephone operators and store assistants.
- Took until 1911 to limit their working day to twelve hours.
- Women also continued to play a vital role in agriculture, which throughout the Meiji period still remained Japan's most important commercial activity. They were the dominant work force in the paddy fields.

Factors which may contradict and/or are relevant to Japan's economic advance Foundations pre 1868

- Highly developed agriculture with inter-regional trade and good communication infrastructure to build upon.
- Japan had abundance of human labour who were well educated and loyal.
- Growth of commercial activities around castle towns.
- Growing influence of merchants – blurring of caste divisions.
- Movement away from rice based to money based economy already occurring.

Role of Westerners and international environment

- The effects of the Unequal Treaties in promoting industrial development – Japan's desire to be accepted as an equal.
- Iwakura Mission.
- The international environment led to Japan expanding and adopting new industrial technologies, which helped her catch up.
- Cultural borrowing like shipbuilding, iron and steel mills, banking and commerce, textiles (positive impact of silkworm disease in Europe).
- Use of Yatoi.

Role of State

- Role of state in process and policies they implemented – built model factories such as Tomioka silk-reeling mill.
- Careful control of Yatoi – dismissed once their knowledge disseminated.
- Military reform and connection with industrial expansion.
- Government had limited reliance on foreign loans. They took firm control over expenditure – partial funding of large scale private enterprises and support for Zaibatsu.
- Their improvements in infrastructure.

Role of Zaibatsu

- Success of these large scale vertical monopolies which aided rapid industrial growth.
- Four giants like Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda.

Role of WW1

- Gained a foothold in Asian market – merchant shipping doubled.
- Ending of imports from the West forced development, especially in chemical industry.
- Japan reversed balance of payments deficit during the war years.

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

- **Crump:** contends that *the bulk of Japan's industrial workforce was female. Even in the case of those activities which were furthest removed from the officially sanctioned image of the ideal female, there were women who did not flinch from participation*.
- **Hane:** highlights the importance of the textile industry – within which women formed the dominant workforce. *The industry that developed rapidly from the early Meiji years and remained a key component of the economy was textile manufacture…by 1904 it had become the world's largest producer with a 31% share*.
- **Hiromatso:** takes the view that *the foundations of Japan's modernisation were to a large extent laid during the years of peaceful isolation*.
- **Hane:** argues that *modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation*.
- **Macpherson:** suggests that *the role of the government was crucial*.

Question 4

What factors best explain why Japan had successfully destabilised and dominated China by 1895?

The aim of this essay is to consider the relative importance of a range of factors in the emergence of Japan as the leading Asian nation by 1895. The key question to be addressed is how Japan was able to conduct such a successful foreign policy. This can partly be explained by internal factors which encouraged its military might and partly by how it 'managed' two foreign policy incidents. Discussion of the Formosa incident and the war against China might be expected as a discussion of these points is central to the debate. In this way the candidate would be able to come to a balanced and reasoned conclusion as to why Japan successfully destabilised and dominated China by 1895.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Military Reform

- Details of the military and naval reforms that took place and that they were moulded from the French then German for the army and Britain for the navy.
- The introduction of conscription in 1873 – 3 year service for 20 year old men followed by four years subsequent service in the army reserve with exemption from conscription being very limited.
- Schools of artillery and engineering trained officers in the technology of modern warfare.
- Reform of public finances made it feasible to increase spending on the armed forces.
- One third of government revenue devoted to developing a modern army and navy.
- Army was made almost an autonomous entity – being answerable only to the emperor.
- Military leaders wielded significant political power because they were members of the ruling oligarchy.

Success in the Formosa Incident

The process of destabilisation was a gradual one, which began with the Formosa Incident.

- In Sept 1871 Japan concluded a commercial treaty with China establishing equal trading rights, low tariffs and consular jurisdiction to operate in both countries.
- However, tension mounted over the Ryukyu Islands.
- From 1871 Japanese governments made moves aimed at incorporating the islands into their national administrative framework.
- This was strongly contested by China, who claimed ownership.
- Late in 1871 54 Ryukyuan fishermen were shipwrecked on Formosa (Taiwan).
- They were killed by Formosan aborigines.
- The Japanese government claimed them as nationals and demanded compensation from China. China refused.
- Japan sent expedition to Ryukyuan Islands (to assert their ownership).
- In May 1874 a further 3 500 Japanese troops landed in Formosa.
- In Oct after negotiations, Japanese troops withdrew. China paid the indemnity.
- Japan's receipt of compensation and China's failure to condemn the Japanese action signified in Western international law that the Ryukyuans were Japanese citizens.
- The islands including Formosa were formally conceded in 1879.
- This incident demonstrated the weakness of China and growing strength of Japan.

Success and consequences of war which resulted in destabilisation

- Japan was to formally replace China as the leading Asian nation through military defeat.
- War was centred over Korea.
- Japan was concerned that a weak, backward Korea was a liability which would be able to be exploited by expansionist ideas of Russia and China.
- During the early decades of the Meiji, China maintained a strong influence in Korea.
- July 1882 – anti-Japanese riots in Seoul (Korea) which forced Japanese to flee.
- Troops were sent to Korea from both Japan and China – which marked direct Japanese intervention in internal affairs of Korea.
- Negotiations aimed at settling the problem resulted in April 1885 Treaty of Tianjin.
- Japan and China agreed to withdraw their troops.
- 1894 – Chinese troops were sent to Korea in response to the King's request for help against a domestic rebellion.
- Acting under the terms of 1885 Treaty, Japan also sent troops.
- Both parties refused to withdraw.
- July 1894 Japan sunk a British ship chartered to carry Chinese reinforcements.
- Fighting escalated.
- By end 1894 Japanese troops had driven Chinese troops from Korean soil. They were advancing through Manchuria, threatening Tianjin and Beijing.
- By 1895 the Chinese navy had been virtually annihilated.
- Japan agreed to a request for peace conference.
- The Treaty was signed on 17 April and the terms of the Treaty included – Japanese possession of Formosa, Pescadores Islands and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.
- The opening by China of 4 more treaty ports.
- Payment of a sizeable indemnity.

A separate treaty of Commerce and Navigation awarded Japan the most favoured nation treatment in China – all of which highlighted the extent to which Japan now dominated China.

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

- **Hunter:** *to advance Japan had to learn from the West and drop at least some of her former respect for China.*
- **Hunter:** contends that *as Japan's strength grew, so did her ambitions on the Asian mainland and her ability to advance them.*
- **Hunter:** with reference to the Treaty of Shimonoseki *A formal acknowledgement of the independence of Korea signified the end of Chinese domination there.*
- **Harris:** suggests that *extending Japanese power and influence on the continent of Asia was part of a larger vision.*
- **Gordon:** suggests that *The outcome of the Sino-Japanese had a huge impact around the world and in Japan. The Western powers and their publics had expected the Chinese to prevail… Japan in western eyes came out of the war with vastly increased prestige.*
- **McClain:** highlights *Few foreign observers expected the island nation to prevail over the continental giant…in 1895 the Chinese delegates had to travel to Japan, a clear sign that the Japanese oligarch (Ito) held the better cards.*

Question 5

To what extent has the importance of Korea as a contributing factor to the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905 been exaggerated?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the strategic importance of Korea as a cause of war with Russia. Candidates might also consider other factors such as the alliance with Britain and the psychological impact of the Tripartite Intervention instigated by Russia in 1895. The candidate might thus reach a balanced conclusion with regards to the importance of Korea as a contributing factor to the war with Russia.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which may support the importance of Korea

- Historically, Korea had played an important role in previous conflict between Japan and China.
- Although Korea had come under Japan's sphere of influence after the victory over China, was still not formally a colony, so still could be potentially exploited by others.
- The Korean peninsula was Japan's obvious means of accessing the Asian mainland, and was also the 'dagger pointing into the heart of Japan'.
- There was a growing fear of Russian expansion into this area, especially after the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway.
- Events during the Boxer Rebellion exacerbated this fear of Russian expansionism.
- During the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Japanese Prime Minister Yamagata took the lead in organising and manning the international force of European, American and Japanese troops.
- Russia refused to withdraw their troops from Manchuria at the end of the rebellion – threatening Japan's position in Korea.
- The Boxer Rebellion in China (1900) led to an 8 nation occupation of Beijing to re-establish stability.
- Russian troops failed to withdraw completely when they were supposed to, and occupied part of Manchuria.
- This threatened Japan's position in Korea.
- In 1903 Russia failed to withdraw troops on schedule from Manchuria.
- 6 Feb 1904 – Japan cut diplomatic relations and launched attacks on Russian held territory.
- 10 Feb 1904 – war declared.
- Russian occupation of Manchuria was certainly a catalyst to war, but Japan had been looking for an excuse to challenge and prevent what they perceived to be Russian expansionism in Asia.

Other relevant factors:

Alliance with Britain

- Japanese confidence grew in 1902 when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed.
- Mistrust of Russia was widespread in Britain.
- The alliance with Japan was seen as a means of containing Russian expansion in the East, avoiding a Russo-Japanese partition of NE Asia and preserving the British treaty system in China.

Tripartite intervention

- Profound humiliation caused by the Tripartite Intervention after the defeat of China. Russia instigated this intervention, with France and Russia, and forced Japan to hand back their recently won foothold on the mainland (the Liaodong Peninsula).
- Such humiliation sparked further military reform and a profound desire for revenge.
- Public opinion firmly behind a firm stance against Russia in 1904.
- Russian lease of the Liaodong Peninsula.

Desire to be perceived as equal with the West

- Some aspects of Unequal Treaties were still in place – belief amongst some that the best way to overcome them was to become like Western powers.
- The Iwakura Mission had raised awareness about world powers and the empires – inspiring imperial expansion in Japan.
- Fear that if they themselves did not embark upon imperialism through conflict, they could be colonised.
- An expansionist foreign policy would also give Japan access to raw materials and overseas markets to aid industrial expansion that was seen as an important part of overturning all the final vestiges of the Unequal Treaties.

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

- **Gordon:** *The Russians came to rival the Japanese position on Korea. They challenged it in Manchuria as well as by seizing the leasehold for the tip of the Liaodong peninsula in 1898.*
- **Benson & Matsumara:** contends that *the European powers' growing interest in Asia could scarcely be overlooked and this encouraged Japan's development of a more aggressive foreign policy.*
- **B B Oh:** argues that *for Japan, imperialism was a means of attaining equality with the west.*
- *Barnhart:* highlights the importance of the 1902 Alliance with Britain in encouraging the Japanese to adopt a firmer line with Russia *Japan had obtained recognition – in treaty form no less – of its own great power status in an alliance between equals with one of the greatest nations of Europe.*
- **Buruma:** argues that the Russo-Japanese war was the high point of Meiji militarism. Japan had been feeling bruised after the western powers had forced them to hand over some of their victory spoils in 1895, including the southern tip of Liaotung peninsula in Manchuria, which was then leased to Russia.

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

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the traditional nature of Japanese society in 1850?
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 the nature of Japanese society in 1850, 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:

- Argues that Japanese society was one of stability and strict rule.
- Identifies some of the key members of Japanese society – the Samurai, the peasant, the craftsmen and the merchant.
- Describes the foundations of industrial development that existed in 1850 – weaving, pottery, metalwork.
- Traditional methods of transport were still being used.

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

- The Tokugawa Shoguns had implemented a strict caste structure after they secured control in 1603, which dictated everyone's place in society and, in theory, prevented any mobility between castes.
- The Samurai and peasants were two of the important castes; the former were individual warriors tied to a Daimyo who were responsible for maintaining law and order, the latter were responsible for producing Japan's staple food source and form of currency – rice.
- Although the Shogun, based in Edo, held real political power, the Tokugawa did keep the emperor as the nominal figurehead of this social structure, in an attempt to legitimise their rule.
- Tokugawa society did see the foundations put down for industrial development, with some peasants diversifying into commercial activities, and merchants (in theory a very low caste) assuming greater power and control by 1850.

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

- The source fails to mention the Daimyo, the landowners, who were so crucial within the Tokugawa social structure and control mechanisms.
- These were divided into those that were loyal (Feudai) and those that traditionally had not been loyal (Tozama) who were carefully controlled.
- Source does not capture the blurring of the caste structure that was underway by 1850.
- Samurai had transformed from being warriors into administrators during the period of relative peace during the Tokugawa period.
- Many Samurai and Daimyo began to live relatively lavish lifestyles and fall into debt to the merchants – who in theory were far below them in the caste structure.
- Some Samurai were reduced to selling some of their privileges to pay off their debts to the merchants.
- Socio-economic changes also meant that rice was being replaced by money as the main currency.
- Society was essential ruled through a decentralised system of government, as the Tokugawa only had direct control over 25% of the land. This was a system fundamentally based on loyalty and this loyalty was clearing on the wane by 1850.
- Source also does not mention the Eta caste within the social structure.
- Source also fails to mention the importance of Neo-Confucianism with Japanese society, along with Shintoism and Buddhism.
- The source does not mention the policy of Isolation that had helped shape Japanese society by 1850.
- Relatively high literacy rates in Japan by 1850.
- The failures of the Tempo Reforms in the 1840s highlight the changes that were going on in Japanese society by 1850.

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

- **Waswo:** states that *conditions in Japan most closely resembled those of high feudalism in Europe.*
- **Hane:** is of the belief that *in order to ensure political control and social stability the Tokugawa Bakufu set out to fix a rigid class system*.
- **Hunter:** states that *a rigid hierarchy of hereditary caste continued to prevail both in theory and to a large extent in practice*.
- **Storry:** highlights the blurring of caste divisions that were occurring by the mid nineteenth century. *The whole regime had been under indirect attack for many quarters inside Japan long before 1850*.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering an explanation of the traditional nature of Japanese society in 1850.

Question 2

How useful is Source B as evidence of the role played by foreign forces in the downfall of the Tokugawa? **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** as evidence of the role played by foreign forces in the downfall of the Tokagawa, in terms of:

Provenance:

- Written within 12 months of the collapse of the Tokugawa regime and within the context of a civil war between Tokugawa and Meiji supporters.
- It is a correspondence between two leading members of the new Meiji regime, Iwakura was so important that he went on to lead the Iwakura Mission to the West to try and deal with the issue of the threat from the West written from the perspective of the winner – purpose to highlight the inadequacies of the Tokugawa regime.

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

- The failure of the Tokugawa to consider if foreign relations were really good for the country.
- The foreign threat instilled fear in the Tokugawa.
- The trade treaties were viewed as unfair and in need of revision.
- Foreign troops were entrenched in their ports.

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

- The arrival of Commodore Perry carrying his letter from President Fillmore did throw the Tokugawa Bakufu into turmoil. It highlighted their breakdown in control and their great sense of inertia in making a decision.
- Iwakura makes reference to the fact that in the midst of their indecision they approached the Imperial Court for the advice (in itself a highly significant move), and then completed disregarded the view of the Emperor.
- Such disregard for the Emperor's view served to increase popularity for movements like the Sonno-Joi, supporters of which played a pivotal role in the downfall of the Tokugawa.
- The Treaties brought with them a profound sense of shame upon the proud Japanese, who had long tried to isolate themselves and heavily control any relations with the west and believed that they were superior to them. The Tokugawa were help responsible for this and seen to have lost their mandate to rule in the name of the Emperor.

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

- 14 years pass between the signing of the first Unequal Treaty and the downfall of the Tokugawa, which suggests that to simply attribute the downfall of the Tokugawa to the role of the West is too simplistic.
- Despite the policy of isolation, Japan had managed to maintain successful relations with the Dutch during the Tokugawa period.
- The lack of a standing army made it very difficult for the Tokugawa to withstand the pressure of the West, especially considering that Perry arrived with considerable force and a large proportion of the US navy.
- There were also inherent weaknesses of the decentralised government already apparent before the arrival of Perry, as illustrated by the failure of the Tempo Reforms.
- Socio-economic changes were also weakening important forms of social control during the Tokugawa – especially the caste structure.
- Daimyo and Samurai were falling into debt to the merchants because of their increasingly lavish lifestyles.
- Increasing burden of taxation upon the peasants led to an upsurgance in their discontent and incidents of riots.
- Control mechanisms were rooted in rice as the stable currency – which was being replaced by money by the mid-19th century.
- Tokugawa Bakufu were suffering from a sense of inertia in responding to these changes – and only had direct control over 25% of the land.
- 1868 there was an important alliance between 2 leading opponents, Satsuma and Choshu against the Tokugawa.
- Age of new emperor (15) meant he was open to exploitation.
- There had been a growing nationalist school of thought since the late-18th century, that was gaining momentum and culminated in the very extreme men of Shishi.

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

- **Wall:** contends that *the arrival of Perry in July 1853 brought the whole complicated debate to a head*.
- **Storry:** argues that *The Tokugawa system might have continued essentially unchanged had it not been for the forcible opening of the closed door*.
- **Hunter**: states that *the dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity which sought to avoid change*.
- **Huber:** argues that *it was Perry's arrival which finally made it possible for serious reformers in Choshu and elsewhere to convert their theoretical understanding into an urgent demand for change*.
- **H. Bolitho:** highlights that *in the country the authority of the Shogun and Daimyo alike was successfully flouted*.

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 as evidence for investigating the role played by foreign forces in the downfall of the Tokugawa.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations regarding reactions to the abolition of the caste structure? **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 different viewpoints regarding the abolition of the caste structure and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

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

- Duus gives the impression that this was a very easy and straightforward reform.
- He argued that this was achieved through the combination of government control.
- He argued that there was a generous financial settlement paying-off the Samurai.
- The former warrior class were absorbed into the new structure of government.

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

- Samurai caste was formally abolished along with the rest of the caste structure in 1873.
- In 1869 the Meiji Government reduced the large number of Samurai ranks to two, upper Samurai (shizoku) and lower Samurai (sotsu). In 1872 a large portion of the lower Samurai were reclassified as commoners (heimin).
- They had largely become bureaucrats during the Tokugawa regime and many had begun to abandon the Bushido code and had indulged in lavish and decadent lifestyles – they were a caste in need of reform.
- The rigidity of the caste structure, and the Samurai within that, was an obstacle to modernisation as it prevented social mobility and industrial development.
- Many of the Samurai did invest their cash payment into industry and some of the developing Zaibatsu.

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:

- Mentions the rebellion of Saigo Takamori, which was linked to his unhappiness with the abolition of the Samurai privileges.
- He believed that by abolishing the Samurai caste the new Meiji regime were undermining a system of control that had been rooted in honour, virtue and valour.
- According to Ravina, Takamori's concern was not strictly limited to the Samurai caste but also the peasant caste.
- Takamori was concerned that the abolition of commonly held land in favour of private property would exacerbate poverty.

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

- Takamori was a Samurai who had been involved in the Meiji Restoration and had been initially been supportive of, and involved with, the new government.
- Following his rejected attempt to invade Korea, Takamori became increasingly concerned with the policies of the new regime.
- Takamori, along with many other Samurai, were unhappy that, with the abolition of the Samurai caste, anyone could now become a 'warrior'. Under the caste structure, the Samurai had been the equivalent of Chinese Confucianist scholars, who had under gone long periods of training.
- Takamori led a rebellion in 1877 against the Meiji regime and highlighted that not everyone viewed this reform in a positive light.

