



**2009 History**

**Higher – Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## Paper 1

- 1 Each question is marked out of 20. *Where the candidate violates the rubric of the paper and answers two questions in one section, both responses should be marked and the better mark recorded.*
- 2 In Paper 1 candidates will be rewarded according to

- a) **Knowledge and Understanding – 6 marks are allocated for** the relevant knowledge they use to address the question. Marks will be awarded for each accurate, full point they make; these points may be further developed, as in the following example, relating to the effectiveness of the Liberal Reforms:

**Old age pensions (0 marks for stating this) were given to all people over 70 (1 mark); married couples received 7/6 and single people 5s (a second mark for knowledge). This provision was not enough to live on, but old people were able to help pay their families if they lived with them (no further mark for knowledge, but an argument which would receive credit under the category Argument and Evaluation)**

- b) **Argument/Evaluation – 10 marks are allocated for** the quality of thought revealed in their answers by the arguments and evaluation demonstrated. This should be taken as including the extent to which the candidate:

gives an answer which is relevant to the question and relates explicitly to the question's terms;  
argues a case;  
makes the various distinctions required by the question;  
responds to all the elements in the question, and to any isolated factor in particular;  
explains, analyses, debates and assesses rather than simply describes or narrates;  
answers with clarity and fluency and in language appropriate to historical writing at this level.

- c) **Structure – 4 marks are allocated for** the appropriateness of the organisation of the answer, according to the degree to which the response

establishes the context of the question and the relevant factors to be considered in the introduction  
demonstrates a development of the issue  
responds to the question in the form of a balanced conclusion based on the evidence and arguments deployed

- 3 The following descriptions provide additional guidance on the marks awarded to essays displaying various characteristics. Many essays will exhibit some, but not all, of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. **The characteristics should NOT be thought of as hurdles, all of which must be crossed before a boundary is reached. Marks should be awarded in the range where more of the characteristics are demonstrated; there is scope within the bands for argument and evaluation to reward greater or lesser achievement of the characteristics.** Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue rather than penalise what may have been omitted.

KNOWLEDGE –Up to 6 marks can be awarded

These are for substantive points and points further developed which are relevant and accurate.

STRUCTURE – Up to 4 marks can be awarded

- 0 marks      There is no identifiable attempt to establish context or relevant factor.  
The development is unstructured or random.  
There is no attempt to provide an answer in the terms of the question.
- 1 mark        There is some attempt to establish context or relevant factors.  
There is an attempt to develop an answer, though there may be some significant omissions.  
The conclusion may be implicit.
- 2 marks        The introduction establishes the context and indicates relevant factors.  
There is an identifiable development of the answer.  
The conclusion is a summary linked to the question.
- 3 marks        The introduction establishes the context, indicates relevant factors and outlines a line of argument.  
There is a coherent development directly related to the question.  
The conclusion is clearly based on the evidence presented, and is directly linked to the question.
- 4 marks        The introduction clearly sets the issue in its wider context, indicates relevant factors and demonstrates a solid line of argument.  
There is a coherent development directly focused on the question.  
The conclusion is balanced, summarising the arguments and coming to an overall judgement directly related to the question.

ARGUMENT – Up to 10 marks can be awarded:

- 0-1 marks     The style is narrative and descriptive  
There is little or no clear attempt to answer the question.
- 2-3 marks     The style is mainly narrative and descriptive.  
There are some brief attempts to answer the question.
- 4-5 marks     The style demonstrates some analysis, though there may still be some narrative.  
There is use of evidence to answer the question.
- 6-7 marks     The style is analytical, with the evidence used to develop and support a line of argument.  
The line of argument is focused directly on the question.
- 8-10 marks    The evidence is integrated into a sustained analysis.  
The argument is sustained and balanced, with some awareness of alternative interpretations and/or historical debate.

## OPTION A – MEDIEVAL HISTORY

### HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH

#### MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

Question 1: “Brutal, poor and without hope.” How accurate is this view of the lives of peasants during the Middle Ages?