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

- There are two slightly different perspectives been offered in these two sources – the first gives the impression that the abolition of the Samurai caste was relatively straightforward, they were eliminated with 'ease' – the second reminds us that not all Samurai were happy with these changes and were prepared to rebel over the issue.
- Source C does, however, mention that one of the reasons that the Meiji regime was successful was their use of a new national army and a police force.
- The abolition of the Samurai caste was essential for the new Meiji regime to actually establish a national army, as Samurai were individual warriors whose military training was based upon swords and archery.
- The new Meiji oligarchy, although Samurai themselves, now had their positions of power secure, were prepared to eliminate this caste which they felt gave back relatively very little value for their high costs.
- Source D highlights that that it was not simply the Samurai caste that were affected by the abolition of the caste structure, but the peasants.

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

- **Andrew Gordon:** *Taking this step (abolishing the Samurai caste) was a major undertaking. It took nearly a decade and enraged many former Samurai. In particular, many of those who had supported the restoration drive felt betrayed by their former comrades now running the Meiji government.*
- **Benson & Matsumura:** *The most serious revolt was the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 which emanated from the former domain of Satsuma…Although it was quashed, it was a serious challenge for the newly formed conscript army and momentarily shook the stability of the Meiji leadership since it pitted against each other two of its most influential figures and one time allies in the battle against the shogun.*
- **Beasley:** reflected on the Japanese leaders in the Meiji period *in founding a bureaucracy and shaping a governing elite they offended many who were outside the newly drawn boundaries of power and influence.*
- **Hunter:** argued *The designation warrior family was no more than an indication of family origins although it continued to have social prestige. Individual members of society were encouraged to work to the best of their abilities…Some Japanese flourished in this enthusiasm for individual improvement. Others proved unable to cope with the rapidly changing conditions with which they were faced.*

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 reactions to the abolition of the caste structure.

Germany: Versailles to outbreak of the Second World War

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent is it fair to say that in Germany in 1918-1919 "there was a revolutionary situation but not a revolution"?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the nature of what historians call the German Revolution. Candidates could opt to discuss the extent to which there was a revolutionary situation rather than merely war weariness and the degree of change during 1918-19 and whether or not the degree of change merits the label 'revolution'. Or they could opt to weigh up aspects of change 1918-19 against one another before drawing conclusions about the German Revolution.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which suggest there was a revolutionary situation in 1918-19 but not a revolution

- Max von Baden's October Reforms had changed Germany from a military dictatorship into a parliamentary monarchy.
- The October reforms were not enough to stop popular unrest as expressed in mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, strikes, riots and the setting up of soviets across the country.
- On 9 November Baden forced the Kaiser to abdicate, a republic was declared and power was handed to Ebert and the SPD.
- Ebert set up a provisional government – the Council of People's Commissars – made up of three men from the SPD and three from the USPD.
- On 10 November Ebert struck a deal with Groener (the new head of the army) which left the army officer corps intact and the army un-purged in return for army support for the new government. Thus, an opportunity for radical change was missed. The military elite were left in a strong position to undermine the republic.
- On 15 November industrialists and trade unionists agreed to create a Central Working Association which established the principle of workers' rights, trade union negotiating rights with binding arbitration on disputes and an eight hour day. However, the structure of the economy remained unchanged. Capitalism was left intact.
- The judiciary and the civil service remained unreformed.
- In December 1918 the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils voted to support Ebert's preference for elections to a constituent assembly thereby endorsing his moderate position.
- Ebert's moderate position was challenged by Spartacists (and other radical socialists) who argued that he was stopping the revolutionary impetus which defeat had set in motion.
- In December 1918 the USPD left the government because they felt the revolution was stalling under Ebert's leadership.
- In January 1919 the German Communists attempted to initiate a Bolshevik-style revolution, but this uprising was crushed by the SPD government using the army and the *Freikorps*. The government's action permanently alienated the Communists from the SPD.

However, it might also be argued that there was not even a revolutionary situation, but simply widespread, diverse discontent, using evidence such as:

- Discontent due to war weariness.
- Mutiny of the High Seas Fleet due to futility of risking lives.
- Relatively little support for communism.
- Workers Councils were not particularly revolutionary.
- Fragmented nature of discontent.
- Initial 'Revolution from Above'.
- Effects of Spanish flu and food shortages.

Factors which suggest the events of 1918-19 were more than just a revolutionary situation and in fact amounted to a full-blown revolution

- On 9 November Germany became a republic. This was a radical change in the country's political identity, a truly revolutionary change.
- Just as important, the rulers of the German states also disappeared so the new Germany was radically different in form from the Germany of 1914.
- Although Ebert made a deal with the army, this was pragmatic and in no sense meant that Germany was not to be a democracy.
- Likewise, keeping the judges and the top civil servants in post was a practical necessity intended to protect the gains made in the revolution by ensuring that the government of the country could continue to function rather than collapse.
- Although the industry had not been taken over by the state in behalf of the people, ZAG was a revolutionary change not least because it meant that for the first time in Germany there was a radical shift of power away from industrialists to trade unions and the workers.
- The Constitution of August 1919 embedded the changes Ebert had overseen and indeed was itself a revolutionary document because it meant that the republic and the democratic system were now enshrined in law.

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

- **William Carr:** the achievements of the revolution *were undoubtedly limited. The structure of Germany was hardly affected by the revolution. The spirit of Imperial Germany lived on in the unreformed civil service, the judiciary and the officer corps. Nor did the powerful industrial barons have much to fear from the revolution*.
- **Ruth Henig:** The revolution *did not result in the wholesale removal of the existing economic or social structures.* A Marxist revolution had been prevented and *the forces of reaction and strident nationalism made a swift recovery and emerged by 1920 as the most potent enemies of the new republic*.
- **Eberhard Kolb:** the revolutionary mass movement *was essentially a failure both in its moderate phase and in its second radical phase.* One can speak *of 'a revolution that ran aground*, and one with which none of the main political groups wished to be identified. Scarcely anyone in Germany had wanted the revolution to develop and come to stop in the way it did.
- **Stephen Lee:** *The year 1918… saw in Germany a revolutionary situation but without a revolution…if there was a revolution, it did not revolutionise*.
- **A J Nicholls:** *Germany had not been transformed. Yet the new Republic promised to be a freer and more egalitarian state than its Imperial predecessor*.
- **Detlev Peukert:** Ebert's decisions from 9 November 1918 to 19 January 1919 signalled that *the revolution was to be confined to constitutional and corporatist measures*. The existence of a democratic tradition in Germany before the revolution and the complexity of Germany's industrial and social structure 'meant that any radical break with the past was impossible.'

Question 2

"The Treaty of Versailles lay at the root of the instability faced by the German government between 1919 and 1923." How valid is this assessment of the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on the Weimar Republic?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on people's attitude towards democracy and the republic. Candidates could opt to look at the way in which resentment of Versailles eroded people's faith in the republic and weigh up the impact of Versailles against other factors which undermined faith in the republic. Or they could opt to examine different aspects of the Treaty and weigh up the impact of each against the other(s) on faith in the republic.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that the Treaty of Versailles lay at the root of the instability faced by the German government between 1919-23

- The Treaty created a deep and widespread resentment that came to be aimed at the republic and the democrats who had accepted it.
- There were strong objections to the territorial and military terms of the treaty and this lost support for the republic among the traditional elites.
- Clause 231 – the 'War Guilt' clause – was regarded by Germans as humiliating.
- Reparations were viewed as little more than an attempt to destroy Germany.
- By accepting the Treaty – even though it had no choice but to do so – the newly elected democratic government was blamed for Germany's humiliation.
- The Treaty became a focus for right wing nationalist opposition to the republic and to democracy.
- Resentment of the treaty enabled conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Nazis to argue that democracy was un-German and parliamentarianism weak and ineffectual and a foreign imposition.
- Germany's economic crisis in 1923 was also blamed directly on the Treaty, especially the reparations clauses, and therefore on the republic and democracy.

Factors which contradict the view that Versailles lay at the root of the instability faced by the German government between 1919-23

- Political violence and instability 1919-23, which often had little to do with the Versailles Treaty as such, frightened people and made them uncertain about democracy's ability to maintain law and order.
- Ebert's use of the *Freikorps* to crush the Spartacists in January 1919 created a permanent alienation from democracy among Communists.
- KPD's attacks on democracy frightened the middle and business classes; they feared democracy would not be able to hold back Communism.
- The hyperinflation crisis of 1923 caused widespread anger and frustration with the government. Collapse of confidence in the currency was very damaging for confidence in the democratic system.
- Continuous coalition government from 1919 on, and the fact that voters were not voting for constituency MPs but rather for people on a party list, helped to erode trust between the voters and the Reichstag.

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

- **William Carr:** *The signature of the peace treaty cast a long shadow over the political life of the 1920s.* Right wing denigration of the republican parties and party leaders for signing the Treaty confirmed for influential sections of the community, anti-democratic by instinct and tradition, that democracy was a disaster for Germany.
- **M Collier and P Pedley:** Hatred of the treaty and the 'stab in the back myth' peddled by the anti-republican right undermined support for the republic and the parties who were involved in its creation.
- **R J Evans:** Versailles was only one reason for the republic's weakness. The republic was *beset by insurmountable problems of political violence, assassination and irreconcilable conflicts about its right to exist. It was unloved and undefended by its servants in the army and bureaucracy… it had to face enormous economic problems…*
- **Dick Geary:** If Versailles was so important in undermining the Republic, why did the Republic not collapse earlier when defeat and the Treaty were at their most immediate?
- **Ruth Henig:** Versailles meant that the parties of the moderate left and centre found themselves *increasingly on the defensive against nationalists and supporters of the former regime*. The treaty was a significant factor in the recovery of right-wing and anti-democratic political forces from 1919.
- **Stephen Lee:** The Treaty *set in motion influences which were to prove more damaging to the republic than the treaty itself. Its impact was therefore indirect but real nevertheless.*

Question 3

How far can it be argued that Stresemann's foreign policy showed that he was a German nationalist rather than a "Good European"?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the motives behind Stresemann's foreign policy by weighing up arguments for the view that Stresemann was acting according to his instincts as a German nationalist against arguments for the view that Stresemann's actions demonstrate that in fact he truly was a "Good European". Or candidates may wish to discuss Stresemann's foreign policy as containing elements of both nationalism and Europeanism.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that in his foreign policy Stresemann was a German nationalist

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

Factors which support the view that in his foreign policy Stresemann was being 'a Good European'

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

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

- **William Carr:** Stresemann's aim 'was to make Germany a great power once more'. He was *probably sincere … in his profound belief that it was in the interests of Europe as a whole to see Versailles revised as quickly as possible*.
- **Ruth Henig:** Stresemann was *realistic about Germany's diplomatic situation in Europe and the need to win the trust and respect of her former enemies' before revision of Versailles could be secured. But he was also 'as much of a nationalist as his right-wing opponents, and shared many of their aspirations…*
- **Eberhard Kolb:** Stresemann was a nationalist, but his 'keen sense of reality' meant that he viewed Germany's restoration and European peace as interdependent.
- **Stephen Lee:** Stresemann was neither a covert nationalist nor a Good European but a pragmatist who adapted to changed times and circumstances and, where he could, created new opportunities.
- **Sally Marks:** *Stresemann was a superlative liar, dispensing total untruths…* He was not the Good European he appeared to be but was in reality 'a great German nationalist'. Through his foreign policy, Germany became the pre-eminent member of the European family of nations – which is what he all along intended should happen.
- **Jonathan Wright:** Stresemann *felt the tension between the constraints of a responsible foreign policy and the romantic nationalism of his early career*. He hoped for a stable and peaceful international order because he understood Germany's dependence on its great power partners. From his pragmatism there developed a strong commitment to European peace.

Question 4

To what extent did industrialists and the military gain more from Nazi economic policies than other sections of German society, 1933-1939?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the effects of Nazi economic policies and in particular the issue of who gained more from the Nazi economy. Candidates should be expected to weigh up the gains made by big business and the military against the gains made by, for example, the workers and the *mittelstand*. Alternatively, candidates might choose to weigh the gains against the losses made by big business and the gains against the losses made by other groups before reaching an overall judgement.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that big business and the military gained most from the Nazi economy:

- Industry was brought under government supervision in the interests of national unity. All firms were members of the *Reichsgruppe* for industry.
- The state controlled most resources, but industry remained in private hands.
- Large firms had to join cartels but they expanded to meet government requirements.
- From 1936, under the Four Year Plan, rearmament became the main focus of the economy. Rearmament benefited big business enormously. Firms like Krupps, I G Farben, Daimler-Benz all expanded dramatically. Heavy industry expanded almost 200% over the period 1933-38.
- New areas of business also benefited such as the motor industry, chemicals and aircraft manufacture.
- Big business also benefited from the smashing of the labour movement. Wages were now controlled and profits, though also controlled, did rise significantly.
- Nevertheless, the Nazi regime was not simply a businessman's regime but in fact set about subordinating the independence of business to the interests of the Nazi state. And indeed during the 1930s around 300 000 small businesses disappeared.
- Although Hitler was not able to subordinate all areas of the economy to the rearmament drive, there is no doubt that the military benefited hugely. Military expenditure went from 1% of GNP in 1929 to 6% in 1934, 13% in 1936 and 17% in 1938. By 1940 it had reached 38% of GNP.
- The focus on rearmament meant that the military gained from the increased production of tanks, artillery, rifles, advanced weaponry, aircraft, ships and submarines.

Factors which suggest that other groups gained from the Nazi economy:

- To begin with, the government took measures that helped peasants such as the regulation of food prices and the cancellation of some debts.
- Initially, protection and controlled prices also helped farmers.
- Arable farmers were helped via government subsidies.
- The Four Year Plan helped to increase production by reducing fertiliser prices, providing subsidies for mechanisation and giving grants for the cultivation of new land.
- The Reich Entailed Farm Law (1935) was designed to protect traditional small farms (about 35% of all farms in Germany). These farms could not now be sold or mortgaged and had to be passed on to one person.
- The Nazi government also attempted to protect small traders. The Law to protect the Retail Trade (1933) placed special taxes on large stores and banned new department stores.
- Crucially, workers benefited from increased employment. By 1939 only 35,000 of 25 million male workers were officially unemployed.
- There was also a small but perceptible rise in workers' living standards.
- By 1936 the average wage for a worker was 35 marks per week – ten times more than the dole money which over six million had been receiving in 1932. Average paid holidays rose form three days per year in 1933 to between six and twelve days per year in 1939.
- The DAF (German Labour Front) that replaced the now banned trade unions provided workers with a range of facilities while the KdF (Strength through Joy) and the SdA (Beauty of Work) organisations provided leisure opportunities and better working conditions.

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

- **Wolfgang Benz:** On the issue of unemployment the Nazi government's success 'was dramatic'. By 1937-38 many companies were already complaining of a shortage of workers.
- **Richard Grunberger:** The attitude of German business to the regime was that of a *conductor of a runaway bus who has no control over the actions of the driver but keeps collecting the passengers' fares right up to the final crash*.
- **Ian Kershaw:** The crushing of the left, the free hand accorded to industry, the reordering of industrial relations, and in general the new political climate, *formed the basis of a positive relationship between the Nazi government and big business – a relationship which became cemented by the stimulus to the economy through the work creation programme and then in growing measure by the massive profits to be derived from the armaments boom*.
- **Tim Kirk:** The Nazis could not afford to alienate the industrial workers and so were careful to express respect for the dignity of labour and to back up this rhetoric with conciliatory gestures and symbolism.
- **Richard Overy:** At the level of the individual firm the experience of labour varied greatly from one to another, and between one group and another in the same firm.
- **Roderick Stackelberg:** Business enjoyed a privileged position, handsome profits and a considerable degree of self-management in the Third Reich on condition that it serve the political objectives of the Nazi leadership. The "primacy of politics" was the guiding principle of Nazi economic theory and practice.

Question 5

What factors best explain the ineffectiveness of opposition to the Nazi Regime, 1933-1939?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the significance of different reasons for the failure of opposition and resistance to the Nazi regime. Candidates have wide scope here. They could choose to look at a broad range of factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of opposition or they could choose to look in-depth at two or three. Whichever route they choose, the expectation is that candidates will make a judgement about the relative importance of the factors they have selected.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Commentary on the Nazis' success in repressing opponents and potential opposition

- 28 February 1933: *Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State*, used to repress the KPD. By the end of March 20 000 Communists were in prison and by summer 100 000 Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists.
- 13 March 1933: Goebbels appointed Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment. The Nazis now took complete control of the press, radio, cinema and all cultural output and were thereby able to prevent opposition views from being heard and to ensure the complete dominance of Nazi propaganda.
- 24 March 1933: the passing of the *Enabling Act*. Decrees could now be passed by the Cabinet (in effect Hitler) without recourse to the President so cutting out the need for any debate.
- 22 June 1934: SPD banned; other political parties dissolved themselves soon after. Trade unions were made illegal.
- 30 June 1933: 'Night of the Long Knives' destroyed internal opposition [from the SA] and won support from the army for Hitler.
- 14 July 1933: *Law Against the Formation of New Parties*. Germany became a one party state.
- 20 July 1933: *Concordat* agreement between the state and the Vatican ensured that opposition from the Roman Catholic Church was neutered.
- April 1934: Himmler became chief of the Prussian *Gestapo.*
- Success of apparatus of the Nazi Police State from 1933-39. In search of enemies of the state the *Gestapo* was allowed to operate outside the law and take suspects into custody. Such victims were liable to be tortured and sent to concentration camps. The courts were also thoroughly Nazified and the establishment of the People's Court (April 1934) ensured that 'treasonable offences' were dealt with harshly.
- The success and effectiveness of *Gleichschaltung*.
- Terror was highly effective as disincentive to opposition to the regime.

Commentary on the failure of the opposition because of its own weaknesses

- Opposition did not exist as one unified movement but was rather fragmented, often along class lines.
- Communist and Social Democrat underground opposition remained bitterly divided and completely unable to cooperate.
- There was lack of organisation, leadership and the ability to maintain secrecy.
- Opposition lacked a common purpose and was weakened by diversity of motives.

Commentary on the willingness of most Germans to go along with the regime

- Nazi propaganda *did* have an impact in persuading people to support the regime but, more important, as unemployment fell and living standards improved so more people felt better off and were minded to support rather than oppose the regime.
- Many people also welcomed Hitler's promises to restore national prestige and his foreign policy successes 1933-39 seemed to many, proof that Hitler was able to fulfil these promises.
- Not all Germans went along with the regime, but the odds were stacked against them if they opted to oppose it. Although the *Gestapo* is no longer viewed by historians as the all-seeing, all-knowing organisation it used to be portrayed as, it was nevertheless highly effective because of people's willingness to inform on their neighbours and the variety of agencies and institutions that worked with it. Therefore, opponents of the regime had to contend with the fact that whether their opposition was nonconformity or dissent or outright resistance there was a good chance that the *Gestapo* would get to know about it very quickly. Coercion was important in keeping opposition in Nazi Germany down, but so was the consent of the masses.

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

- **R J Evans:** Nazi terror was *nowhere more apparent than in the emerging power and fearsome reputation of the Gestapo*. The *Gestapo* attained *an almost mythical status' as all-seeing and all-knowing although 'the reality was rather different*. That said, everything that happened in the Third Reich took place *in a pervasive atmosphere of fear and terror, which never slackened…* And the Nazis did not just use terrorism to coerce the people; they also went to 'unprecedented lengths' in propaganda to gain the enthusiastic support of the people and to change people's hearts and minds.
- **Robert Gellately:** It was a characteristic feature of Nazi Germany that *the regime found no difficulty in obtaining the collaboration of ordinary citizens*. Most people *seemed prepared to live with the idea of a surveillance society, to put aside the opportunity to develop the freedoms we usually associate with liberal democracies, in return for crime-free streets, a return to prosperity, and what they regarded as good government… There was no organised resistance.*
- **Ian Kershaw:** Resistance and opposition to Hitler *acted without the active mass support of the population.* Large proportions of the population did not even passively support the resistance but rather, *widely condemned it*. Resistance was *fragmented, atomised and isolated from any possibility of mass support*. Opposition – real and potential – *was crushed and neutralised through the unprecedented level of repression by the Nazi state*.
- **K Mallmann and G Paul:** The National Socialist rulers could live with insubordination, superficial conformity and insidious criticism *as long as the consensus in political fundamental principles appeared secure and dissatisfaction, nonconformity and partial opposition did not coalesce and organise effectively*.
- **Nikolaus Wachsmann:** Hitler's police apparatus *commanded extensive weapons of repression.' Fear of the Gestapo 'was widespread*. The *Gestapo* drew extensively on support from outside its ranks. *It used information and denunciations from paid informers, low ranking party activists, and state and municipal agencies, as well as from the general public*.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the impact of hyperinflation on the lives of Germans in 1923? **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 the impact of hyperinflation on the lives of Germans in 1923.

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:

- The source explains how the period of hyperinflation was a surreal experience and one that caused deep anxiety ('insanity of the numbers, the uncertain future').
- The source underlines the fact that the fear caused by hyperinflation was not confined to just a few people here and there but was widespread (it was 'an epidemic').
- The source highlights the concrete effects of hyperinflation such as panic buying (the lines 'signal that the city will be shopped empty yet again').
- The source explains that prices rose so quickly that in the time it took workers to run to the shops after being given their pay packets their money had become virtually worthless, just bits of paper ('shrinks in value on the way to the grocer's shop').

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

- The hyperinflation crisis was triggered by the French occupation of the Ruhr (beginning in January 1923) and by August 1923 inflation was completely out of control.
- Panic buying was only one among many negative effects of the hyperinflation on people's lives. Living standards crashed. Any savings that people had accumulated were rendered completely worthless.
- Not just wages were affected. Anyone who depended on a fixed income of any kind was reduced to poverty because their income was fixed but prices rocketed and the value of the currency was destroyed.
- The source makes mention of printing presses churning out brand new banknotes which were worthless almost as soon as they were printed. This points out the fact that during the crisis there were 300 paper mills and 2000 printing firms working 24-hour shifts to produce banknotes.

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

- The catastrophe that hyperinflation caused is perhaps best seen in the value of the dollar to the mark. At the start of 1923 one dollar was worth 17,792 marks. By November 1923 one dollar was worth 200,000,000,000 marks.
- Hyperinflation pauperised the middle classes and some historians that think this was more revolutionary in its effects than the revolution of 1918-19 had been.
- People's health suffered too especially that of elderly people reduced to poverty by the hyperinflation.
- Hyperinflation had psychological effects as well as the more visible economic and social effects. The catastrophe made people suspicious of democracy and the republic, and distrustful of politicians.
- The crisis provided opportunities for demagogues on both the left and the right to attack the republic and democracy.
- Given that so many German suffered, and of all classes and backgrounds, the hyperinflation crisis challenged basic values and the deep scars left by the crisis contributed, in the long run, to the collapse of the republic.
- Yet not all Germans lost out. People with large mortgages, for instance, and farmers in debt benefited because they could pay off their loans with devalued currency.
- People who rented property with long-term rents gained as the real value of their payments fell.
- Exporters gained because of the mark's falling value.
- Some businessmen also benefited, most famously Hugo Stinnes who quickly bought up businesses that had failed because of the crisis. By 1924 Stinnes owned 1,535 companies – an estimated 20% of Germany's industries.
- The state also benefited because it lost its debt.

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

- **Alan Bullock:** *the inflation was to undermine German society in a way which neither the war, nor the revolution of 1918, nor the Treaty of Versailles had ever done.*
- **R J Evans**: The same person might be a winner and a loser. But unquestionably *a huge crime wave* hit Germany in 1923. The impact on something so notoriously vague as the 'German psyche' is difficult to measure.
- **David Evans and Jane Jenkins:** The pauperised and those cheated of their savings became *more prepared to listen to the firebrand orators of the extremist parties*.
- **Mary Fulbrook:** The *psychological shock* eroded democratic values and instilled *a heightened fear of the possibility of economic instability*.
- **Detlev Peukert:** *The social effects… are not easy to assess*. Two individuals from the same broad social class could be affected very differently.

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 impact of hyperinflation on the lives of Germans in 1923.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany? 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 Hitler's appointment as Chancellor and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- Papen denies that he worked behind the scenes to get Hitler appointed and that he miscalculated in his assessment of Hitler.
- Papen argues that it was *not* backstairs intrigue but the Treaty of Versailles and economic crisis caused by reparations that best explain Hitler's rise and so the Allies are as much to blame for Hitler's appointment as anyone else.
- Hitler's movement was the product of the sense of hopelessness of the German people; Hitler gained the support of almost 40% of the German electorate and that is why he was appointed Chancellor.
- Papen denies his pursuit of a vendetta against Schleicher was the real reason Hitler was appointed Chancellor.

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

- Papen is not being completely honest when he tries to assert that he was not an intriguer or a plotter. In fact, he worked tirelessly behind the scenes not just to secure his own interests but to ensure that whatever happened there would not be a return to parliamentary democracy. In May 1932, for example, Papen was quite content to be appointed by Hindenburg and to try to govern through the elite without any support at all from the Reichstag (for which reason Papen's cabinet was known as the 'cabinet of barons').
- Papen actively sought the support of the Nazis and in June 1932 he lifted the ban on the SA. Much more serious for the fate of democracy, Papen used emergency powers to depose the SPD-led coalition government in Prussia.
- It was Papen who, in response to Hitler's demands, agreed to new elections in July 1932 in which the Nazis made yet more spectacular gains.
- In January 1933 Papen agreed to serve in a Hitler-led government and declared, 'We've hired him' which did indeed show just how badly he had miscalculated.
- Economic crisis was indeed an important factor in the rise of the Nazis and in the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor. So was Hitler's promise to 'smash Versailles', a treaty that most Germans loathed. So Papen is right to highlight the importance of forces beyond the control of individuals.
- Nor was Papen the only intriguer. Schleicher too was at the centre of intrigue. He had great influence on Hindenburg and was responsible for the dismissal of Bruning and the appointment of Papen in May 1932, and then for the dismissal of Papen and the appointment of himself as Chancellor in December 1932.

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:

- The Nazis' electoral success is not a sufficient reason for Hitler's appointment.
- Hindenburg changed his mind. Following initial opposition, five months later he appointed Hitler as Chancellor.
- Hitler was not first choice but, by January 1933 other options had been exhausted.
- Without the support of the elite Hitler could not have become Chancellor of Germany when he did.

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

- In the elections of July 1932 the Nazis gained 37.4% of the votes and 230 seats in the Reichstag – not a majority. However, in the elections of November the Nazis *lost* 2 million votes and 34 seats indicating, as Kershaw suggests, that their rise was not unstoppable.
- The Nazis also did badly in the local elections of November and December 1932.
- In addition, by the end of 1932 the Nazis' finances were extremely low because of the costs of competing in so many elections.
- Hindenburg's options in December 1932 were clearly limited, but he did have options. In the end, however, he *chose* to follow the advice of Papen and others who hoped to use Hitler, with his popular appeal, to enhance their own power.

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

- There is no doubt that by 1932 many if not most Germans were disillusioned with democracy and the republic. This was demonstrated not just in the Nazis rising vote but also in the rising vote for the Communists. The collapse in the support for the more moderate, pro-democracy parties was a disaster for the republic.
- Other conservative and elite interests also worked to get Hitler appointed most notably leading industrialists Bosch, Thyssen and Krupp, for example, who wrote to Hindenburg in November 1932 asking him to consider transferring responsibility for leading a Presidential cabinet to the leader of the largest national party – ie to Hitler, leader of the Nazis.
- Furthermore, shortly after Hitler's appointment – on 21 March 1933 – Hindenburg cooperated in a ceremony to mark the opening of the Reichstag. The ceremony, arranged and stage-managed by Goebbels, took place at the Potsdam Garrison Church in the presence of Hindenburg, the son of the exiled Kaiser and many of the army's leading generals. The aim was to reassure the people that Hitler could be trusted.

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

- **Martin Broszat:** It was *during the Papen era, between June and November 1932, that the presidential system was tilted towards the extreme Right… This was the phase when advance concessions were made that created the conditions of an assumption of power by the Nazis.*
- **R J Evans:** The Depression helped to make the Nazis, *a catch all party of social protest, appealing to a greater or lesser degree to virtually every social group in the land.* The Nazis, *succeeded in transcending social boundaries and uniting highly disparate groups on the basis of a common ideology… as no other party in Germany had managed to do before.*
- **Conan Fischer:** *The translation of Nazi popularity into power… owed much to the disastrous miscalculation of the elites.* It is true that millions of middle class Germans sought deliverance by the Nazi movement from Marxism, but the presence also of millions of working class Germans was unmistakable. Although the Nazis benefited from the Weimar Republic's recurrent crises this is not to say that their success was either straightforward or inevitable.
- **Mary Fulbrook:** By late January 1933, *the elites were not prepared to uphold democracy at any cost; most wanted some form of authoritarian government.* The NSDAP no longer seemed dangerous and in these circumstances Hindenburg was persuaded by a small group (including his son and von Papen) to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.
- **Stephen Lee:** Hitler came to power largely 'through a conspiracy.'

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 reasons for Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.

Question 3

How useful is Source D in explaining the goal of the Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft*?
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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the goal of the Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Provenance:

- An official Nazi Party publication therefore a clear representation of the ideological goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft*.
- 1938, five years into the regime and so a confident assertion of the importance of the *Volksgemeinschaft* from a time when the regime was at the peak of its achievements both domestic and foreign.
- Highly significant because the source is 'guidelines' (ie. instructions) for teachers in secondary schools to ensure that all teachers of History conform to the Nazi ideological line and that all pupils are fed the same ideological line.

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

- The source highlights the fact that the goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft* is the revival of German nationalism and the German nation ('a great national existence') and the teaching of history is to be used to create to respect for, and to glorify, Germany's past.
- The source also underlines the importance in the *Volksgemeinschaft* of the subordination of the individual to the interests of the nation ('the responsibility of every individual for the nation as a whole').
- The source emphasises that Germany's destiny is now inseparable from that of the National Socialist Movement, and National Socialism is the embodiment of Germany ('A new understanding').
- The source makes it clear that the goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft* will be the new Germany must be the creation of a *racial* community ('… on the clear recognition of the basic racial forces of the German nation').

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

- The source is an example of the Nazis' absolute determination to control completely teachers and the school curriculum to ensure that both teachers and the curriculum were used as vehicles for propaganda and the transmission of Nazi ideology. Education was at the heart of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* not least because the Nazi recognised that winning the hearts and minds of Germany's youth was absolutely vital to the future of the *Volksgemeinschaft* ideal.
- Given that the goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was the creation of a community based on race, winning over the hearts and minds of youth was seen as crucial. Under the Nazis, virtually from birth German children were to be brought up as good National Socialists and with a strong awareness of Germany's history – at least according to how the Nazis interpreted it.
- Nazi youth organisations for boys and girls had been set up well before Hitler became Chancellor but once the Nazis were in power they moved to make Nazi youth organisations compulsory (which they were from 1936).
- Youth organisations aimed to produce young people who would be obedient, who would idolise Hitler, who would be physically fit and who would be prepared to sacrifice themselves for the good of the nation, and who would do everything in their power to strengthen the health and racial purity of the German nation.
- The Nazis also sought to ensure that education was a propaganda vehicle for the Nazi message of a classless society and one unified by race. Teachers were coordinated from early on in the regime and by 1937 97% of schoolteachers were in the National Socialist Teacher's League. In addition, the school curriculum was nazified so that, as **Source D** indicates, subjects such as History simply became carriers of Nazi ideology about race and nationalism.

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

- The Nazi attempt to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* went way beyond youth groups and schooling. Universities too were subject to Nazi control, and students were forced to join the Nazi-controlled German Students' League. University curricula were also modified with racial and eugenic ideas, just as in schools.
- Nazi policies on women were also specifically meant to help achieve the goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Thus, for example, the attempt was made to ensure that women became chiefly responsible for producing healthy 'Aryan' babies and for bringing children up to be good Nazis and good Germans.
- As well as policies on women the Nazis targeted the workers. The DAF was set up to replace all trade unions (which were banned) and its main objective was to spread Nazi propaganda.
- Workers were encouraged to support the aims of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* through the *Beauty of Labour* organisation (set up to persuade employers to improve working conditions) and *Strength through Joy* organisation (which offered rewards – evening classes, theatre trips, holidays – to loyal workers). The *Mittelstand* were also encouraged to support the Nazis through policies targeted at them such as the banning of cut-price competition between businesses.
- The Nazis also pursued policies that were specifically designed to exclude those who were deemed not German, and the group that suffered most from this exclusion was the Jews.
- Policies such as the Nuremberg Laws (September 1935) or the *'Kristallnacht'* pogrom (November 1938) were designed to 'cleanse' Germany of Jews who were to be treated as racial inferiors and whose presence in Germany, argued the Nazis, 'polluted' pure Germans.
- Racial ideology permeated all aspects of Nazi policy and society underlining the fact that the goal of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was to end class divisions and to bring about a new and unified community based on race.

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

- **M Collier and P Pedley:** The Nazis attempted to unite all Germans in a racially pure, classless national community. In this community the Nazis promised there would be no political, religious, economic or social divisions. The status of a German would be determined by racial purity and ideological commitment to the state.
- **Tim Kirk:** The *Volksgemeinschaft* was a myth. Despite the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda, Nazism did not in fact bring about a social revolution in Germany either in terms of real social change or in the way in which social reality was perceived. The effect of Nazi social and economic policies was to reinforce rather than transcend or overcome class divisions; the working class, for instance, was contained rather than integrated into a national community.
- **Roderick Stackelberg:** Through their use of publicity campaigns for the *Volksgemeinschaft* the Nazis sought to create the consciousness of a classless society (but the disruptive effects of class divisions persisted).
- **Jill Stephenson:** The creation of a national community was an aspiration of the Nazi leadership... It was conceived as a collective body of 'valuable Aryan' Germans who would live and work in harmony together under the leadership of the Nazi Party. The myth of the national community had perhaps some credibility in the years of peace, although there were sceptics even then.
- **Adam Tooze:** National Socialism's proudest boast was to have superseded the old politics of sectional interests in the name of the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

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 in explaining the goal of the Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft*.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How important were the demands of the diamond and gold mining industries in determining South African government policy, 1910-1939?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the importance of the demands of gold and diamond mining in determining government policy in the period after union until the outbreak of the Second World War. Candidates should show awareness of a range of factors which influenced government policy making in this period.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Influence of gold and diamonds mines

- Mineral revolution of the 1880s resulted in drive for cheap labour to maximise profits from mining companies.
- Establishment of migrant labour system in order to restrict cost of mining labour through controlling the cost of labour.
- Impact of 1913 Land Act making it illegal for Africans to purchase or lease land outwith the reserves forces blacks into the migrant labour system or onto farms as wage labourers.
- Wolpe's 'reserve labour subsidy' theory.
- 1911 Native Regulation Act bans strikes by African workers hired under contract.
- SAP regarded as having strong links to mining corporations and favouring mine owners over the workers (such as in the 1922 Rand Revolt).
- Widely recognised that mining was the lifeblood of the Union.
- The importance of gold as a source of revenue.
- Smuts seen as the ally of 'Hoggenheimer' ie. mining capital represented by the Chamber of Mines.
- White mine workers demanded greater job protection and the safeguarding of wage differentials in the post war period.
- The Pact government (Hertzog) responded to pressure from white mine workers.
- Mines and Works Amendment Act (1926) excluded black workers from certain jobs.
- Chamber of Mines objected to the Act of 1926 but had to accept it.

Other factors

- 1913 Land Act also designed to aid the needs of poor white farmers for cheap labour in what Trapido describes as 'the union between gold and maize'.
- Pressure from white labourers to increase controls over black workers who were undercutting whites.
- Legislation passed to appease white labour force such as 1911 Mines and Works Act which secured posts for higher paid whites through certificates of competency.
- Whites can put pressure on mine owners through the ballot box unlike black workers.
- **Worden:** Residential segregation originated in towns dominated not by the mining industry but by merchant and commercial interests.
- Concerns about the impact of Smuts' policies led many farmers in the Transvaal and Free State to switch support to Malan in 1948.
- Vast majority of Bills passed by the SA Parliament between 1910 and 1935 were designed to assist farming.
- The laws of 1913 and 1936 ensured that most of the best land stayed in white hands.
- Hertzog promoted the export of agricultural produce through transport subsidies.
- UP's 1937 Marketing Act helped maize farmers.
- Grants given to tackle drought relief and rural unemployment.

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

- Revisionists argue that the high costs involved in mining and the demand for cheap labour produced the migrant labour system and colour bar **(Johnstone)**.
- **Wolpe** argues that the Land Act was designed to ensure a ready supply of labour to the mines.
- **Beinart** argues that early government policy was also influenced by African Chiefs (most notably the Land Act) in order to bring back wages and ensure their authority was not diminished by young male workers.
- **Feinstein:** *It was revenue raised from the gold mines that enabled the state to give huge sums to other sectors, especially the commercial farmers, with an array of subsidies, relief grants and loans*.
- **Davenport** challenges the view that while Smuts favoured mining capital, there was a change of direction under Hertzog, and policies were more favourable to mineworkers.

Question 2

To what extent was disunity amongst resistance groups the main factor in undermining the effectiveness of opposition to segregation before 1939?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the view that resistance before the Second World War was ineffective due to the disunity and lack of co-operation between organisations. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Disunity amongst resistance groups

- Diversity of African resistance movements.
- Lack of agreement about aims and methods.
- Financial scandals and internal disputes which destroyed the ICU.
- Early ANC leadership disdainful of popular agitation so failed to link up with other resistance groups.
- 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.
- 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, although this was not the view of the ANC.
- 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.
- ANC radicals in the Cape mounted a campaign of civil disobedience to achieve the native republic, further exacerbating splits within the organisation.
- Opposition to Hertzog's Native Bills was led by the All African Convention, not the ANC, demonstrating lack of cohesion and competition over which would be dominant.
- Women played little part in the early ANC.
- The ANC's policy of working with those who had political power bound them more closely to the ruling class, alienating others.
- ANC did co-operate in the late 1920s with the CPSA.
- Failure to capitalise on rural resistance.