#### Arguments for “Brutal, poor and without hope”

- **Place in society** – There are numerous arguments that can be put forward to highlight the lifestyle of peasants. The feudal term of villein or serf, indicated a peasant who was not free to leave his home farm or village. They were bought and sold along with the land and were expected to work at least 3 days a week in the lord’s lands without recompense and hand over the best of their produce in exchange for renting out their farmland. In exchange it was assumed that the villein would receive protection from his lord or his lord’s knights.
- **Work** – Peasants, or villeins, tended to work hard in mostly the agricultural sector. All the work had to be done by hand and this resulted in long hours of back breaking work. Not all peasants received the same amount of good farming land, and often it was the case that land was rotated amongst the peasants. This dissuaded attempts to improve the land; there was little point in going to the extra effort when next year your neighbour would reap the benefit.
- **Lifestyle** – Accommodation could be very poor, especially for the lower strata of peasant society. Many peasants lived in poorly constructed one bedroom dwellings which they shared with their animals. A single hearth provided all the heat, lighting and cooking facilities, and firewood was at a premium; peasants were forced to pay a penny to their lord for the right to pick up fallen wood for the fires. Food was basic and in times of famine starvation was a real threat.

#### Arguments against such a brutal existence

- **Place in society** – In fact peasants played an important part of feudal society, beyond the need for agricultural labour force. It was expected that a peasant would run his own day-to-day life without the need of the feudal lord’s presence. Local reeves and bailiffs, appointed by the peasants or the lord himself would act in his stead. Villeins had to organise themselves through the local manor court. The court dealt with sharing the land, fined those that broke the rules, and even brought murderers to trial. In a way the local peasants had more of a say in their lives than people do today. There are records of the court occasionally reprimanding their lord for failure to uphold his duties or acting unlawfully. The peasants of Albury petitioned parliament in 1321 to step in and settle a dispute with their lord Sir John Patemore.
- **Work** – While work was hard the Manor court ensured that everyone had a fair share of the good land to grow their crops. During bad times there were systems in place to share out food so that no one in the village would go hungry. As the 12<sup>th</sup> century progressed famine became rare in England, as the Manor System pulled in isolated communities and helped create new more viable villages throughout the kingdom.
- **Lifestyle** – Recent excavations at Wharram Percy indicate that most peasant homes were of a better quality than previously believed. Archaeological evidence points to homes occupied by small nuclear families, some with upper rooms that indicate a level of privacy previously thought impossible. Ditches and hedges surrounded houses and they had locked doors and chests with locks. The same excavations show a more prosperous type of peasant with goods that they wished to protect, such as pewter tableware, glazed pots and imported wine containers. Evidence of leisure activities included cards, chess pieces, musical instruments and even a football. Peasants were no longer bound to their lords land as they once were. After the effects of the Black Death travel became more common. Peasants could become merchants travelling with their wares or pilgrims to famous holy shrines, perhaps even to Jerusalem.

#### Any other relevant factors

Question 2: To what extent was the secular church more important than the regular church in the Middle Ages?

### **Arguments for the importance of the secular church**

- **Salvation and relics** – The church was seen to hold the keys to heaven; this was used as a means of control over the population. In many ways the church had much more of a direct impact on the everyday lives of people than their lords and monarchs. The importance of the relics was also considered important, a means to directly influence God in your favour through the bones of the dead saints. The power of the relics and their draw increased the importance of pilgrimage.
- **Political importance** – The church was an important political organisation in the feudal world. The church officially crowned monarchs; indeed there was a continuing argument between church and state as to where the divine appointment of monarchs originated from, the church or from God directly to the king. Monarchs also required the aid of literate churchmen to run the kingdom. In England the church was able to raise feudal levies to defend the state.
- **Christendom** – The church in medieval society was not confined to the British Isles; support for the secular church could be sought from the pope. He had the power to coerce nobles and monarchs to bend to the will of the church. Through the use of excommunication and interdict the pope could enforce the importance of the secular church.

### **Arguments for the importance of the regular church**

- **Religious importance** – Monasteries were seen as prayer factories – they were important in the hope of salvation. Donations to monasteries were common, in return the monks would pray for their souls. In part, David I paid for the monasteries at Melrose and Kinloss because he hoped that their prayers would give him a greater chance of achieving entrance to heaven. Kings would also found monasteries in order to have a significant religious site for their burial. Nobles and commoners alike treated the divinity of monks as a way of achieving grace in the eyes of God.
- **Political importance** – Abbots and senior monks were often used as advisors by monarchs and barons. Monks' literacy was an important contribution to the local government. Monasteries established in politically divided areas tended to help support royal authority, in exchange for vast areas of land to support them financially. David I employed this strategy very effectively in 1113 and 1128.
- **Economic importance** – Many monasteries, particularly the Cistercians, were built in remote areas of wilderness. This resulted in parts of Britain being brought under cultivation for the first time and establishing civilisation in the thinly populated areas, such as Yorkshire with Rievaulx and Fountains abbeys. Many abbeys helped to develop local trade; Melrose for example dominated the Scottish wool trade.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: How important were towns to medieval society in England and Scotland?