Other factors

- Between the mid 1920s and the mid 1930s the ANC had lost its coherence following the collapse of the 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 therefore limiting their methods.
- 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.
- Economic success would only be possible with good (and equal) education for blacks.
- 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.
- Failure of international deputations such as that at Versailles.
- Resistance at this time is described by Beinart as being localised in issue and often in action.
- Methods of early resistance organisations.

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.
- **Worden** describes the limitations of the ICU due to leadership and regional struggles and an unwillingness to move focus away from the countryside until the late 1920s where it obtained most of its support. In general he attributes the ineffectiveness of early resistance as being that *African protest lacked the link with political mobilisation*.

Question 3

How far can it be argued that the unique sense of Afrikaner identity was the main reason for the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism before 1948?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the significance of the development of a coherent Afrikaner identity in the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism before the National Party's victory in the 1948 election. The candidate should make a judgement having compared a range of factors.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Afrikaner identity and belief in a set destiny

- Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) influence and message of purification through suffering
- Values of the DRC perceiving Afrikaners as chosen people, 'divinely guided pilgrimage'
- Influence of language – Preller as 'populariser of history'.
- Mythology of Afrikaner nationalism whereby real events are forged into a view of Afrikaner past in the twentieth century.
- Distortion of history to justify beliefs such as the Cape frontier, Great Trek, Battle of Blood River, Day of the Covenant.
- Emphasis on ethnic struggle versus the British such as the legacy of the Boer war, traits of the 'bitterenders' mythologised.
- C19th Cape experience – Die Afrikaanse Patriot stressed distinctiveness of Afrikaner experience.
- 1880 Formation of Afrikaner Bond – emphasises Afrikaner unity but had limited support beyond the Cape.
- Papers, magazines ie Die Huisgenoot – stressed common heritage of all Afrikaners and reached 20% of all Afrikaner families by the 1930s.
- 1929 FAK sought to unify and disseminate sense of separate Afrikaner identity Volkseenheid (unity of the volk).
- Creation of martyrs such as Joupie Foucie.
- Afrikaner culture further propagated and defined by the 1938 Eufees celebrations.
- Afrikaner business encouraged to serve whole community of Afrikaners.
- Growing fears of loss of ethnic identity in the cities.

Limits of Afrikaner identity

- Unity not easy to achieve.
- Class divisions as evinced by Afrikaner workers supporting the Labour Party.
- 1934 Hertzog had rejected Afrikaner separatism in joining Fusion government. Regarded as a 'turning point' by O'Meara resulting in the Purified National Party break away with Malan with its 'unique culture' emphasis for Afrikaners.

Other factors contributing to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism

- Findings of the 1932 Carnegie Commission on poor whites revealed the extent of urban poverty.
- Malan's commitment to the poor white question.
- FAK organised the Volkskongres of 1939 in response to the findings of a special commission established to investigate poverty among Afrikaners.
- The Volkskongres established the machinery for Afrikaner mobilisation in the economic field.
- Reddingsdaadfonds (Relief fund) set up so Afrikaners could help other Afrikaners.
- Broederbond aimed to establish Afrikaner Trade Unions to win allegiance of Afrikaner workers.
- Distrust of Fusion and the United Party.
- Changes in leadership of Afrikanerdom with new Purified National Party.

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

- **Early Liberal views:** Afrikaner nationalism as a product of fear.
- Traditional view that a mythologised interpretation of Afrikaner history contributes to the rise in Afrikaner nationalism (**Grundlingh)**.
- **Giliomee** argues that the communally deprived or those driven to preserve their position had their concerns mobilised by leaders, resulting in the rise of national identity. The Afrikaner leadership aimed to uplift the poor whites through the psychological and cultural dimension of collective security. He also emphasises the language movement ('cultural nationalism') and the popularization of history.
- **Dubow** explains that the boundaries of Afrikaner nationalism were *often adjusted to fit historical circumstance*.
- **Marxists (O'Meara)** view the rise of Afrikaner nationalism as an expression of class interests.
- **Thompson and Wilson** highlight the role of the DRC in shaping the political philosophy of Afrikaners (90% were adherents of the DRC).
- **Worden** emphasises the attempt to win working class support away from Trade Unions to the National Party as a reason for the rise of nationalism.

Question 4

How valid is the view that the policy of Separate Development after 1959 was apartheid by another name?

This question invites candidates to consider to what extent a change or turning point can be seen in the development of apartheid legislation at the start of the 1960s or whether there was a continuation of apartheid as it was.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence of Separate Development as "sanitized apartheid"

- Verwoerd's vision of a multi-national rather than a multi-racial state.
- Creation of the Bantustans based on existing and expanded reserves.
- 17% of land for Bantustans based on traditional tribal areas.
- Continuing use of migrant labour through increased relocation of industry to edge of Bantustans. In reality, government provided little funding for this relocation of industry.
- Verwoerd appears to have seen Separate Development as a just policy.
- Continuing aim of securing white dominance in a smaller white state.
- Continued economic interdependence but Verwoerd now promising political 'independence'.
- Continuing ambiguity over the position of Coloureds.
- Granting of 'independence' to areas such as the Transkei in order to neutralise black demands for political rights.
- Verwoerd defends apartheid as protecting the interests of the white minority which had clearly been in evidence under early apartheid legislation such as the Mixed Marriages Act.
- New constitution of 1961 maintained the white monopoly in parliament as existed previously.
- Africans would only be given special permission to live in the white state to work, further developing the previous Urban Areas Act and Abolition of Passes Act.
- The crisis engulfing the government in the early 1960s as resistance intensified arguably led to a repackaging of apartheid with the prospect of blacks gaining self-government as Bantu nations. In reality this was further removal of their rights within South Africa.
- Verwoerd persuades hundreds of chiefs to support this policy which appears to legitimise it.
- The policy, however, failed to separate the races and by the 1970s nearly 8 million Africans continued to live in 'white' areas.

Evidence contrary to statement

- Evidence that Separate Development went further than previous apartheid including ending any form of African representation in white politics.
- The government's Bantu policy was not fixed and evolved over time.
- The ultimate goal of giving 'independence' to the Bantustans was a "remarkable shift in the governments' position" (Barber).
- Evidence of escalation in apartheid such as the forced removal of 3.5 million Africans from their homes.
- Increasing violence amongst resistance groups such as POQO and MK resulted in the 'granite response' with increasing state oppression.
- The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (1970) made all Africans citizens of one of the homelands, even if they had never lived outside a 'white' area.
- By 1972, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophutatswana and Lebowa had all been granted 'self-governing' status.
- The Homelands remained poor, overcrowded and weakened by the forced removal to them of the sick and the old.
- The Homelands, which had been designed to appease international criticism of apartheid had the opposite effect.
- Almost all countries in the world regarded the Bantustans as puppets of the South African government.

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.*
- **O'Meara:** favours the 'Grand Design' view and sees coherence between the policies of the 1950s and those of the 1960s and claims that policies of the 1960s such as decentralisation, population removal and homelands development were central to the development of apartheid from the start.
- **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.

Question 5

How significant was the United Nations in influencing the foreign policy of the South African government, 1960-1984?

This question invites candidates to assess the significance of the United Nations in influencing the foreign policy of the South African government between 1960 and 1984. The candidate should take account of a range of factors.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Pressure from the United Nations

- **1950 —** General Assembly declared that "a policy of 'racial segregation' (apartheid) is based on doctrines of racial discrimination".
- Previously UN refused to condemn matters of 'internal policy'
- 1950s South Africa excluded from UN specialised agencies.
- **1960 —** The Security Council, in its first action on South Africa, adopted Resolution 134 deploring the policies and actions of the South African government in the wake of Sharpeville calling upon the government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.
- **1961** Secretary-General meets Verwoerd to request speedy integration of the races. Verwoerd described this as 'totally unacceptable'.
- **1963 —** First meeting of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, It was later renamed the "Special Committee against Apartheid". Resolution 181 calling upon all States to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. Not mandatory until 1977.
- **1966 —** International Seminar on Apartheid.
- **1968 —** General Assembly requested all States and organizations "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."
- **1973** UN declared apartheid a 'crime against humanity'.
- **1 January 1976 —** The UN Centre Against Apartheid was established.
- **1984 —**the Security Council declared null and void the new racist constitution of South Africa.
- Strong language from the UN was not matched by action as the UK, US and France vetoed resolutions supporting the armed struggle in the UN Security Council.
- They also opposed economic sanctions – Only the Scandinavian countries imposed sanctions and gave aid to the ANC.

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
- Churches and Christian based organisations significant in spreading awareness
- Sporting questions like Basil D'Oliveira affair encouraged white sympathies
- 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.
- BUT – Labour government of 1970s and the USA veto sanctions and largely follow a pro South African policy allowing capital and investment in the country.

Internal threats to the SA government

- Economic problems such as the falling price of gold, rising price of oil, the balance of payments crisis and rising inflation.
- Changes within the SA economy leading to demands for a more stable urbanised workforce.
- Rapid growth of the African urban population in squatter camps.
- Unrest in townships: Soweto.
- The growth of powerful Trades Unions.
- The impact of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commission reports.
- Hostility to the Black Local Authorities Act and Tri-Cameral Constitution (1984).
- The formation of the National Forum (NF) and the UDF in 1983.
- The split within the NP, leading to the formation of Treunicht's Conservative Party.
- Introduction of National Service.
- Black resistance increasingly dominated by the non-racialism of the ANC/SACP in the 1980s.

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

- Writing in 1985, **Merle Lipton** argued that *The trend (among capitalists) is towards increasing opposition (to apartheid) and it has been accelerating.* Capitalist interests in SA were already working to undermine apartheid by the late 1970s and early 1980s.
- **Nigel Worden:** argues that 'total strategy' intensified the very problems which it sought to defuse and emphasises the role of African Trades Unions in the decline of apartheid.
- 1970s – Disinvestment by west was 'critical leverage' according to **Lodge**. He describes the UN as having '*weak expression of concern about violence*' of Sharpeville but this did signify an advance in the UN's opposition to apartheid.
- **Lodge** argues that *from its inception, the UN had supplied a sympathetic forum for condemnation of South African race policies.*
- **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.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the changing relations between Afrikaners and the British between 1910 and 1939?   12 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 changing nature of relations between Afrikaners and the British before 1939, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

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

- Afrikaners who still carried the scars of war – continuing resentment of Afrikaners towards the Empire. Demands for redefining the relationship with Britain in order to ensure power for Afrikaners rather than the British.
- To protect Afrikaner culture and language.
- Accusations by some Afrikaners that Botha and Smuts were men of the Empire.
- Divergence between the English-speaking Unionists, who regarded him as a fanatic – Hertzog's alternative view for South Africa that English speakers and Afrikaners should continue to develop as separate groups.

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

- Reasons for long term resentment against the Empire as held by Afrikaners including scorched earth policy employed against Boer farms, concentration camps in which 26,000 Afrikaner women and children died.
- Resentment of Treaty of Vereeniging imposing British control over two Afrikaner territories.
- Early union establishes SA as having dominion status within the Empire rather than that of a colony.
- Botha and Smuts promote white unity and the development of a 'single white nation'.
- Hertzog's 'Parallel streams' view of the future of Afrikaner/English-speaker relations.
- Radical Afrikaners saw union as changing nothing in terms of relations with Britain "*From year to year the Afrikaner is treated as inferior*" (Malan 1910).
- Increasing tension between Hertzog and the SAP over issues such as status in the Empire led to Hertzog's formation of the National Party in 1914.

Source B

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

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

- No longer mortal disagreement.
- South Africa was a sovereign independent state.
- Hertzog had returned from the Imperial Conference of 1926 immensely reassured.
- Great Britain no longer had imperial designs on South Africa.

Points which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Balfour Declaration of 1926 divides NP between republicans and Hertzog's supporters.
- Smuts too had supported the Balfour Declaration giving equal status to countries in the Commonwealth.
- The Union remained a member of the Commonwealth for 50 years.
- "In many ways Hertzog's position was closer to Smuts' than to his militant NP colleagues'" (Barber with regards to the Balfour Declaration).

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

- Demand by some NP members for secession from the Commonwealth and neutrality in war.
- 1926/7 Flag dispute.
- Resentment over dominance given to English as the language of Empire and South Africa.
- Status Act 1933 (Fusion government) formalised the Union's sovereignty and recognised her free association with the Commonwealth.
- Split in United Party over entry to war on the side of Britain in 1939 (Narrow victory for Smuts in cabinet vote).
- Split in the United Party and formation of the Purified National Party 1934 in part due to the Status Act.
- Union fought with Britain in 2 World Wars.
- South African government not consulted when Empire declared war on Germany.
- While Hertzog reluctantly supported the commitment to the First World War, he did not support entry to the Second World War leaving the UP and re-joining the NP.
- 12,000 rebels took part in rebellion with de Wet against the Empire in 1915.

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

- **O'Meara:** Smuts saw the Status Act as strengthening the bonds with the Empire while Hertzog regard it as underlining the union's independence.
- **Barber** *War exposed the very questions that Hertzog and Smuts had pushed aside when they had fused their parties: neutrality and loyalty to the crown.*
- **Legassick:** Interpretation of the Union of South Africa as a deliberate attempt to safeguard British Imperial interests.
- **Giliomee and Mbenga** argue that, when South Africa became effectively independent within the Commonwealth, most English speakers did not see their position threatened.

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 differing interpretations of the changing relations between Afrikaners and the British between 1910 and 1939.

Question 2

How useful is Source C in explaining the origins of apartheid before 1959?   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 C** as an explanation of the origins of Apartheid before 1959, in terms of:

Provenance:

- Extract from Mandela's autobiography started in 1974 while incarcerated by apartheid regime.
- Mandela as leading opponent of apartheid as evinced by his running of MK's violent struggle against apartheid.
- Resumed his writing in 1990 after the collapse of apartheid and therefore retrospective.

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

- Bitterness towards the English, who treated them as inferiors for decades
- Bitterness towards the African, who the Nationalists believed was threatening the prosperity and purity of Afrikaner culture.
- The codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries – Earlier policies are formalised/ brought together in a programme of legislation.
- Aim to entrench white supremacy in South Africa.

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

- Evidence of the legacy of oppression of the Afrikaner by the British and the perceived threat of the 'black peril' as driving apartheid.
- Legislation including the 1913 Land Act establishing the reserves are built upon and expanded under apartheid.
- Geographical segregation of the races brought more into towns by the Group Areas Act and Native Resettlement Act which built on the 1923 Urban Areas Act.
- Evidence of apartheid policy as a way of maintaining white supremacy such as the prohibition of Mixed Marriages, the Population Registration Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.
- The Sauer Report of 1948 has been interpreted as a 'blueprint' for apartheid by some including Brian Bunting and O'Meara.
- Views of Afrikaner academics such as Cronje who advocated complete racial separation in order to ensure the long term survival of the Afrikaner people.

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

- Evidence for the economic justification for apartheid including apartheid as a means of extracting the benefits of the migrant labour system to meet the needs of manufacturing.
- Influx control legislation would restrict the process of black urbanisation and therefore the development of an urban proletariat.
- Influx control would also protect the interests of white workers threatened by lower wages of black workers.
- Commercial farmers guaranteed labour supply from the reserves.
- Gradual relocation of industry to the reserves.

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.
- **Posel's** analysis of influx control in the 1950s shows apartheid was a more flexible policy than once believed.
- **Barber** describes key elements of apartheid being evident prior to the Second World War
- **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.
- Traditional views such as that of **Brian Bunting** see apartheid as a coherent, preconceived policy.
- **Marxist** historians interpret apartheid in terms of the changing economic needs of South Africa.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence for explaining the origins of apartheid before 1959.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the decision to adopt militant tactics by some resistance groups in the 1960s?   **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 D** as an adequate explanation of the move to militant tactics by resistance groups in the 1960s, in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: accurate comment on Tom Lodge who is writing in light of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. His 2011 book is based on interviews with survivors and focuses on assessing the consequences of events at Sharpeville based on new sources.

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

- The massacre and the nationwide tumult.
- Suppression of their organization made the move to violent tactics more compelling.
- Influential ANC leaders believed violent confrontation inevitable.
- Militancy was dependent on the mobilization of the masses as evident at Sharpeville.

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

- Mandela had discussed the prospect of an armed struggle with Walter Sisulu as early as 1952 explaining that "the attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands".
- Verwoerd's policy on race tightened up for many blacks in the workplace.
- Increased white oppression due to Verwoerd's fear of black resistance becoming cohesive and concentrated against the white government.
- Banning of the PAC and ANC after Sharpeville forced the movements underground resulting in a change in tactics.
- Evidence of armed resistance before 1961 in the Pondoland Revolt of 1960.
- Frustration over limits of ANC/resistance success in the 1950s.
- Rise of African nationalism and belief that there was no hope for a policy of peaceful agitation
- Leaders were arguably brought closer by their experience in the Treason Trials thus facilitating greater co-operation thereafter.
- By 1960 levels of agitation had significantly increased against the government.
- Defiance Campaign had overcome apathy and aroused a spirit of militancy and determination.

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

- **Lodge**: *after Sharpeville, there remained plausible political alternatives to sabotage and guerrilla warfare*.
- **McKinley** argues that *the reactive struggle was born of a historical failure to organise and mobilise around the actual and potential militancy of the masses*.
- **Davenport** suggests that the ANC was driven apart by leadership disputes and this contributed to the launch of the armed struggle.
- **Davis and Fine** have argued that the move to armed struggle was not just a consequence of the Sharpeville massacre, but that local armed resistance had in effect been in evidence before 1961-2.
- **Barber:** Failure of the Defiance Campaign demonstrated that there was no constitutional route to liberation.
- **Dubow:** Sharpeville revealed the weaknesses in the ANC and PAC especially the strategic limitations of non-violent resistance.

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 decision to adopt militant tactics by some resistance groups in the 1960s.

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 1 Essays

Each essay is worth 25 marks

Question 1

What factors best explain why a one-party dictatorship emerged in Russia between October 1917 and March 1921?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to consider the reasons which explain why a one-party state emerged between October 1917 and March 1921. They might explore the political, economic and social spheres, and consider their relative importance. The main Bolshevik aim was to stay in power and this was achieved by a number of means; weakness of the opposition, the use of terror and class warfare to distract workers and peasants. They also granted concessions to urban workers and peasants and easily attacked or manipulated the political opposition.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Political factors which may explain why a one party state emerged

- Closing down the opposition press.
- Removal of freedoms granted by the Provisional Government.
- Destruction of the Constituent Assembly as the Opposition was too weak.
- Significant demand for co-operation between parties; threat of railwaymen's union, post and telegraph workers to cut off communication; hence Lenin agreed to talks but engineered their collapse and made an alliance of sorts with SRs to claim he represented the peasantry (land issue).
- Control imposed over the Soviets – compromise from the beginning, ie. "all power to the Soviets" denied by setting up the Sovnarkom; intention to centre power in the hands of the Bolsheviks alone.
- Destruction of other political parties: Kadets, SRs and Mensheviks.
- Establishment of central control – pyramid of power; Politburo at the top, to eliminate opposition, to maintain the revolution, but tight-knit group in Moscow.
- Party control over the state, the party the vanguard of the revolution hence development of bureaucracy (Soviet constitution).
- Use of terror, Red Terror and Cheka.
- Legal system abolished – replaced by revolutionary justice, arbitrary and violent.
- Some Bolsheviks becoming disillusioned about democratic centralism as the source of Bolshevik discipline.
- So much political power placed in hands of one man, Lenin.