#### **Arguments that towns were important to medieval society**

- **Trade and economy** – Historians argue that the development of international trade and communications required an urban environment to exist. Without market towns, established to encourage merchants and provide a steady supply of customers, the level of foreign trading would not have been as high as it was.
- **Freedom from feudalism** – Professor Duncan has argued that burghs offered a welcome relief from the feudal duties imposed on the population in the countryside. This in turn allowed the merchants to free themselves of aids and reliefs, thus making it easier to travel and trade.
- **Political importance** – Monarchs viewed towns as an important tool in expanding their authority. Within towns the king's law prevailed, feudalism was less prevalent. Towns provided the monarchs with symbols of royal power. In many ways they were similar to castles; royal burghs were established in areas of limited control by the crown, thus the king could directly influence the lives of people in these areas. David I established many burghs in Moray, after the rebellions of 1130 and 1150, to expand his authority in the area. Royal sheriffs were established in each burgh to act as the king's representative.
- **Protection** – Professor Duncan argues for the importance of towns in providing adequate protection for merchants in the middle ages. Town walls provided much needed protection for the development of banking, guilds and travellers.

#### **Arguments that the towns were not as important to medieval society**

- **Urban vs. Agricultural sector** – The agricultural sector was still seen as the most important aspect of the medieval economy. There was little surplus agricultural produce to sell in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the population continued to work on the land and live in the countryside. Land was seen as the most important source of wealth by the landed classes while trade was seen as beneath their notice. Even when it was acknowledged that trade was essential to the survival of the realm, the most important trade goods were agricultural.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: How far can it be argued that David I was a successful feudal monarch?

#### **Arguments to say that David was a successful monarch**

- **Landholding and the introduction of feudalism** – David introduced Norman style feudalism to Scotland. These new feudal families were indebted to David for their land. This provided David with a loyal support base within Scotland. They also provided much needed military options.
- **Royal justice** – David gradually eroded the old Celtic system of justice, particularly in the north, as the new feudal courts became more popular. He also successfully expanded the king's court, to include juries and sheriffs, and held local courts in the name of the king. Itinerant justices became permanent fixtures by the late 12<sup>th</sup> century.
- **Revenue** – David increased the fortune of the Scottish monarchy, he developed royal burghs to encourage trade, thereby increasing the custom revenues. New landed lords were obliged to give feudal incidents such as aids and reliefs. The newly developed justice system brought in money from fines. David continued to rely on traditional methods of raising revenue – Celtic customs such as Cains and Conveth and profits from royal demesnes. David's Sterling or silver coins helped to establish a working economy within Scotland.
- **The Church** – David was responsible for carrying on many of his mother's reforms of the Scottish church. The introduction of the regular church through such monasteries as Kelso and Dunfermline; the development of bishoprics centred on cathedrals run by canons. Locals now had to pay a tithe to support their local parish priests. David granted large areas of land to the church to help sustain their existence. Thus he received a favourable reputation as a just and pious king, a reputation encouraged by the church itself.
- **Military** – David encouraged the construction of castles, mostly Motte and Bailey designs. These symbols of royal authority helped to keep rebellious provinces in line. David also relied on his new Norman knightly forces to pursue his internal policies against the Mormaers and other entrenched elements of the Scottish Celtic nobility. New sheriffs were made responsible for calling the common army of Scotland, in areas where no magnate of standing could do so.

#### **Arguments to say that David was not so successful**

- **Weakness of feudalism** – Problems arose with a clash of loyalties amongst the new feudal barons. Many were still loyal to their families in England. This caused problems with David's foreign policy, as demonstrated at the battle of the Standard in 1138.
- **Continuing opposition to David** – There were at least 4 rebellions in David's lifetime, 1130, 1134, 1142 and 1150 – though historians disagree as to the significance of these risings, they do demonstrate a continued resistance to his authority and changes.
- **Tensions with Nobility** – Many Celtic Mormaers disliked these new changes, they were particularly unhappy with the eventual change in their position and the adoption of feudal land grants.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: “Henry II’s greatest achievement was the establishment of a new justice system in England.” How accurate is this statement?

### **Arguments that suggest that Henry’s justice was his greatest achievement**

- **Problems with Baronial Courts** – The civil war had reduced the importance of the royal justice, Baronial courts were more common and were a significant part of the Barons regular income. Corruption was rife and justice was usually for sale to the highest bidder.
- **Anglo-Saxon justice** – needed updating. Trial by combat or ordeal was still common for criminal cases. Civil actions depended on both parties acquiring more witnesses than the other; a system called compurgation which proved to be open to corruption.
- **Number of courts** – There were far too many; jurisdictions were confused and criminals often found it easy to escape justice.
- **Juries** – were introduced for the first time, though they were used only to round up the guilty or accused; ordeal was still often the means of deciding guilt.
- **Assizes** – such as those of Clarendon (1166) and Northampton (1176) for the first time attempted to create a recognised set of laws for the realm as a whole. Laws were written down for justices to refer to when needed.
- **Writs** – were introduced to reduce the level of corruption in civil cases. They were popular, and offered even the poorest of claimant the right to trial. The authority of the crown increased with the new justice, while correspondingly the power of the Barons decreased. The crown gained financially because of fines paid directly to the treasury and decisions of the king’s court became the basis of English common law for centuries to come.
- **Problems with the justice system** – It was not perfect; trial by ordeal remained nor was the issue of the church courts ever fully dealt with.

### **Arguments for his other achievements**

- **Restoring order after the civil war** – England was very much in a mess after the war between Matilda and Stephen. Henry was required to dismiss foreign mercenaries, reduce the number of illegally built castles, and reduce the number of knights and reign in sheriffs that had kept royal revenue. Lands lost to David I had to be recovered.
- **Restoration of royal government** – The investigation into the corruption of governmental officials saw the reduction of knights in 1166, and the replacement of corrupt officials in 1170. Financial affairs were put in the capable hands of Nigel of Ely, who soon had the exchequer running efficiently. Baronial power was curtailed and royal authority was once again established to the same level as that of Henry I.
- **Establishment of Empire** – Henry’s inheritance and marriage allowed him to assemble an impressive collection of feudal holdings. More than that he was able to retain their support and hold the empire together throughout his reign, something that his son John would be unable to accomplish.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **NATION AND KING**

Question 6: To what extent were his failures in foreign policy the cause of baronial revolt against King John?

#### **Arguments that the failure of foreign policy was to blame for the baronial revolt**

- **Loss of Normandy** – Many see this as the underlying cause of the problems with the Barons. Not only had they lost their ancestral lands, not to mention the loss of revenue, but they believed that had Richard lived this would not have happened. John's perceived military failure could have acted as impetus to the belief that a revolt could succeed.
- **Attempts to regain Normandy** – On the back of John's stringent financial demands he showed his lack of military prowess as his grand alliance in 1214 collapsed and Normandy remained in the hands of the Barons.
- **Quarrel with Pope Innocent III** – John's failure to come to terms with Innocent's choice of Archbishop led to a protracted dispute that saw England placed under an interdict, and threatened by invasion from the King of France. However, his solution was even worse. Handing over the country to the Pope as feudal overlord led to increased financial demands to pay the papal taxes and lack of church support against King John.

#### **Arguments that domestic policy was more to blame for the baronial revolt**

- **Arguments that John was a tyrant** – Mostly made by chroniclers there is evidence of John taking hostages for the good behaviour of his Barons. He also purposely raised reliefs knowing it would place his barons in debt, thus attempting to ensure their loyalty. John acted as though he was above the law, destroying important nobles whom he believed, rightly or wrongly, of treachery. Nobles such as William de Briouze whose wife was imprisoned and starved for a comment about the murder of Arthur.
- **Financial demands on England** – Facing financial difficulties, thanks to the rising cost of warfare, inflation and his brother Richard, John became very adept at using feudal dues to claw back money for the treasury. His new taxes, on movables (1203 and 1207), his increased demands of scutage and use of the justice system to make money, all angered the barons. They saw John's continual demands for money as excessive. Many were worried about setting precedents for future kings.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: How important a contribution did William Wallace make to Scotland's eventual victory in the Scottish Wars of Independence?

### **Arguments that William Wallace did play an important role in Scotland's victory**

- **Mantle of leadership after defeat of Balliol** – Wallace's early rebellion marked him as a leader of the resistance. Joining forces with Andrew Murray and the surrender of the rest of the nobility at Irvine allowed him to fire up enthusiasm for rebellion amongst the poor folk. After Stirling Bridge he won the respect of the nobles and became Guardian of Scotland.
- **Community of the Realm** – Barrow argues that the continuation of the Community of the Realm under Wallace's guidance was his main contribution to the Wars of Independence.
- **Stirling Bridge** – The morale-lifting victory at Stirling Bridge proved that the mighty English forces were not invincible. This was an important point; after the disaster at Dunbar in 1296, many did not want to take the risk of facing an English force in the field again.
- **Use of guerrilla tactics** – Wallace demonstrated the importance of these tactics and the weakness of the English army to attacks on their supply lines. Bruce learned from these tactics and employed them well.
- **Martyr and Patriot** – William Wallace's death was intended to be a warning from Edward I. However, according to Barrow it seemed to have the opposite effect and Wallace became a patriot, his death stirred up strong emotions and perhaps actively encouraged anti-English feelings. His continuing importance throughout the rest of the middle-ages show the importance the people of Scotland put on his contribution. Even almost 100 years after his death, Blind Harry's poem shows how popular a hero he had become.