Economic factors

- 1917 Land Decree – abolishing private ownership.
- War Communism used to strictly control the economic sphere of Russia.
- Loss of the proletarian base, developed role of Politburo and status of Central Committee.

Social factors

- Abolition of titles; use of egalitarian 'comrade'.
- Socialist press encouraging class warfare – 'parasites' and 'bloodsuckers'.
- Class warfare encouraged: burzhui beaten, robbed, arrested. State licensed and encouraged people to attack middle class houses 'to loot the looters'.
- Civil servants on strike so purged, juniors promoted, third-rate but obedient.
- Religion was frowned upon and Bolshevism became the new religion.

Ideological factors

- The ideology of Bolshevism, eg 'What is to be done', 'April Theses', 'State & Revolution', 'War & Revolution': to promote development of socialism harsh measures and strong leadership required for the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- Building on the February Revolution; sweeping away 'pillars of Tsarism'.
- Rejecting liberal democracy as represented by Provisional Government and would-be Constituent Assembly in favour of proletarian democracy, through Soviets and party leadership.
- Need for democratic centralism.

Other factors

- Precarious situation of the Bolsheviks.
- Assassination attempt on Lenin's life in August 1918.
- Provinces – plundering houses, violence, looting burzhui.
- War with Germany, politics in Treaty of Brest-Litovsk – not a duty to fight the capitalist imperialists, ending of WWI symbolic of the working class revolution; in reality Bolshevik support needed to be extended beyond the cities, the army was not fit to fight, but territory lost would be regained in the international proletarian revolution.
- Fear of breakdown of whole apparatus of government; failure of world revolutions to materialise.
- Hence the building of forces of terror and the wiping out of opposition were vital to ensure the survival of the revolution/the Bolsheviks. Creation of a one-party state justified ideologically to avoid the counter-revolution.

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

- **R.Pipes:** Argues that Lenin intended all of this. He only had one agenda and that was a one party dictatorship.
- **Bulgakov/Shiskin:** see the Bolsheviks as 'destructive demagogues'.
- **R.Kowalski:** *they lost whatever legitimacy they had in October and clung to power by dictatorial means by 1921… the foundations of what we now term Stalinism appear to have been firmly laid.*
- **S.Cohen** disputes this.
- **O.Figes** states *drunken mobs went on the rampage… sailors and soldiers went round the well-to-do districts robbing apartments and killing people for sport*
- **R.Sakwa** argues it was clear from 1918 that Lenin insisted that the *...Constituent Assembly had outlived its usefulness...*

Question 2

To what extent has the role of Trotsky in bringing about Red victory in the Civil War been exaggerated?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to discuss the significance of the role of Trotsky in outcome of the Civil War against other significant factors involved. It is possible to consider the nature of the Civil War itself; the political, social and economic aspects. It is also important to discuss the role of the Allies, the influence of geography and propaganda.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Leadership

- Trotsky, Commissar of War, who formed the Red Army, used oratory, propaganda machine, the train, to invoke unity and organisation and centralised communications.
- His inspirational leadership, tough management of the army, attaching political commissars to each unit, introducing death penalty, military specialists, forming labour battalions and recruiting ex-Tsarist officers showed the decisive and strong leadership needed.
- Lenin's support of Trotsky.
- Reds did have advantages but the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky should not be overstated.
- The main forces of the Whites – a mix of liberals, nationalists, former tsarists, nationalists separatists, SRs and moderates.
- At first Kornilov was inspiring, part of the Don Cossack army and as Figes states the growth of the Volunteer army "was largely due to the charismatic presence of General Kornilov" but killed, April 1918.
- At the beginning the Volunteer Army (3,000) was largely an officers' army, and much better organised eg Denikin's defeat of the Red Army in the Don region.
- But too often White leaders were at odds to the extent that it had an impact eg Alexeev and Kornilov had to communicate by messenger (even though offices next to each other).
- Denikin condoned the 'ethnic cleansing' practices of Cossacks and he helped landowners recover their estates, alienating the peasants.

Geographical advantage

- Initially the Whites surrounded the Red forces: Yudenich in North West, Kolchak in North controlling much of Siberia, The Komuch in the East and Kornilov, Alekseev and Denikin in the South West. But ultimately too scattered geographically to use it to their advantage.
- Reds had heartland: Sovdepia, Petrograd and Moscow. Sovdepia was mainly industrialised and thus contained most of the country's armaments factories and industrial base.
- Bolshevik areas were heavily populated which aided conscription and thus allowed them to out-number the White forces.
- Moving capital to Moscow which was the hub of the rail system making distribution and transportation of men and weapons easier.

Political – what they were fighting for

- The main cause of conflict when Bolshevik actions alienated the other groups, SRs, Mensheviks, liberals and conservatives. But Whites associated with old system of government were considered worse.
- The Bolshevik cause was the patriotic one to sustain the revolution from outside forces.
- Peace, Bread, Land was still the ideology and main policy focus.
- The land issue and Bolshevik promises, made earlier than Whites, peasant support vital.
- Whites were unsure if fighting for monarchism, republicanism or a Constituent Assembly.
- The spectrum of political cultures as represented among the factions. The simple resistance – with the Greens, peasants and soldiers. The more sophisticated – with the Allied powers each having their own agenda about what should be done with Russia and what should emerge; the Komuch and the possibility of a third democratic phase with the Czechs as natural allies.
- Nationalities – White leaders aimed to restore pre-1917 borders. Ukrainians and Georgians wanted autonomy.

Economic and social factors

- Evidence of the institutions of Bolshevism were seen in the Red Army and how it was created (breaking local groups).
- The Red Army managed health care and took care of dependants, hence they coped with resistance to grain requisitioning.
- Other institutions might be mentioned (Party, Cheka) allowed talent to flourish, won allegiance and many wanted not to return to the old order.
- The Whites had too many officers already to allow others to rise and the Greens were reactive to the situation, not permanent in their allegiance.

Other groups

- The cause of the Czech Legion hostilities.
- The motivation of the Greens and Makhno's Insurgent Army.
- The issue of Allied Intervention, aid to Whites tended to be ineffectual.

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

- **Pipes:** argues the territory the Reds controlled as the cause of victory, rather than leadership or motivation.
- **Mawdsley:** cites the advantage of the "Aladdin's cave" regarding the territory.
- **Swain:** *the Civil War became a war between Red Bolsheviks and the White Generals*.
- **Lincoln:** emphasises the limited nature of White support: *Kolchak drew his main support from the British, the armourers and the financiers of his government... Here at last was a commander who spoke of legality, order, freedom and firm democratic foundations and did not consign capitalists to the purgatory of world revolution*.
- **Service:** cites Trotsky's brilliance.
- **Figes:** suggests the crucial advantage the Reds had, (encouraging more volunteers to be part of the fighting force), was the claim that they were defending "the Revolution".

Question 3

"Stalin was very much in the right place at the right time, lucky – but the luck had to be used." How valid is this assessment of the reasons for Stalin's rise to power?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to address the man issues and arguments surrounding Stalin's rise to power. The candidate should address the role that luck was a prevalent factor. They should also compare all the main contenders in the leadership struggle. By addressing the weaknesses AND strengths of the main contenders Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, Bukharin and Stalin. Candidates should also address ideological debates, policy, and the legacy of Lenin.

Luck

- Lenin and Sverdlov died at the right time for Stalin.
- Sverdlov died of Spanish flu in March 1919 – left few administrators among party so Lenin turned to Stalin.
- Also death of Dzerzhinsky (head of Cheka from beginning, not Stalin fan) in 1926, allowed Stalin to put his supporters into the Cheka.
- Lenin died in January 1924 of stroke (had been ill for several years beforehand).
- If Lenin had not died, Stalin would have been seriously demoted.
- For 3 years from 1923, Trotsky suffered attacks of undiagnosed fever, sapped strength, less able to deal with attacks, absent from crucial Politburo votes in meetings. In particular failing to attend Lenin's funeral which was seized upon by Stalin, although Stalin may not have deliberately engineered it.

Opponents' weaknesses

- The contenders for power in the 1920s including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and Bukharin.
- Stalin's use of contenders, eg Zinoviev (sidelining Comintern) and Kamenev, plus the roles of other key figures including Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.
- The qualities and deficiencies of each candiate both in terms of their practical and ideological appeal, constituencies of support as well as the ideological differences.
- Factionalism.
- Trotsky the intellectual who had Lenin's ear but lacked social graces and party power base

Stalin's strengths

- As administrator (Commissar for Nationalities).
- Pragmatist/opportunist (Lenin's death, producing the cult of Lenin and Stalin's self-adopted role as Lenin's disciple).
- Stalin stays in the background – lets 'Old Bolsheviks' dig each other's graves.
- Patron (as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment).
- The creator of the mass Party by 1925.
- Control of Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- Manipulating situations to his own benefit (eg during the 'war scare' of 1927).
- His determination and ruthlessness.

Ideology

- NEP debates.
- Trotsky's idea of 'Permanent Revolution' compared to Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country'.

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

- **McCauley:** *Stalin had luck on his side.*
- **Deutscher:** Trotsky's inability to recognise this *wilful, sly but shabby and inarticulate man* as his rival.
- **Lynch:** Stalin was the moderate who refused to become involved in Party warfare.
- **Ward:** *socialism in one country* appealed to most people.
- **Conquest:** Stalin simply outmanoeuvred his colleagues.
- There may be discussion of schools of thought, eg the Structuralist or Intentionalist approach, party history, ideological approach and/or revisionists.

Question 4

"The entire country transformed. Millions died and millions more changed their way of life irrevocably". How valid is this assessment of the impact of collectivisation?

Candidates would be expected to consider the impact of collectivisation in terms of economic change, the impact on society and politically. There should be debate on the motivations for change and evaluate their impact.

Political

- End to Peasant 'petit bourgeois' kulaks' influence which created enemies of the state ripe for purging.
- Socialist solution not to have private holdings (NEP), but 'socialist agrotowns'.
- Strengthening control of Central Party apparatus over provinces such as Ukraine and central Asia.
- Exerting control of local Party cliques from above.
- Needed to prepare for potential war and to support industrial expansion.
- To compete with USA as a superpower.

However

- Force, propaganda and terror was used.
- Liquidation of the kulak class, to make the middle peasants obey Stalin.
- 'Twenty Five Thousanders' rounded up families and deported some 10 million people (some estimate 20 million dead or deported).
- The extent of denunciations by neighbours reflects the success of the propaganda machine in inflaming class hatred.
- Armed resistance and riots: crops, tools and houses burned rather than hand them over.
- Women's protests were significant and effective in organisation and outcome.

Economic

- 1930 witness bumper year in grain harvest 83.5 million tons compared to 73.3 million tons in 1928.
- NEP had failed to solve the eternal problem of feeding the people, Collectivisation had to work.
- Many crops suited better to larger farms – small farms meant poor use of labour, unable to benefit from mechanisation. Too much consumed by the farm, not enough going to market.
- Larger units of land meant efficiency via mechanisation – tractors and machinery supplied through MTS.
- Fewer peasants needed to work land – released labour for industry.
- Easier for state to take grain for cities and export – controlled by Communist supporters.

However

- Agriculture was a disaster: significant numbers of animals slaughtered, enterprising peasants had left the country, fled to city to seize opportunity of upward mobility.
- Grain procurement crisis 1928–9 – peasants were resisting government policies and not sending goods to market; bread and meat therefore rationed in the cities.
- Building a social and economic system to make USSR a great power.
- Those left were in no mood to begin work, and passive resistance was the order of the day – referred to this as 'second serfdom'.
- Statistics after 1930 distorted to show alleged success, even though grain harvests had fallen, grain procurement still increased – 10.8 million tons in 1928 with 73.3 million tons harvested but by 1933 22.6million tons procured from only 68.4 million tons harvested.
- 'Dizzy with success' speech (2 March 1930) meant pace slowed down and return to voluntary principle indicates limitations of policy.
- Life was the same for most, same wooden huts.
- Tractors were largely imaginary.

Social

- By February 1930 the party claimed that half of all peasant holdings had been collectivised.
- Estimated 70% peasants households collectivised by 1934 and 90% by 1936; 120 million people,600,000 villages, 25 million holdings consolidated into 240,000 state-controlled collective farms.

However

- Famine 1932–34 because high targets at time of huge drop in grain production due to Collectivisation, 7 million died from a manmade famine.
- The most successful peasant farms were accused of being kulaks and were deported or killed. 25 to 30% of animals killed due to starvation.
- OGPU were vicious. 1.73 million tons exported.
- 1932 strict laws introduced to ensure grain was handed over, handing out ten year sentences for stealing 'socialised property'.
- Requisitioned grain was left rotting in huge dumps or on trains whilst people were starving.

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

- **Cold War historians:** may say a 'cause' was necessary; today it is more likely to say the 'cause' was economic modernisation itself and to that end it was effective… for them.
- **Moshe Lewin:** creating a 'quicksand society' where the state was in control of everyone and all were 'equal'.
- **R Conquest:** states that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasant resistance.
- **S Cohen:** states that the peasantry was seen as *a vast inert and yet somehow threatening mass of people, barring Russia's path to industrialisation, modernity, socialism: a kingdom of darkness that must be conquered before the Soviet Union could become the Promised Land*.
- **R Conquest:** states that the human toll was *higher than the total deaths for all countries in WW1*.

Question 5

What factors best explain the development of Soviet foreign policy between the end of the Great Patriotic War and 1953?

It is the aim of this question to allow candidates to assess the main factors which determined foreign policy for the USSR in the post-war period. A consideration of ideology, leadership and influences on these might be expected alongside the main events in Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Post war tensions

- Divisions between the Allies were prevalent 1943 at the Tehran Conference.
- Truman and Churchill both distrusted Stalin.
- Stalin took advantage of post war military situation to expand the Soviet sphere of influence.
- Fear of use of atomic bomb in Japan heightened Stalin's fears. However, UK and US feared might of the Red Army.
- Yalta Conference February 1945 – Stalin had the upper hand as Soviet forces were within 40 miles of Berlin.
- Potsdam Conference August 1945 – Stalin aimed for security for USSR and most objectives achieved, but simplistic to say a defensive reaction to American economic imperialism 1948, but you can see the point of that claim.
- Churchill's Iron Curtain speech – does tend to reinforce this belief, but Stalin's reply in Pravda is confident, guarded, but not aiming for conflict at all costs.

Domestic issues

- At the end of WW2 the Soviet people were exhausted – war coming after 1930s industrialisation.
- Foreign policy used to maintain/return to control domestically via terror and propaganda.
- Believing in 'socialism in one country' therefore ignoring revolutions in other countries and so betraying the revolution, actions based on own security and containment of others.

Aggressive Russian imperialism

- The notion of the '2 camps' usually linked to Zhdanov (1947 speech) but in concept belongs to Stalin – capitalist/socialist rivalry.
- Polarity of views/ideologies: Soviet Russia had always found it difficult to establish friendly relations with any other state.
- 'Correlation of forces' – it has been thought that capitalism was on the verge of collapse in the 1930s, hence the underestimation of Nazism. Russia had been isolated by 4 unfriendly powers – Britain, France, Germany and Japan. Now that post-1945 Germany and Japan eliminated, Britain and France weak, borders USSR pushed west, balance better for USSR but USA was now centre stage and they had the atomic bomb; by mid 1950s correlation of forces more in favour of socialism.

Intentions

- USSR perception of the intention of the capitalist world was crucial to its foreign policy, so, in 1945 distrusting America and Britain, by 1946 warning of 'accidents' and by 1947 two camps perception now openly centre of policy.

Stalin's personality

- Paranoia surrounded by men who shared his viewpoint and ideology – Marxism – Leninism led the leadership to assume capitalist hostility, and Moscow seems to be trying to combine the usual balance of power diplomacy with world revolution – Cominform and diplomats.

World wide revolution

- Stalin issued instruction in political tactics to French and Italian Communist parties but this was not aimed at armed revolution but rather Communist participation, and aimed to control east Europe through Cominform, established by 1947.
- 1948-49: Cominform propaganda campaign against the Marshall Plan, because massive American aid to Europe might threaten Soviet influence.
- 1948: Czech coup not his plan but seen by the West as expansionism.
- Berlin crisis: fear of resurgent and powerful Germany still dominant force on Soviet thinking, hence creation of East German state in 1949.
- Influence in the Dardenelles Straits, support in Middle East for Lebanon, Syria and Egypt, to oust British and French, so also in recognising Israel, China and Korea.

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

- **E. Mawdsley:** *…fear of the outside made Moscow take extraordinary measures to guarantee its security; those measure themselves fanned the fears outside.*
- **Zubok** and **Pleshakov:** in the first book written by historians schooled in the Soviet system but with exposure to the west; *…learned that, along with 'hard power' of spheres of influence, bombs and missiles, there was the 'soft power' of fear and suspicion, distorted perceptions that had driven both sides…*; also contend that Stalin's aim was to build the Soviet Empire.
- **R. Sakwa:** *As long as Stalin hoped to maintain elements of the wartime coalition he tolerated some national autonomy in eastern Europe.*

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain why support for Tsarism collapsed in February 1917?
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 why support for Tsarism collapsed 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:

- There was suspicion of treason on the part of the Empress Alexandra who was German by birth.
- Nicholas' absence in Petrograd led to huge problems as the Tsarina and Rasputin were left in charge to make disastrous ministerial appointments.
- The personalities of Nicholas and Alexander emphasised the inadequacies of Tsarism.
- The Tsarist state was more fragile and overstrained than ever.

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

- Tsarina played down events in city in her letters to the Tsar.
- Increased unrest on the streets of Petrograd 23rd February Womens Day protests turn to mass protest in two days.
- Heavy defeats at the Front and Tsar was inept as Commander in Chief.
- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, diverse in motivation and coming from both upper and lower strata of society: the role of the elites, the alienated intelligentsia, the toothless Duma and the possible palace coup – Yusupov.

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

The candidate may review a range of explanations for why the different 'props' for Tsarism over the ages were withdrawn under the pressures of the war-time situation; the role of the military leaders, the lower military ranks, the politicians and the political framework, the industrialist classes, the workers, the peasants etc all figure in this story of how tsarist autocracy imploded.