### **Arguments that William Wallace did not play an important role in Scotland's victory**

- **Failure as a Guardian of Scotland** – Wallace's position was only secure for as long as his victories on the battlefield continued. His lack of position and noble heritage disadvantaged him in the eyes of the other great Magnates. This only further highlighted the internal bickering by the very community that should have been working together for the benefit of the realm.
- **Failure in pitched battles** – There is an argument that Andrew Murray, not Wallace, engineered the victory at Stirling Bridge; indeed his only set piece engagement without Murray was something of a failure. Falkirk proved that Wallace's tactics would not work against an English force.
- **War continues until 1328** – It is only with the treaty of Edinburgh in 1328, that we see the end of the First Wars of Independence, thus Wallace's contribution, as it was, doesn't have much direct impact on the war's outcome.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: How successful was Phillip II in expanding royal power in France?

#### **Arguments to suggest that Phillip was successful in expanding the French monarchy**

- **Successful dealings with the Angevins** – Philip had proved an able diplomat and strategist in his dealings with Henry II. He had managed to turn the King's sons against him; first Geoffrey in 1186, then with Richard and John in 1189. Henry was forced to accede to the Treaty of Azai, where Henry handed over land and agreed to pay homage to the French King for his lands in France. This was a significant victory for Philip, who was only aged 24. While Philip struggled in his dealings with Richard, he had no such problems against John. He was able to use Arthur of Brittany's claim to the throne of England to successfully split John's baronial support. Philip was also able to defeat John's great coalition of nobles at the battle of Bouvines in 1214.
- **Acquisition of new royal estates** – Philip increased his holdings considerably. He forced the Count of Flanders to cede Vermandois and Aimeins. Henry II had handed over Auvergne, while King John lost Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. This new land offered increased revenue and allowed Philip to extend his feudal power. He reserved the feudal rights for himself.
- **Feudal rights and the economy** – Philip decreed that as King, he could not be any man's vassal. He also enforced his rights as a feudal overlord on the other French nobles. He forced the Count of Flanders to hand over his relief when he inherited his lands. He also took hostages from his Barons to enforce their good behaviour. He used his feudal rights to raise relief, aids and scutage to help finance his wars. However the economy's development helped considerably. Philip sold charters to towns in newly conquered areas to increase their support and encourage trade.
- **New forms of administration and justice** – As Philip conquered new lands he needed to develop a system of administering them. He discovered the English system in use in Normandy and copied it. Regional governors were loyal to Philip and were responsible for enforcing royal law and collecting taxes. To a certain extent these bypassed the powerful local nobles. These governors and their Ballies were far more accountable than the Counts and Barons had been, thus Philip was able to keep a tight control over them. Philip also established a justice system that enforced the rights of the crown. Nobles were forced to accept royal jurisdiction and more cases were heard by the Kings' court, rather than the Barons' court.

#### **Arguments that Phillip was not successful in expanding the power of the monarchy**

- **Arguments between vassals** – Many of Philip's important vassals continued to argue and go to war amongst themselves. However, even here Philip was able to use this to his advantage at times.
- **Failure to expand into Aquitaine** – Philip did not oust the Angevins from their last province in France. This allowed them to have a secure foothold for further advances.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: How far does the effective leadership of Louis IX explain the lack of baronial opposition to his attempts to strengthen the French monarchy?

### **Arguments that Louis leadership helped prevent the lack of baronial opposition**

- **Government** – Louis gave large amounts of land to his family, thus preventing the need for them joining rebellions. Nobles were richly rewarded, even when it went against Louis's best interests. This prevented any major baronial rebellions taking place. A regular parliament was established which employed 30 members of staff and consulted with the Chamber of accounts to keep an eye on financial matters. Ballies in the north and seneschals in the south provided local level of government. Officials were employed to hear complaints about the government, and provosts were employed to encourage good Christian values in society.
- **Increase of royal lands** – Louis was successful in bringing more land under the direct control of the French crown. His victory over Henry III and Raymond of Toulouse in 1241 saw Languedoc and Provence brought under royal control. Louis gained control of Foix and Roussillon from James of Aragon by abandoning his claim to Barcelona. The treaty of Paris (1259) saw the end of hostilities with Henry III, who once again became a vassal of the French kings for his lands in Aquitaine. Henry also gave up his claim to Normandy and Anjou. The marriages of his younger brothers helped bring outlying provinces more into the mainstream of French politics.