- The Tsar forced to abdicate by the Generals which supports 'revolution from above'-role of Guchkov and Generals Krymov and Alexeev – ready to desert the Tsar, autocracy and their power being saved by his abdication.
- Economic change and its impact by 1917 – the case 'for' modernisation at the turn of the century may be presented with expansion in production and record harvests in 1913. Similarly growth rates in industry yet not benefiting workers hence strikes and protests eg Lena goldfields evidence of discontent and brutal reaction. Increased problems by 1917, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen by the strikes, Putilov and others, the key was reform to address economic disaster as shown by food shortages, queuing and inflation.
- Impact on the Home Front, disruption in communications, second place to army, food shortages and need to increase productivity and it interrupted the development of the modern state.
- War highlighting the fight for power between the Army elites and the civilian elites.
- Heavy losses and retreat at Battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes.
- By 1915 Russian troops have retreated from Poland.
- Failure of Summer Offensive in 1916.
- Dire performance of War Ministry lack of ammunition and resources.

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

- **R. Pipes:** *Rebellions happen, revolutions are made.*
- **P. 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.*
- **R. McKean:** *the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight.*
- **O. Figes:** Born in the bread queues of Petrograd.
- **R. Wade:** *the long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations...*

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 reasons why Tsarism collapsed.

Question 2

How useful is **Source B** as evidence of growing support for the Bolsheviks after July 1917?

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** as evidence of growing support for the Bolsheviks after July 1917, in terms of:

Provenance:

- Written in the aftermath of the Kornilov revolt where the Bolsheviks had helped the Provisional Government quell the attempted coup.
- Relevant comment on the role of Lenin at this time and the impact of his writing.
- Purpose-urging the Bolsheviks should go it alone without any of the other revolutionary groups.

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

- Bolsheviks had control over the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets.
- The time is right to overthrow the Provisional Government as Lenin is sure the people will support the Bolsheviks.
- By offering a democratic peace the Bolsheviks could form a sustainable government.
- The Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks have lost support to the Bolsheviks.

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

- 23 September Trotsky elected as chairman of Petrograd Soviet.
- Even though the Bolsheviks were a majority in the cities they were still a minority in the rest of Russia.
- Kerensky had arranged for Constituent Assembly elections so Lenin wanted to act before these happened.
- Membership of the Bolshevik party increased from 10,000 in February to 250,00 by October.

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

- By continuing with the war the Provisional Government continued to lose support.
- The Provisional Government had failed to carry out their promises of elections, freedoms and land for the peasants.
- Mensheviks and SRs lost support after the June Offensive.
- Land − that faced with a food shortage which fuelled unrest in the cities and at the Front, the government proclaimed a grain monopoly. The Minister of Agriculture was as unenthusiastic as the peasants and government prices failed to keep up with inflation, even in August. And the question of land was to be discussed after the Constituent Assembly was formed.
- For some the Bolshevik Party played a key role in guiding the workers to success, under the vital leadership of Lenin – others highlight attitudes to police, army, banks, fraternisation.
- Masses did want to revolt but for a variety of reasons: fatigue, desire for "peace, bread and land", and Lenin successfully taps into this.

Alternative viewpoints may include

- The October Revolution was more against the Provisional Government than for Bolshevism.
- For some it was a coup d'état as Lenin and his 'evil minority' took over − these views not widely held within the Bolshevik Party in Petrograd before his return, hence limited support.
- Workers did not expect the Bolsheviks to run the state on their own – consternation in the ranks.
- There was an ambiguity of support. Workers seemed Bolshevik in mood, but it was apparent that they were only supporting them if certain conditions were to be met…the promise of peace and bread. The soldiers were war weary, not Bolsheviks.
- The Constituent Assembly elections reveal the limited support of the Bolsheviks gaining 24% of the votes and the SRs gaining 53%.

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

- **Service:** states that Lenin was a key figure.
- **Figes:** notes that *amidst a social revolution centred the popular realisation of soviet power*.
- **Smith:** as a revisionist sees the active role of the lower ranks in pushing forward the revolution and **Fitzpatrick** takes this further by suggesting that the workers, peasants and soldiers created the revolution.
- **Shukman:** states that Trotsky realised they could not be sure of all the workers and soldiers in Petrograd let alone the country at large.

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 as evidence for investigating growing support for the Bolsheviks after July 1917.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the Purges? **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 the Purges and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

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

- Nikolaev's assassination of Kirov sparks off special powers for the NKVD an anti-terror decree.
- Escalation across the country because of alleged threat from Leningrad terrorist centre.
- The Purge of the party spread to local party groups at the behest of the Central committee.

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

- 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.
- 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. Give details of high profile Show Trials such as Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bukharin.
- Central Party's lack of control over local party branches.

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 Purges started due to economic problems and high ranking party members were made scapegoats to hide this.
- Stalin's motive was to destroy any potential threat to his power.
- Many were unhappy with Stalin's policies and potential social unrest was another possible cause.
- Fear of Nazi occupation.

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

- The pace of industrialisation had to quicken and more workers/prisoners needed.
- 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.
- External threats, reaction to the threat of war. Strong heavy industry base needed for arms industry.
- 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 sustained the importance of the NKVD and they increased the scope of purges.

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

- 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.
- 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.
- Stalin thought he was acting in the interests of the party.
- Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power.
- No master plan – response to circumstances in Soviet Russia.
- Stalin replaced Yagoda criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough. 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.
- Stalin simply followed Lenin's lead from the Red Terror.
- 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 hysteria was responsible for the spread of terror to such an extent as people encouraged to denounce others.

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

- **Nove:** replacing Yagoda with Yezhov was clear sign Stalin wanted to move terror on.
- **Corin and Fiehn:** Stalin correct to blame NKVD and Yezhov for extent of terror.
- **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
- **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.
- **Deutscher:** due to threat of war, Stalin purged the opposition who might interfere with his war plans + war could unite people against Stalin and overthrow him.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources C** and **D** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the Purges.

The Spanish Civil War: Causes, Conflict and Consequences (1923-1945)

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

What factors best explain Miguel Primo de Rivera's attempts at social and economic reform in the 1920s?

Candidates may discuss the aims and policies of Primo de Rivera and the motives for these policies including longer term economic, social, political and military problems within the country. Candidates might make a qualitative judgement on the relative importance of these factors.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Aims

A discussion of Primo's initial motives:

- protection of the Crown and the Army and of a single, unified Spain.
- Restoration of social order through social improvements, political progress and economic expansion.

Areas

Economic
- Few producers controlling the supply of essential products, resulting in corruption and favouritism eg domination of the Latifundias.
- Hugely rural economy, reliant on backwards agrarian system with poor communications. Roads enhanced. Increase of four times the number of cars. Tourism encouraged. Reduced unemployment. Promoted a free market economy,

Political
- Monarch massively unpopular.
- Regionalism popular in Basque Region, Catalonia and several other regions.
- Caciques' power base damaging to growth and creation of a modern economy.
- Widespread discontent with the Turno Pacifico.
- Possible opposition of CNT and UGT and, in particular Francisco Largo Caballero, in his social crusade.
- Growing Liberal movement.
- Significant Anarchist movement.

Social
- Women's status in the urban society needed improved. This also meant a gradual integration into the labour market.
- Need for affordable housing and pension benefits for the elderly.
- Health service needed improved in line with the guidelines for a welfare state, as did education due to population increasing by over 2 million in one decade, mainly due to a fall in the mortality rate.
- Improvements also demanded in entertainments and sports sectors.

Military
- Backwards colonial army designed to occupy lost Empire.
- Officer Corps bloated, technology lacking, promotion class-based.
- Diffuculties in Morocco – an issue which had divided Spain over two decades.

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

- **Gerald Brennan** *His greatness – for he had a kind of greatness – came from being a typical Andalusian, drawn larger than life.*
- **Stanley Payne:** (Primo's) instincts were paternalistic and semi-liberal.
- **Bolin:** (Initially) There were no strikes, production attained new levels, private enterprise flourished. A network of roads, properly banked and well-surfaced, spread over the country.
- **Preston:** Neither fascist nor democratic, Primo de Rivera's regime was anchored in the powerful Liberal tradition of Spain, but in its aimless drift towards nowhere it also looked to Fascism for inspiration.
- …reform-belated, halting and often contradictory – was characterised above all by a lack of ministerial continuity.

Question 2

To what extent was a lack of finance the main reason for the failure of Azaña's agrarian reforms?

The question highlights finance as one issue preventing the success of Azaña's agrarian reforms. Candidates might assess the extent to which reforms failed or indeed question the extent to which they did fail. The candidate may discuss the level to which the reforms did succeed and the other factors affecting this.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

General issues

- Problems of Latifundias although aristocracy only owned (best) 6% of land.
- Conservatives believed reform impossible and would be angered at any attempts.
- Leftists believed collectivisation held solution and would be unhappy with less.
- Middle-class Republicans believed in reform but baulked at potential sacrifices.
- Bad weather 30-31.

The Agrarian Reform Law, September 1932

- Accepted principle of ownership: non- revolutionary.
- Recompensed all but 'Grande'.
- However, a huge amount of (potentially pro-Republican) small holders involved.
- Some argue, complicated, ineffective and expensive.
- Reforms limited nature gained no new 'friends' on left but alienated Centre and Right.
- Caballero – "An aspirin to cure appendicitis".

Some specific issues:

Agrarian issues – covered by Caballeros 'Eight Laws'

- Security of tenure
- Security of occupation
- Working conditions
- Inefficient land use.

Centuries of neglect had left a hugely inefficient rural sector, often unable to meet the demands of its population. Polarisation of rich and poor had carried on apace. South was mainly large estates in the hands of a few wealthy people. North had more small holdings.

Reasons Agrarian Reforms failed:

Arguments that they failed due to lack of finance:

- Spain suffered from the world economic collapse post 1929, therefore any government 1931-33 would lack finance
- Morgan's Bank cancelled a loan of 60 million dollars agreed prior to the Republic
- Massive debts were inherited and the value of the peseta had collapsed
- There was a flight of capital in the anticipation of wealth taxes
- The budget given to the Institute of Agrarian Reform was only 50 million pesetas – intended to resettle between 60,000 and 75,000 families a year
- Money was used to retire generals and officers on full pay (it could also be argued that this was not lack of finance but incorrect priorities).

Arguments that the reforms failed for other reforms:

- The Agrarian Reform Law of 1932 was too timid and could never have tackled Spain's deep-rooted problems
- Compensation was paid to most landowners
- Azaña was more interested in attacking the Church and reorganising the Army
- In many places, the new laws were simply ignored by the landowners and law enforcement was weak
- The reforms showed the failures in the coalition – Azaña did not want revolutionary reforms which angered the Trade Unions and the left. Caballeros' reforms as Minister of Labour were much more effective
- Many on the left would never have accepted reforms as they wanted revolution and collectivisation.

Effect

- At a local level, landlords simply ignored the new legislation and employed armed retainers.
- Latifundias remained – many were recompensed for land; Mini-Fundias and other small-holders also suffered, despite many being pro-Republic.
- Prieto's reforms on irrigation and railroads hampered by fiscal restrictions.
- Outside labour legislation 'punished' braceros from high unemployment areas.
- Revolutionary measures.

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

- **Payne:** Caballero's 8 laws gave better pay, power, conditions and respect and *constituted an impressive achievement*. However Caballero stated it would be unreasonable to go *beyond the limits established in the most advanced countries of Western Europe*. Republican reforms tended to reflect fragmentation rather than provide the means to overcome it.
- **Malfekis:** *…the nature of the rural oligarchy and its operation of the large estates may have made land reform economically justifiable…, they did not thereby make it especially practicable in economic or political terms*.
- **Preston:** *The response of big landowners…had been rapid …Their press networks spouted prophecies of doom…* and further *…the law of obligatory cultivation was effectively ignored* and *…it did nothing to help the smallholders of the north.*
- **Thomas:** *…the law of Términos municipales adversely affected migrant workers. Its effect was to prevent a further drift of labour to the cities… …if it had been carried out fairly…, it might have had a startling effect…But the reform was not properly introduced at all …the only real solution to the agrarian problem was to find a way to reduce the population on the land by encouraging industry*.

Question 3

How far can the Asturias Rising of 1934 be described as the "first battle of the Civil War"?

The candidate may be expected to assess the nature of the Asturias Rising and the extent to which long-term peace between opposing forces was impossible after it. Comparisons may be expected between traditional industrial unrest and full scale Civil War.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence which agrees with the view that it was the 'first battle' of the Civil War

- Left had good reason to fear Robles' rhetoric.
- Asturias Rising inspired by legal inclusion of elected members therefore an illegal attack on government. Short term devastation over and above that required to restore order, therefore an attack on workers by the forces of reaction.
- Asturias not alone, strikes all over Spain.
- Declaration of Catalan State on announcement of CEDA delegates – undemocratic.
- Insurrectionary behaviour of CNT, UGT, FAI.
- Reactions to FNTT strikes, banning on grounds of harvest being 'sacred'.
- Suspension of *El Obrera de la Tierra.*
- Suspension of strike meetings.
- Azaña, Companys, Caballero imprisoned.
- Government of Catalonia disbanded.
- Statute of autonomy suspended.
- Martial law.

Evidence which contradicts the view that it was the 'first battle' of the Civil War

- Coordinated by Trades Unions therefore a 'normal strike'.
- SCW did not break out until 1936 and when it did, it was initiated by the Right.
- Labour conditions in Asturias were horrendous and strike action was justified.
- Brutality of Casas Viejas.
- Cortes not disbanded.
- No right wing coup.
- Socialist Party and TUs not proscribed.
- Both sides participated in '36 election and initially accepted the results.
- It was election defeat which persuaded right to rebel.

Evidence which suggests this increased tension, but was not the 'first battle'

- Convinced Right that Left had abandoned democracy. War was closer.
- Convinced Left that any gains made in 1931-33 were doomed.
- Left knew that unity was essential.
- Polarisation between Right and Left.

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 (during the period) of the CEDA were often provocative and threatening.*
- **Preston:** Increasing mimicking of Fascist tactics – *A crowd of 20,000 gathered and shouted ¡jefe!¡jefe!¡jefe!* and *Our Leaders never make mistakes!.*
- **Thomas:** Largo *reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of preparing a proletarian rising.* describes this as *a fatal error of judgement. Political feelings were...worsened beyond cure (during Bienio Negro) Where lay the difference between Dollfuss and Gil Robles? Gil Robles did nothing to make it clear.*
- **Preston** *little doubt that the Catalan crisis was manipulated by Robles to provoke the left. CEDA (under Robles) were driving the Socialists to play with the idea of a revolutionary rising The left and centre left closed ranks on the basis of a programme of amnesty for prisoners, basic social and educational reform and trade union freedom.*'
- **Brenan:** Asturias 'first battle of the Civil War' (left united against CEDA).

Question 4

To what extent was the British Government pro-Nationalist during the Spanish Civil War?

The candidate is required to assess British foreign policy towards Spain during the Spanish Civil War and to draw conclusions on its motivation through contextualisation. The candidate may also comment on other individuals or factors within Great Britain, and their actions and motives.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence suggesting a possible Pro-Nationalist stance

- Britain's 'appeasement' policy was nothing more than hypocrisy; regarded by Nehru as: 'The supreme farce of our time'.
- Attitude of British Chiefs of Staff 'the alternative to Franco is rule from Moscow'.
- Chamberlain's 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 and 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.

Evidence suggesting that Great Britain tried to be neutral during the Civil War, following a policy of appeasement as it related to Spain:

- Chamberlain discouraging Blum from helping Republic.
- Motives of individuals such as Chamberlain, Eden, Halifax.
- NYON conference and Non-Intervention.
- Extent to which Britain was aware of Fascist intervention.
- Fear of the Soviet Union.
- Economic state.
- Military unreadiness.
- Naval Patrol.
- The Labour Party originally supported the government's non-intervention policy. However, when it became clear that Hitler and Mussolini were determined to help the Nationalists win the war; Labour leaders began to call for Britain to supply the Popular Front with military aid.

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.*
- **Carr:** *The British stationed at Gibraltar were Nationalist sympathisers to a man.*

Question 5

To what extent did Soviet aid make a positive contribution to the defence of the Spanish Republic between 1936 and 1939?

The candidate is asked to evaluate the overall effect of Soviet support on the Republican war effort. Specific reference should be given to Soviet aid and its effect on the economic, military and political sectors of the Republican side. Reference should also be given to the positive and negative effects on morale at different interludes. It is not sufficient to cite this as one of the many factors leading to the defeat of the Republic.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Positive aspects to Soviet support

* Only substantial support available.
* Imposed necessary military discipline on a disorganised Republic.
* Specific reference to 'good' aid (tanks – excellent, 'Mosca' significant in aerial defence, logistics important).
* If Fascist support had been unopposed the Republic would have been defeated sooner.
* Argument that 'accounting deficit' was small.
* Huge boost to morale.
* International Brigades and associated triumphs and advantages.

Negative aspects to Soviet support

* Less than Italians and Germans.
* Argument that accountancy deficit was large and gold was lost to Moscow.
* Nature of support aimed at continuation, not victory.
* Communist control of Republic inevitable.
* Accusations of political sectarianism against anarchists and POUM.
* Attacks on collectivisation led to demoralising effect on militias.
* 'Communisation' of cause.
* Distancing from western democracies.
* Ultimately unreliable – Nazi-Soviet Pact.

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

* **Carr:** *The war was kept going by Soviet supplies and the Popular Army, (del Vayo) ...was unconditionally in the service of the communist party. ...the International Brigades were shock troops whose losses were among the heaviest in military history. ...very few Russians actually in Spain. ...the communists...virtually controlled the destinies of the left camp. Many conservatives (in Britain)...because of their fear of bolshevism privately hoped Franco would win.*
* **Brenan:** *Stalin saw to it that the arms which he supplied...should secure the predominance of the communist party,*
* **Esenwein:** *...the communists were determined put the Popular Front policy to...the collective security of the Soviet Union For many, the foreign volunteers who had come to Spain embodied the international spirit of anti-fascism.*

The Spanish Civil War: Causes, Conflicts and Consequences (1923-1945)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A in explaining the reason for Alfonso's "departure"?

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 reasons for the departure of King Alfonso XIII in 1931 in terms of:

Points from Source A

Provenance:

- Alfonso's farewell speech following the elections which returned a majority of anti-monarchical parties.
- Made to announce his departure and to give attempt to retain some credibility and leave the possibility of his return open.
- Alfonso was held responsible for many for his own downfall due to his incompetence, lifestyle and, latterly, his alliance with Primo di Rivera.

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

- The elections are mentioned at the outset. These were the immediate reason for his demise.
- Alfonso also mentions his own 'mistakes'.
- He claims this is voluntary for the love of his country.
- He also claims his motives are to avoid civil war.

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

- Specific analysis of the electoral results which gave sweeping gains to anti-monarchical parties.
- His own 'mistakes' were manifold but chiefly his alliance with the dictator.
- Reference to details of Alfonso's playboy lifestyle throughout his reign.
- Growth of political extremes in Spain had indeed led to some civil strife and it is possible his presence could have prompted more. Alfonso was the subject of several assassination attempts during his reign including on his wedding day.