### **Other reasons for the lack of baronial opposition**

- **Economy** – Louis helped the development of trade in towns in order to be able to collect revenue from their success.
- **Church** – Louis demanded that he had the right to tax the Church in order to pay for his Crusade, and forbade the Church from doing the same thing. He kept control over his Church and demanded evidence before anyone's land was confiscated after an excommunication. For its part the church argued for a unified France under the authority of Louis. The Church saw this as the best means to peaceful France that would see the safety of the church and its people.
- **Landholding** – Louis failed to push his claim against Henry III at the Treaty of Paris and the English King was left in control over the lands of the southwest. Many of his Barons were disappointed over this, but they decided to leave the possibility for a challenge to his unification at a later date.
- **Criticisms** – Louis was heavily criticised for allowing the English to retain land in France. He was also criticised for breaking up his larger royal demesne by giving three important provinces to his younger brothers, thereby threatening the unification process.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

Question 10: “English success in the Hundred Years’ War up to 1421 was due almost entirely to French weaknesses” How accurate is this statement?

### Arguments that English Success prior to 1421 was due to French Weakness

- **Political instability of semi-independent French vassal States** – Cloth producing towns in Flanders supported the 1338–40 expedition; succession dispute in Brittany allowed English to garrison castles there in 1340s.
- **English control of Gascony** – allowed them to easily penetrate into central France. This allowed the English forces an easy route to invade the important royal estates for the French monarchy. More importantly it allowed the English forces to re-supply locally and have a safe haven for their forces to retreat.
- **Weakness of French nobility** – Many French nobles had divided loyalties; regions such as Flanders owed their economic survival to England not France. The Duke of Burgundy changed sides when it was most suitable for him. The other Dukes, members of the Valois royal family, held their duchies, called appanages, as virtually independent rulers.
- **The failure of French monarchs** – French kings failed to provide sufficient leadership during the periods of conflict, such as the capture of John II at Poitiers or the madness of Charles VI and the arguments over the regency.

### Alternative Arguments for English Success up to 1421

- **Wealth** – England was a rich kingdom which allowed the creation of a large and stable armed forces. The profit from the wool trade was used to create important allies in Flanders. The nature of the English forces required a steady income, soldiers had to be paid, weapons had to be paid for etc.
- **Military Experience** – Thanks to a series of wars fought within the British Isles; the English forces had perfected tactics for their new type of army. Troops from Irish and Scottish skirmishes were able to put that experience to good use against feudal hosts in France. While French forces may have outnumbered their English counterparts, they lacked the quality.
- **New style of fighting** – Unreliable feudal hosts were now replaced with professional mercenaries, men at arms and longbow men. These forces took on an almost defensive capacity but were very flexible. They allowed for the great English victories at Crecy and Poitiers. Large and regular expeditions into France were common – 10, 000 men in 1346.

### Any other relevant factors

Question 11: To what extent was the Peasants' Revolt caused by a desire to end serfdom?

- **Demands for an end to serfdom** – The level of the quality of life for peasants in post-plague England was noticeable. Reduced numbers of labourers meant that they could demand more money for their services. The oppression that many felt because of feudal dues could be ignored. Instead the peasants could demand, and often receive, hard coin for their toils. This was in sharp contrast to the days before the plague. No peasant wanted to see a return to the days of serfdom. Once they had tasted this type of freedom they were unwilling to set it aside. The followers of the scholar, John Wycliffe, took up their plight. These Lollards originally twisted the message of Wycliffe, claiming that the peasants should refuse the rights to serve their lords. While Wycliffe distanced himself from these comments, he did side with the serfs, claiming that if they starved then there would be no one to work on the farms. A priest named John Ball became the chief preacher among the peasants, spreading the ideas formulated by the Lollards.