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

- Broader discussion of the reasons for Alfonso's decline.
- Widespread poverty led to his unpopularity.
- Growth of socialism and anarchism widespread.
- Links to the Church and Army were extremely close and led to him being blamed for the failure of both.
- Latterly, the Dictadura and Alfonso's embracing of 'My Mussolini' both damaged the credibility of the institution and of Alfonso himself. Indeed, it is often argued that this period alienated Primo and Alfonso from all sections of society.
- Despite his comments, unlikely he could have maintained power – both the Church and the Army had withdrawn support.

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

- **Carr:** *The Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch...The Socialists considered (it) reactionary...The anarchists rejected it in toto. To the regionalists it... strangled local interests...the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform...The destruction of the historic provinces and their replacement by artificial entities...was at the root of the regionalist movements. (it was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy) the conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy.*
- **Brenan:** *Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another. ...the corruption of all the upper layers of society. The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes...to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too. Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign.*
- **Preston:** (*the monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized pow*er.

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 reasons for the 'departure' of Alphonso.

Question 2

How fully does Source B illustrate the motives of those who fought against the Republic in 1936?   **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, 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 B** in providing an adequate explanation of the motives of those who fought for Franco during the Spanish Civil War, in terms of:

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

Points from source which show that candidate has interpreted the significant views:

* Perception of some that the government were "biased against the right"
* Franco and Mola redeployed – another attack on the Army for many.
* Propaganda: "Right-wing newspapers were promoting an atmosphere of impending doom".
* Behaviour of left "The month of May began with a general strike invoked by the anarchist CNT." This would frighten many on the Right.

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

* Plotting had been going on for some time, not directly linked to Popular Front for many.
* The government had little time to show its bias before the uprising.
* Popular Front campaign based around the 'political prisoners', therefore an issue for both left and right.
* Newspapers were rife with stories of murder and assassinations by the 'Reds'.
* By 1936 the Left were in little mood for restraint and there was an outburst of demands from the Left.

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

* The Right were a diverse group as were the reasons for their participation.
* Many in Spain saw Communism as the 'real' threat giving unified purpose.
* Falange believed in the possibility of the establishment of a fascist state.
* Loss of election in 1936 had convinced the Right that violence was needed and ended split with 'Accidentalists'.
* The election had been fought on the basis of civilisation versus barbarism for the Right.
* Apparent communist support for the government caused alarm and the army was given the message that a coup might be the answer.
* A struggle against separatism.
* The Carlists – all wanted a traditional Spain without liberal democracy.
* Motives of the Spanish Church and of some Roman Catholics.

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

- **Preston:** The Generals saw the government as *helpless to stop...the break-up of Spain and responsible for the policies that were undermining the structure of society and many groups agreed.*
- **Beevor:** Carlists famous for their *ferocious rejection of modernity*.
- **Robinson:** Sotelo (believed) that the revolution of 1934 proved that the Left were not willing to accept a parliamentary system which allowed the Right to govern.
- **Thomas:** between February and June 1936 according to Robles)...*160 churches had been burned to the ground, 269 mainly political murders and 1,287 assaults...69 political centres had been wrecked, there had been 113 general strikes and 228 partial strikes, while 10 newspaper offices had been sacked.* The conditions in the country and the *regime* were as grave as Robles described them. This unified the Right behind the 'Crusade'.
- **Payne:** ...a very large number of people wanted a new Spain-which would be worthy of Spain's great past...Murders for political reasons (in 1936) were reported almost daily.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** fully explains the motives of those who fought against the Republic between 1936 and 1939.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the role of the Barcelona rising in the growing disunity amongst Republican forces after 1937?
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** as explanations of the role of the Barcelona rising in the growing disunity amongst Republican forces after 1937, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

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:

- fighting in the streets of Barcelona between supporters of the POUM who 'had always been hostile to unity' and Anarchists, and Government.
- Revolution main priority 'beginning the struggle for working-class power.'
- news of the fighting was greeted with anger by the International Brigaders and supporters of the Popular Front Government reports of weapons, even tanks, being kept from the front and hidden for treacherous purposes.

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

- Fighting initiated by government forces in reaction to trivial incident.
- Anarchist occupation of the telephone exchange was unacceptable to their 'allies'.
- Animosity between POUM and the Communist Party.
- Long standing nature of divisions on the Left.
- Anarchists believed they had been starved of resources by the Communists.
- The International Brigades were not universally welcomed.

Points from Source D

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

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

- Political extreme led to divisions within the anarchists and the left in general "The distance between the base and the leadership widened even further…in May 1937".
- May Days "brought down the government of Largo Caballero".
- Breaking of the moral influence of the CNT/FAI in Catalonia.
- Opened the way for the pro-Russian Negrin government to destroy the anarchist dominated "Council of Aragón".

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

- Accounts of the early days of the conflict, including Orwell's, highlight the popular enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of many of the working class anarchists.
- The conflict which exploded in May 1937 in Barcelona is believed by many to have been engineered by the Stalin led Communists who sought to conceal any evidence of revolutionary behaviour due to their need for western alliances.
- Caballero had initially been closely linked to the Russian allies but was indeed brought down by them due to his refusal to crush the revolution entirely after the May Days.

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

- Divisions were apparent well before 1937.
- Arguably May Days took place because Communists were now sufficiently in control – May Days were a result, not a cause.
- International Brigades would receive their information from pro-Communist sources.
- Much of the equipment held back was for use against the 'revolutionaries'.
- For many, the democratic nature of anarchism meant that the defence was delayed at best.
- Collectivisation in Barcelona was widespread and popular with many, however, its effect on productivity throughout the Republican zone is hotly debated.
- Redistribution led to arguments between 'allies' over ownership and other 'revolutionary' ideals.
- The key debate of "war or revolution" is often cited as a reason for the defeat of the Republic and Orwell claims that the government were more afraid of revolution than the fascists, often deploying its own forces to 'police' the Republican zone.

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

- **Brenan:** By the end of 1936 the period of social revolution was over (the Communists) stood for a regular army instead of party militias, for an end to all revolutionary measures, for greater centralisation and a more efficient conduct of the war. In this Prieto and Negrín with about half of the socialists and all the Republicans supported them. On the other side stood the Prime Minister, Largo Caballero, with his group of Left-wing Socialists and all the C.N.T
- **Esenwein:** Up to the May Events of 1937, the main rivals of the Communists were to be found on the far left…Yet not long after (they) were challenged not only by the caballeristas, the anarcho-syndicalists and the poumistas but also by high ranking members of the Government itself (Including Azaña). …the CNT-FAI were not called to account for their role in the disturbances…partly because their relative power and strength was still considerable
- **Preston:** …after the May Days (there were complaints) about (Caballero's) ineptitude, lack of control…In large part because of Communist pressure (he) was replaced on May 17th.

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 role of the Barcelona rising in the growing disunity amongst Republican forces after 1937.

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 1 Essays

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was Chamberlain's resignation due to his inability to gear the economy effectively for "total war"?

The objective of the question is to evaluate to what extent the economy was responsible for Chamberlain's resignation. The candidate will be expected to give a comprehensive analysis of the isolated factor as well as evaluate its importance in regard to Chamberlain's downfall. Candidates may also offer other reasons for his resignation and compare their importance to that of the economy.

The economy

Throughout his tenure as Prime Minister Chamberlain's management of the economy has been criticised.

- There was concern that to prepare for war the workforce of Britain had to be organised in such a way to maximise its potential. One of the major criticisms of Chamberlain was his inability to organise the workforce with any specific focus, domestically or militaristically.
- Whilst there was a demand and a need for extra workers to provide the manpower for rearmament there was still an estimated one million unemployed by 1940. This reflected badly on Chamberlain's organisational skills at a time of national emergency, when commentators thought that full employment was not only achievable but necessary.
- The consequence of this economic mismanagement was the failure of essential industries to work at peak capacity because there was a lack of manpower.
- Chamberlain's relationship with the Unions has also to be scrutinised when we consider the economy as a factor in his resignation. Throughout the 1930s, industrial relations were poor between Chamberlain (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer) and the Trades Union movement due to the austere government policies and the unemployment of the hungry '30s. When Chamberlain needed their cooperation to fulfil his economic targets they refused to work with the man that presented their members with so much misery in the past.
- The Trades Unions were supported by the Parliamentary Labour Party including such a protagonist as Bevin in their ranks.
- There was a concern that the government would be limiting access to resources and goods usually needed by the domestic market. The consequence of this was a serious threat of uncontrolled inflation which would ultimately increase the cost of living thereby making people poorer. After the lean years of the early '30s this was not popular.
- To allow the government to control inflation they restricted the supply of foodstuffs and more importantly raised taxation. These policies were not popular with the general public. Nevertheless, there was some understanding concerning the need for more monies to be generated to pay for future conflict.
- Perhaps Chamberlain's overall failure in the management of the economy before the war was his inability to appoint a cabinet member with overall control of the economy. The result was a holistic view of the economy was not realised. Therefore the transition from a peacetime economy to wartime economy was slow and uncoordinated.
- These issues exposed failings in Chamberlain's office at a time of national emergency therefore putting his leadership skills under increasing scrutiny.

Candidates may also offer differing viewpoints concerning Chamberlain's resignation. These may include:

Appeasement

- Chamberlain was criticised for his policy of appeasement as it gave Germany and her allies the time to rearm and prepare for war whilst at this time Britain was struggling to do so itself.
- The policy was criticised as an attempt to avoid conflict by using inappropriate concession and negotiation that led the country to the edge of annihilation.
- Chamberlain was ultimately associated with this policy which is given as one of the main reasons for his downfall and consequently his resignation.
- Nevertheless, it needs to be realised that it was a popular policy at the time and endorsed on both sides of parliament.
- In retrospect the policy of appeasement was seen by some as a farsighted policy which was Britain's only realistic policy option which allowed Britain time to rearm.
- Whilst the argument about the importance of appeasement continues we need to consider the fact that at that time it was not the policy of appeasement which was the issue, because it had cross party support, it was the leadership style or the lack of leadership of Chamberlain himself.

Allies

- With the onset of war imminent Chamberlain tried but was unsuccessful in gaining meaningful alliances to fight a successful war in Europe.
- The USA confirmed their isolationist policy towards conflict in Europe.
- Czechoslovakia was conceded after the Munich agreement
- Chamberlain's distrust of Russia prevented any meaningful friendship in the East.
- This left France with her heavily defended border and her unstable government as our only viable option.
- Chamberlain was criticised for his lack of judgement in failing to make meaningful alliances before the war.

The Phoney War, The Norway Campaign and subsequent parliamentary debates

- Once Germany violated the ultimatum over Poland there was a two day silence from the government which led Chamberlain's opponents to believe that he was preparing another negotiation with Germany. This act reduced his credibility even with his own party.
- Whilst fears were allayed on the 3rd September the preceding weeks and months of inactivity led his critics to question his appetite for war.
- This appetite may have been sated by the Army's first taste of combat in Norway. However, the shambolic sortie to Norway and Chamberlain's association with it perhaps for some illustrated his inability to plan, equip and execute a basic military strategy. This lack of ability is seen as a metaphor not only for his leadership so far but also for his ability to sustain coherent leadership for the duration of the war.
- Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that politicians such as Churchill who was also involved in the military strategy of the campaign emerged blameless.
- Indeed it was the resultant vote of no confidence in parliament after this event that persuaded him to fall on his own sword as a huge majority of over 200 seats was reduced to 80.
- Ultimately it needs to be realised that the Norway Campaign was indeed one of the factors responsible for his resignation.
- Changing attitudes of many members of the Conservative Party towards Chamberlain by May 1940.
- Long standing Labour Party of Chamberlain.
- Labour Party refusal to serve under Chamberlain in a coalition government.

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

- **Calder** suggests that it was not Chamberlain alone who contributed to difficulties faced by Britain but that *his optimism, which now seems so feckless was shared by other leaders of both major parties*. The Norway Campaign as contended by **Donnelly** was seen *as a manifestation of the deeper malaise which the Prime Minister's consistent failures of leadership since the outbreak of war had produced*.
- **MacKay** contends that *absolute readiness for war is probably an unattainable ideal for any country, not least because of the uncertainty about the exact circumstances in which a future war might take place*.
- **AJP Taylor** concludes that the policy of appeasement was *both logical and realistic* although it was not well executed.
- **Feiling** states that: *Appeasement was not his (Chamberlain's) personal policy. Not only was it supported by his colleagues; it expressed the general desire of the British people*. It was the view of **Adelman** that *the transition from a peacetime economy was slow and uncoordinated*.

Question 2

How successful was the evacuation scheme during the Second World War?

This essay asks the candidate to evaluate the success of the evacuation scheme during the Second World War. In doing so a candidate may make reference to the short and long term effect of this civil defence measure. This may include an analysis of the structure of the system and whether it achieved its aims or maybe the longer lasting effect it had upon the whole of society.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Areas for discussion where it could be argued that evacuation was a success

- Candidate shows understanding of the intentions and working of the scheme; how the country was arranged, which towns got evacuated, how it was organised at each end etc.
- In Scotland 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 mothers with children under school age, invalids and the blind were also eligible. Candidate may also have knowledge of statistics relating to English cities.
- 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.
- For many it was a grand adventure and the experience has been described as the best of times.
- It is commonly recognised that the policy of evacuation did highlight the gulf between the urban poor and the people who were considered poor in the rural areas. And it was one of the reasons for welfare reform after the war.
- The traditional view of the role of evacuation as first posited by **Titmuss** is that it helped bring about a profound change in public values. Evacuation made the privileged aware of the condition of the poor, thus promoting a desire to construct a better post-war society. More modern historians are sceptical about wholeheartedly accepting this notion.
- Overall evacuation can be claimed to be a success of the highest order [candidate may exemplify its successes] and the impact of it is regarded as being long lasting.

Areas for discussion where it could be argued that evacuation was not a success

- 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. Issue for instance of Clydebank with 90% of evacuees back in the town by the bombing.
- Problems due to re-evacuation after the Blitz…especially re-location in 'bomb alley' in Kent, and the later danger of V1s.
- The education of most was disrupted as rural schools could not cope with the influx of children from the cities.
- In Scotland, the uptake of the evacuation scheme was less than 40%. Some who were wealthy or had relatives in rural areas made private arrangements.
- Wealthy families could afford to send their children to relatives or estates in the country or even to the USA or Canada. Poorer working class families did not have this opportunity. Indeed their children were rejected by families unwilling to take those children who were considered neglected, and dirty.
- There was evidence that some children were not treated as they had ought to have been in regards to their physically 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.
- 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.

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.

Question 3

How far can the Allied bombing campaign against Germany between 1939 and 1945 be judged a success?

The aim of the essay is to invite candidates to evaluate of the success of the Allied bombing campaign against Germany. A candidate might provide an analysis of both night time missions and daylight missions entered into by the RAF and the United States Air Force. This analysis may include comment about strategy, accuracy and target selection. Ideally candidates should provide some analysis of the positive and negative impact of strategic bombing at this time.

To evaluate its success candidates may use evidence such as:

- The reasons for bombing Germany were to disrupt industrial production of weapons, to wear down the German morale and to force the German Army and Air Force to defend against the bombing over a wide area.
- Repeated attacks on Germany caused the diversion of industrial war production to defensive rather than offensive weapons.
- Forcing the Germans onto the defensive was a critical factor in the liberation of Europe and the concomitant defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945.
- A key objective of the bombing offensive was ultimately to weaken the German war effort and economy. The defeat of the German air force coincided with improvements in accuracy making the combined bomber force a valuable asset against an expanding German war economy.
- **Churchill**, in the final volume of his memoirs said: *In judging the contribution to victory of strategic air power…before the end, we and the US had developed striking forces so powerful that they played a major part in the economic collapse of Germany*.
- Bombing was justified on the grounds that the Germans were employing similar tactics against Britain and retaliation in kind was a morale booster for the British public.
- The bombing campaign diverted a great deal of Germany's war effort away from the war at sea or the main fighting fronts. German bomber production was cut back and one-third of the production of heavy guns, electrical and radar equipment went to anti-aircraft defences.
- Bombing was vital to British victory 'bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential'. Germany mounted a huge effort to protect itself from Bomber Command and this, in turn, deprived their army and air force of men and equipment. Seventy-five percent of their heavy anti-tank guns, manned by 900,000 soldiers, had to be used as anti-aircraft guns, scattered across Germany.
- German factories had to concentrate on producing aircraft which were used in a defensive role.
- **Erhard Milch**, a German Field Marshal commented that *The British inflicted grievous and bloody injuries upon us, but the Americans stabbed us to the heart*.

Before coming to a conclusion and for balance the candidate might offer a scrutiny of the counter argument that the bombing campaign was not successful:

- German morale may even have been strengthened rather than damaged. Wholesale defiance on the part of the German civilian population was not expected. Analysts thought the German population would capitulate.
- They may have been arrogant to think that the reaction of the German civilian population would be any less patriotic than the reaction of Londoners during the Blitz.
- By August 1941 'only about one in five of Bomber Command's aircraft was putting its bombs within five miles of its target'. The difficulties were flying in darkness and bad weather.
- In the autumn of 1941 the decision was taken by Air Ministry planners to switch the order of target priority: Area bombing was to be the first priority and precision raids would be carried out when appropriate. The bomber force needed more aircrews, bigger bombers and better navigation equipment to be effective.
- Bombing was a component part of the wider strategy, complementary to land invasion and to the exercise of tactical air power. In October 1940, the War Cabinet agreed 'the civilian population around the target areas must be made to feel the weight of the war'. Weeks later, it sanctioned an experimental 'terror raid' on Manheim. *Thus British and Germans alike* asserts **Basil Collier**, believed that *destroying cathedrals and hospitals and killing noncombatants of all ages and both sexes, either in the course of impracticable attempts to bomb strictly military objectives…[was]…both legitimate and sound*.
- This strategy was further compromised by the moral question that area bombing would ultimately lead to what we now call collateral damage.
- There was further criticism of the bombing strategy when economists looked at the amount of men and material involved. They surmised that the resources employed could have been better used elsewhere in the war effort at this time.
- As the war came to an end, it became harder to argue that raids were saving the lives of Allied soldiers.
- Churchill's attitude towards the morality of bombing changed after the destruction of Dresden (February 1945)
- Germany's losses in the bombing offensive are estimated to be between 300,000 and 600,000, most of them civilians. A further five million were 'de-housed'. By 1945, the major cities of the Third Reich had been razed to rubble.

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

- **Archibald Sinclair** commented that *the objective of our bombing offensive in Germany is to destroy the capacity of Germany to make war*.
- **Overy** argues that bombing was vital to British victory *bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential*. Germany mounted a huge effort to protect itself from Bomber Command and this, in turn, deprived their army and air force of men and equipment. arguing *the bombing campaign diverted a great deal of Germany's war effort away from the war at sea or the main fighting fronts*
- **Hastings** argues in the aspect of denting German morale Britain failed *It was a terrible experience to be bombed, but German morale never came near to collapse until the very end.* If anything, the continuous bombings of German cities only strengthened morale.
- **Albert Speer**, Minister of Armaments and War Production of Germany, wrote: *In the burning cities we daily experienced the direct impact of war...Neither did the bombings and the hardships that resulted from them weaken the morale of the populace…I carried away the impression of growing toughness.*
- **Detlef Siebert** is equally sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production and its population as is **Martin Kitchen**.

Question 4

How effective was the contribution of the British Empire and its Dominions to the Allied war effort during the Second World War?

This essay specifically relates to the sometimes ignored contribution of the Empire and the Dominions during the Second World War. The candidate is asked to evaluate their effectiveness and may do this by breaking the question down into several sections/issues; ie distinguishing between the Empire and the Dominions, looking at the individual imperial contributions in the different branches of the armed forces, or looking at particular campaigns. The candidate would be expected to consider the issue of what are the grounds against which effectiveness can be judged; and may have a view on imperial effectiveness in terms of manpower, timing, strategic importance or non-military factors. This question was framed in a way which means that it does not particularly require any sort of comparison with the contribution made by other allies.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

- The Empire fell into two distinct parts. There were the self-governing "White" Dominions – Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. And there were those regions that were wholly or partly governed from London, including India, which had its own viceroy, as well as the West Indies and British colonies in Africa and the Far East.
- At the outbreak of war in 1939, India and the other colonial parts of the Empire had no choice and automatically joined in the war on the side of Britain. The Dominions made their own decision to enter the war on the British side.
- At the start of the war there was reluctance on the behalf of the "White" Dominions to support the United Kingdom.
- The wounds of the First World War were still evident in Australia, New Zealand and Canada
- At the start of the war only Canada and South Africa truly supported the mother country with the Anzacs joining later.
- It needs to be noted that "Non-White" Dominions such as India were mobilised not only for manpower but for invaluable raw materials for the production of war goods.
- At a time when allies were few and far between, the contribution of the Empire and Dominions was invaluable.
- As early as December 1939, for example, Canadian troops were despatched to Europe and in January 1940 Australian and New Zealand forces bolstered military commitments in the Middle East. By war's end these three nations had made vital contributions in each the three major theatres of war: Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific.
- During 1940-41 Australian troops served in campaigns in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Palestine, Crete, Greece, Malaya and Singapore. After repelling menacing advances by the enemy in Europe and the Pacific, by 1942 Australian forces had contributed impressively to Allied successes on a range of battlefronts including the deserts of North Africa, the jungles of Papua New Guinea, and the seas of the Pacific Ocean.
- The Royal Australian Navy played an important and diverse role in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. At the peak of the war, out of a population of seven million more than 500,000 served in the armed forces with hundreds of thousands more engaged in munitions, or building roads and airfields. In total Australian battle casualties amounted to 72,814.
- In all, more than 200,000 New Zealand men and women served in the armed forces during the war. Of these 140,000 were despatched overseas largely to fight in campaigns in the Middle East and Italy. In total 11,625 sacrificed their lives during the Second World War.
- Canada's involvement in World War II was equally impressive. Serving in every major theatre of war Canadian troops witnessed action in, for example, Hong Kong, Sicily, Italy, and North Western Europe. Canadian forces also stood on vital guard duty in Britain during the period of greatest threat of German invasion and Canadian naval vessels proved invaluable during the vital Battle for the Atlantic. Most notably Canadian forces made a huge contribution to the D-Day landings of June 1944 and the subsequent Allied advances into central Europe during 1944 and 1945. At its maximum strength in 1943 Canadian armed forces amounted to half a million, of whom 43,000 tragically were killed in combat.

- Raw figures alone suggest the undeniable contributions made by colonial troops. 500,000 Africans, more than 7,000 Caribbean people, and a total of 2.5 million Indians fought for Britain during the Second World War. In total 170,000 Commonwealth men and women lost their lives or went missing as a result of the war.
- Colonial troops saw service in military campaigns across the globe. During the course of the war, for example, the Fifth Indian Division fought against the Italians in Sudan, the Germans in Libya, and the Japanese in Burma, Malaya and Java.
- Canada was the site of the first British Commonwealth Air Training Scheme flying school, where many pilots from the Empire and Dominions were trained.
- The Royal Indian Air Force (RIAF) fought against the Japanese, while Royal Indian Navy ships fought in the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean. There were around 40,000 Indian servicemen in the British Merchant Navy.
- In the West Indies, thousands of men joined the local home guard and the British Army. They were eventually sent to Europe for training, but few were allowed to fight on the front line. Approximately 5,500 West Indian RAF personnel came to Britain in 1944-5. From 1944, West Indian women served in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) and the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) in Britain. Over 40,000 West Indian workers volunteered to live and work as agricultural labourers in the USA.
- The financial contribution to the war by the Empire and the Dominions may be referred to.
- Canada also gave the British 4 billion C$ worth of money and supplies. This is second only to the United States and top on a per capita basis. In 1946 it cancelled Britain's war debt.

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

- **Perry, Spear and Sherwood** who tell us about the positive contribution of India during the Second World War.
- **Somerville** who has researched the effect of the war on West Indian and Caribbean society.
  Killingray and Rathbone who look at the non-military contribution of the Empire and the Dominions.
- **Foster** who has researched the contribution and record of the Empire during World War Two.

Question 5

To what extent did the Labour Government of 1945-1951 deliver a "New Jerusalem" to the British people?

The candidate would be expected to scrutinise the policies that the Labour Government put in place between 1945 and 1951. The question requires candidates to establish the intent of the reforms and evaluate whether they delivered a significant change in governmental style which delivered a new people centric society that promoted a vision of equality. To enable them to do this, candidates may define "New Jerusalem" and match the reforms to their stated criteria. This will allow them to make a value judgement.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Evidence of a "New Jerusalem" which may include

- An appraisal of Labour domestic policies such as nationalisation.
- An examination of the principles and workings of the welfare state as a system of universal and comprehensive services, and the degree to which this found acceptance with the public.
- The development of the NHS and an evaluation of its worth as a policy of equality.
- The extent to which there was a redistribution of wealth within the country. An indicator of change might be that a high proportion of its wealth is shared amongst most of its people. This is unlike a traditional capitalist state where most of the wealth is in the hands of a few of its people. This might be one of the performance indicators used by candidates to establish the true extent of socialist change within a "New Jerusalem".
- The extension of educational provision can also be used to establish a baseline of provision which can be linked to the ideal of a social meritocracy.
- Provision of quality, affordable council housing.
- Labour went beyond even Beveridge's ideas 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.
- Some attempt at public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy was made.
- The most exhaustive study of Labour's economic policy concludes that it was difficult to see how this performance could have been improved upon.

Arguments which think that a "New Jerusalem" was not achieved

- A benefit system based on flat-rated insurance payments was hardly equal in nature. Some even saw it as a stealth tax on the least well off.
- The principle of universal benefits might aid those most well off who didn't require them.
- The NHS did not eliminate private medicine nor discourage its usage in NHS hospitals.
- Little was done to promote educational equality.
- Disappointment felt at Labour's record on the housing issue by 1951.
- For left-wing critics, the immediate post-war years were marked by a betrayal of socialist idealism and by wasted opportunities. Instead of using public backing as evidence in 1945 to introduce wholesale socialist change, Labour instead opted for cautious reformism: for example failing to break down entrenched class barriers.
- The major complaint of left-wing critics has been that the Attlee years did not see enough socialism to create a "New Jerusalem".
- Labour ministers, it has been argued, may have introduced long-overdue social reforms, but they failed to redistribute wealth or to break down rigid class barriers; 1 per cent of the population, for example, still owned 50 per cent of all private capital.
- However it needs to be considered that any government can be criticised for not going far enough, and for those hoping to see the elimination of capitalism, Attlee's ministry proved to be profoundly disappointing.
- But when judged against a range of contemporary yardsticks – the performance of previous governments, the aims of Labour compared with the Conservative Party, and the economic circumstances inherited in 1945 – Attlee's record emerges in a far more positive light.

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** are supporters of the Attlee reforms. They feel that the Attlee era, so the argument goes, constituted Labour's finest hour. This was a period that went some way towards satisfying wartime demands for a "New Jerusalem": the economy recovered from the ravages of war while avoiding a return to mass unemployment, and simultaneously ministers never wavered in their determination to fulfil the Beveridge promise of social protection 'from the cradle to the grave'.
Jim Fyrth's and **John Saville's** assessment claims that the Attlee government *disillusioned its own militants* by achieving only modest reform, so providing a *springboard for the rich to take off into the profiteers' paradise of the 1950s*. **Correlli Barnett** is highly critical of wartime evangelists of a 'Brave New World', such as Beveridge, who were allowed to prevail over those aware of the 'Cruel Real World' of lost exports and vanished overseas investment.
Whilst **Kevin Jeffreys** calls the Attlee reforms *a revolution without tears*.

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the impact of the Blitz?   **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 impact of the Blitz, in terms of:

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:

- It was vital in helping to create a British national identity.
- The unity created in society at this time was unique
- The British people showed improvisation in the face of a powerful enemy.
- It raised Britain's standing in the world and earned their gratitude.

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

- Viewpoints in the source certainly typify those expressed by many at the time and which were expanded upon by Ministry of Information newsreel films for public consumption in cinemas both home and abroad.
- Those who advocate that a spirit of the Blitz did exist and who went on to claim that the British were at their best in this period of extreme adversity would subscribe to the view outlined in the source.
- There are plenty of eyewitness accounts and Mass Observation reports on record which would echo the sentiments in this source.
- The fact that there was no wide scale collapse of civilian morale would suggest a fair element of truth in the source's interpretation of people's reactions to the Blitz.
- This is certainly the image that the government wished to convey to the public at large and (just as vitally) to the American public and press.

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

- Physical destruction and economic damage; candidate may refer to the loss of life, the extent of damage and destruction done, and specific examples of towns and cities, and industries that were hard hit.
- Some would argue that the theory that there was unity at this time was indeed a myth.
- Class was used as a barrier for people to access air raid shelters in the more expensive London hotels. Where only customers and guests were allowed to use the facilities.
- There was a large black market in rationed goods and items. These were affordable by the wealthy whilst the poor had to do without.
- Under the cloak of the blackout crime rates increased and criminals used it to organise robberies.
- The government were slow to make available Anderson Shelters to those who couldn't afford them.
- Overall shelter provision was poor in the areas most affected.
- The Blitz caused widespread homelessness and medical care for the victims had to be planned carefully to offer the best service.
- In areas of extensive bombing, London, Clydebank and Coventry people had to be recruited as fire crews and air raid wardens to prevent large scale damage to infrastructure.

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

- **Andrew Roberts:** who remains steadfast in his adherence to the 'finest hour' argument and insists that the British people were indeed at their best in this period of crisis and that morale was rock solid.
- **Dr Nick Tiratsoo and Stuart Hylton's:** more sceptical view of this thesis and their assertion that morale was nowhere near as high as suggested, citing widespread panic and anger in the east end of London at inadequate shelter provision as well as the widespread incidence of industrial unrest especially on the Clyde where workers often saw their employers as a greater enemy than Hitler.
- **H L Smith:** makes several references to the huge increase in opportunistic crime during the blitz as does **Angus Calder**.
- **Robert Mackay:** in his book *Half the Battle* does his best to drag the argument back into the middle ground and suggests clearly in his work that there is considerable foundation to the notion that morale did indeed remain strong during the blitz. The adherents to the 'spirit of the blitz' as a traditional view are not prepared to concede that more modern evidence cited by the revisionists named above outweighs the heroism, altruism and solidarity of the many. **Stevenson (1984) Thorpe (1992) Hennessy (1992)** and **Mackay (1999)**.

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 impact of the Blitz.

Question 2

How useful is Source B in explaining the domestic and social impact of women's work during World War Two?

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 lasting impact of the war on women's lives, in terms of:

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

- A primary source for the records of the prototype market research organisation Mass Observation in 1944.
- Nature of the Mass Observation techniques.
- The source is likely to be based on the opinions of a significant number of contemporary, primary sources.
- Is certainly one dimensional in its interpretation of the lasting impact of the war on women's lives.

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

- The report stresses the desire of the majority of women war workers to return to domesticity after the war and resume their pre-war role in the home.
- Where women did wish to continue working, the report suggests they were a minority and were in an older age bracket, either unmarried or widowed and likely to prefer their working environment as provided by the war to previous work experience.
- The source further suggests that these women saw no prospect of marriage as an option and hence, by implication, saw continued work as the only real lifestyle alternative.
- Despite this sentiment, the source further indicates that factory work held little real career appeal to these women and that they lack any real career goals as such.

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

Further exploration of the role of women:
- The limited opinion polls which exist on this issue suggest that as few as 25% of women war workers wished to continue their wartime employment after the war ended.
- Many women saw their wartime employment as a temporary phenomenon and a pragmatic response to highly particular circumstances.
- There is little evidence to suggest that women were welcomed into the workforce by either employers or male workers and that very often, the work given to the women workers was monotonous, and low paid and diluted labour.
- Trade unions made it clear that they expected a resumption of normality after the war, particularly in the light of the unemployment situation of the 30s and their fears of the impact of job dilution during the war.

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

Further exploration of the role of women:
- The candidate may wish to expand their answer to this question into areas out with the narrow field of war work and into the general theme of the impact of the war on women's lives in general.
- To that end they may wish to refer to Marwick's theory that the war was a liberating experience for women and that millions of women entered the workplace for the first time, thus changing their perceptions of their role in society and within marriage. That such an experience opened up hitherto unseen career possibilities for women who became an increasingly important feature of the industrial workforce in the post-war period.
- That this new found freedom and independence gained from being a wage earner out-with the domestic situation translated into a greater degree of personal freedom both within and outwith marriage and that was to be a lasting feature of the post-war period.
- That the ending of the marriage bar was a clear example of this new attitude to women's career opportunities and heralded the arrival of the professional woman worker.
- That many women now strove to break out of their traditionally envisaged gender role within marriage and family, and saw subservience to their husbands as a thing of the past, based on their new found freedom experienced within war work and the role of having been head of the family.
- The counter argument to this is that war work was neither a new nor liberating experience for women and that many women gave it up as soon as they were able. That lack of opportunity, low wages, sex discrimination (and frequently abuse) low skilled job related tasks and lack of facilities, all convinced many women that a return to domesticity and a pre-war family ideal was preferable to the drudgery of wartime employment.
- That government policies specifically encouraged such ideas, particularly with the immediate withdrawal of government sponsored nurseries and the philosophy of the Beveridge Report which encouraged women to have larger families through the Family Allowance provision and restrictions on married women's national insurance entitlements.
- However the most recent research tells us there was a significant enough majority of women who stayed on in work to make an overall difference in contemporary gender roles.
- This experience paved the way for the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

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

- **H.L.Smith** is clearly dubious about any real lasting impact and in this respect he is partly supported by **Penny Summerfield**
- **Marwick and Titmus** hold the traditionalist line that the war had a profound social impact and that its effects were to be felt long after its conclusion.
- **Peter Hennessy**, in his book on the fifties in Britain, presents the view that women were more influenced by the community in which they lived with regards to their expectations of life and that the prevailing norm of the fifties was a return to domesticity and motherhood.
- **De Groot** hails the advent of the contraceptive pill in the sixties as the real emancipator of women.

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 as evidence for explaining the domestic and social impact of women's work during World War Two.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing views on the challenges facing the leaders of Britain's naval and land forces during World War Two?   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 in **Sources C** and **D** on the challenges facing the leaders of Britain's naval and land forces in World War Two, 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:

- The challenge was how to coordinate Britain's military plans with USA.
- There were disagreements inside the Committee, especially between the British and Americans, on their views over how the war should be fought [ie American dogmatism versus British pragmatism].
- The challenge for the British was to keep the Americans focused on Europe
- There were problems which arose from the personalities of the two great wartime leaders who were involved in the Committee; they often had far-fetched schemes.

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

- Detail on the appointment of different Supreme Commanders, their theatres of war and their success in them, and the challenges facing them in pursuit of their strategies.
- Examples of the dogmatism versus pragmatism in different theatres.
- Britain's desire to ensure allocation of US naval forces in the Atlantic.
- Details on the challenges facing the British military leaders in pursuit of their strategies eg Casablanca Conference, DD planning, demand for unconditional German surrender.

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

- British and US commanders often personally disliked each other eg Montgomery and Patten
- Maintaining the Mediterranean supply route to the Near and Far East.
- Britain's commitment to help the Soviet Union eg Arctic Convoys
- Efficiency and effectiveness of the German armed forces
- Disagreements over the timing and location of the Second Front

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:

- The problem was how to best handle the information that Britain was getting from its decryption of the German naval Enigma codes. Britain used the information defensively to move convoys out of the way of German U-boats but that wasn't working now since there were so many German U-boats that you just moved the convoy into the path of anther wolf pack.
- The view of the US Navy was that the Enigma decrypts should be used offensively rather than defensively to actually get at the German U-tankers which were refueling the rest of the German U-boats.
- The view of British naval leaders was that by using Enigma offensively they would risk compromising the source [and make the Germans suspicious about whether Enigma had been broken] and this could lead to a drastic increase in shipping losses.
- The British First Sea Lord also believed that Enigma decrypts were also giving valuable evidence on Germany's tactical decisions in the U-boat war [and that might be lost].

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

- Loss of shipping in the Atlantic as a result of U-boat activity eg Happy Time
- Detail on Enigma decoding, Bletchley Park, Churchill's views on its importance, its influence on the Battle of the Atlantic.
- Other exemplification of British military decision-making in the Battle of the Atlantic; the convoy system, the use of corvettes, the deployment of the Canadian navy, long range air patrols with ASV radar, closing the mid-Atlantic gap, decisions over use of military technology [centimetric radar, Hedgehog, Huff-duff. etc.]
- Challenge was to ensure Britain's continued use of Enigma to keep informed of German naval technological improvements and tactics.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of views in the sources:

- These sources cover two main aspects; the umbrella control of the allied forces under western command, and the way the military leaders conducted the Battle of the Atlantic. Candidates may offer an evaluation of the challenges facing Britain's military leaders in their decision making in other Western theatres of war; North Africa/Italy, D-Day and mainland Europe post invasion.
- They might make an evaluation of our military contribution in the Asian theatre of war; decisions that were made there regarding appointments, [ie Slim, Mountbatten] deployment of resources, co-operation between allies and introduction of innovative methods of fighting.
- Candidates may consider the issue of relations with and contacts with Soviet Russia, and how best use could be made of that ally; overcoming the issue of best use of resources by sending our scarce ones round to Murmansk.

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

- **Prof D. Syrett** stresses the huge importance of the use of intelligence in winning the Battle of the Atlantic, and in particular, the cracking of the Enigma code.
- **Michael Gannon:** acclaims the decision makers in the British army for taking the fight to the Axis powers in the early days of the war.
- **Correlli Barnett:** stresses the importance of the navy and how key decisions taken there were fundamental to Britain's ultimate victory in the war.
- **John Keegan:** overall survey of the war; places only limited emphasis on British military contribution [and presumably downgrades the significance of any decisions taken by Britain's military leaders. However, he stresses the importance of the revamped convoy system as an integral part of the success had against the submarine menace.
- **Richard Overy** is reluctant to pinpoint any one factor over the other as a specific reason for victory but commends highly the energy, drive and invention of Admiral Horton as being significant.

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 differing views on the challenges facing the leaders of Britain's naval and land forces in World War Two.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]