#### **Alternative causes for the Peasants' Revolt**

- **Complaints from landowners** – Many landowners had felt the pinch thanks to the Black Death; that the labourers were now better off was a significant problem. Wages had risen and the quality of life had improved. Complaints even arose about the quality of the dress of the peasants.
- **Rising prices** – There was a fear that the rise in prices would mean that the peasants would not be able to feed themselves if the wages were returned to that of the pre-plague level.
- **Royal response** – There had been several attempts to redress the problem of rising wages. Edward III had issued a royal decree in 1349 and the Statute of Labourers followed this in 1351. These statutes caused a great deal of resentment among the peasant population.
- **The Poll Tax** – Many historians believe that the immediate cause of the revolt was the attempt by the government to impose a third poll tax in 1380. On top of all the other problems faced by peasants in recent years, this added to their growing burden. Many peasants attempted to avoid paying, but the consequences were severe.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: To what extent were the long-term consequences of the Black Death beneficial to Europe?

Pupils should argue this issue in terms of the long-term and short-term impacts of the Black Death. For the most part it can be argued that the short-term impact was considerable, while the long-term impacts were less harmful, and may even have been beneficial for the survivors. Pupils should consider the following points:

### **Long-term benefits**

- **Reduction in population** – It has been argued that prior to the Black Death Europe had been overpopulated. The high mortality reduced the population to an extent that there was no longer land hunger. The economy could cope with the more manageable population levels. There were cheaper land prices, and more food for the average peasant.
- **Wages and social mobility** – The decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Indeed the shortage of labourers is often attributed to the decline of serfdom in Western Europe. Landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs' services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions for those that survived. Peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could find themselves propelled upwards on the social ladder.

### **Long-term problems**

- **Landowners** – Many nobles and landowners were having severe difficulties. The production of wheat, and wool and other commodities became less profitable. For many nobles the situation continued to get worse and many became bankrupt. This led to the attempt to restore wages to pre-plague levels in 1349.
- **Lost villages** – Entire communities disappeared in England. These lost villages were simply abandoned because of the high mortality rate. This not only had a significant impact on the social order, but contributed to England's shrinking economy.
- **Effects on religion** – In the short term there was an increased devotion to the Church, as many saw this as their only salvation from the pestilence. However it soon became obvious that the Church could not offer any help, and cults such as the flagellants sprung up throughout Europe predicting the end of the world. Support of organised religion declined slightly and a more cynical view of the Church replaced the blind devotion of the earlier age.
- **Death rate** – It is estimated that between one third and two thirds of the population of Europe died as a result of the Black Death. The considerable emotional and psychological effects on the survivors were enormous. Urban areas were disproportionately hit, leading to crises in many towns and cities. It was not until seventeenth century that England's population reached the levels of 1300.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 13: How successful was the Conciliar Movement in limiting the authority of the Papacy in Europe?

**Arguments to suggest that the Conciliar Movement succeeded in limiting the power of the Papacy**

- **The Council of Constance (1417)** – deposed both popes elected during the Great Schism. A new pope, Martin V, was elected by the cardinals. The council then went on to state that they were now superior to the Papacy. The council decided that they would become the primary church body and that regular meeting would take place. It was hoped that the recent scandals of the church would be avoided, particularly the events that led to the schism.
- **The Council of Basel/Florence (1431)** – forced Martin V to agree to the decrees of the Council of Constance (1417). The Papacy was now obliged to allow councils to be held regularly in order to dictate procedure to the pope. There were also attempts made to reunite the Catholic Church with the Greek Orthodox Church, establish precedents for future Conciliarism agendas and to limit the power of the popes.

**Arguments to suggest that it did not succeed in limiting the power of the papacy**

- **Martin V and his successor Eugenius IV** – Neither popes believed in the Conciliarism. Both saw their roles as restorers of papal authority against the demands of the conciliarists.
- The councils were too disunited; often they broke into radical groups who attacked senior church positions. Some of the councils were moved several times. One faction during the Council of Basel, elected themselves an anti-pope who continued to assert his position for ten years.
- **Political pressure** – Many of the delegations to the councils were under pressure from the monarchs of their region and voted in accordance with their power political interests, rather than in the interests of the church.
- Many began to lose interest of faith in the councils. One of the leading Conciliar theorists, Nicholas of Cusa, denounced the narrow-mindedness and factionalism of the councils and switched sides to become a loyal papal supporter.
- In contrast to the weakness of the Conciliar Movement, the popes of the era pursued their policy with a single-minded purpose.
- **Hussites** – The Papacy had been very effective in dealing with the heresy of the Hussites and had successfully curtailed their threat. This seemed to be a great triumph for the papacy.
- **The Fifth Lateran Council (1512)** – Pope Julius II was able to reassert the authority of the Papacy to the councils.

**Any other relevant factors**

## **OPTION B – EARLY MODERN HISTORY**

### **HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH**

#### **SCOTLAND IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION 1542–1603**

Question 1: To what extent was Scotland dominated by France in the period 1542–1560?

The candidate assesses the extent to which Scotland was dominated by France in this period using evidence and arguments such as:

##### **Auld Alliance**

- Traditionally Scotland had followed a pro-French policy.
- James V had maintained this policy.
- Some nobles had begun to doubt the wisdom of this policy.
- This can be seen at Solway Moss 1542 where Scots were reluctant to fight.

##### **Regency of Arran**

- Brief flirtation with a pro-English policy.
- Treaty of Greenwich 1543 – proposed marriage of Mary to Henry VIII's son.
- Due to increased demands from Henry VIII – Scots reneged on the Treaty.
- Henry VIII policy 'rough wooing' forced the Scots to look for French assistance.

##### **Treaty of Haddington 1548**

- This re-established French dominance.
- Mary of Guise became increasingly important in establishing a pro-French policy.
- By this Treaty Mary was to marry the French Dauphin.
- Mary was sent to France.
- French troops were sent to Scotland.
- Henry II of France had achieved everything Henry VIII of England wanted.

##### **Increased French dominance 1550's**

- With Mary of Guise as Regent from 1554, the French presence in Scotland was consolidated.
- Increasingly France represented Scotland diplomatically.
- Mary of Guise targeted Scots nobles to win them over by financial rewards and honours.
- 1558 marriage of Mary to Dauphin – Scotland and France were treated as joint kingdoms.
- Increasing numbers of French troops in Scotland, especially after 1558 when the Lords of the Congregation were in open rebellion.

##### **French dominance ends 1560**

- English assistance to Protestants in 1560 – Fleet and army was sent north.
- July 1560 the unexpected death of Mary of Guise created a 'political Vacuum'.
- The Protestants took this as an opportunity to seize control.
- Treaty of Edinburgh said that all foreign troops were to leave Scotland.
- Reformation Parliament declared Scotland Protestant.
- A 'Protestant' Scotland would be pro-English – France would no longer dominate Scotland.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How important was the role of John Knox in bringing about the Reformation in Scotland?

The candidate evaluates the importance of John Knox as a reason for the Reformation in Scotland, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **John Knox**

- He had been involved with Wishart's preaching tour of Scotland and in 1546 was involved with those who assassinated Cardinal Beaton. He was with the Protestant rebels at St Andrew's castle.
- After his return from exile in 1559, he was to play a key role in stirring up popular opinion.
- His preaching in Perth resulted in riots and the destruction of the Friaries.
- He was a key figure in drawing up the First Book of Discipline – although three others were involved in this.
- Knox is popularly seen as the key figure in the Scottish Reformation, yet some historians now regard his role as being overstated.

### **Other Factors**

#### **The Catholic Church**

- There was on-going general decline and corruption in the Catholic Church.
- Attempts by the Catholic Church to reform itself were seen as 'too little too late'.
- The major problem of 'Pluralism' had not been addressed.

#### **Growth of Protestant ideas in Scotland**

- Protestant ideas had been coming into Scotland for some time.
- Protestantism was becoming more popular especially in the east coast burghs eg Perth and Dundee declared themselves Protestant in 1559.
- Increased numbers of the nobility opted for the new faith.
- Lords of the Congregation were prepared to take up arms in 1559.

#### **English influence increases**

- Elizabeth as a Protestant Queen gave increased confidence to the Scots Protestants.
- The English gave military support in 1560 to the Lords of the Congregation.

#### **French influence declined**

- The presence of French troops in Scotland had become increasingly unpopular.
- The fact that Scotland was being increasingly treated as a French province made some doubt the alliance.
- Increased taxation for French troops and a planned fort at Kelso were unpopular.
- The death of Mary of Guise was a key factor in the success of the Reformation. The Protestants took full advantage of this.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: “A Catholic Queen in a Protestant land.” How important was religion as a reason for Mary Queen of Scots losing her throne?

The candidate evaluates the importance of religion as a reason for Mary Queen of Scots losing her throne.

### **Importance of Religion**

- In 1560 Scotland was declared Protestant by Parliament. Mary in France remained Catholic and did not accept the decision of Parliament.
- This was a very unusual situation for this time. To have a monarch of a different religion from their country was unheard of.
- Expectations would be that Mary would try to reverse this decision.
- Mary was slow to return to Scotland – she did not come back until August 1561 – Francis’s death was December 1560.
- On her return Mary did nothing to reverse the Reformation.
- She did not accept the offer of troops from Huntly.
- Instead she took her support from the moderate reformers including her half brother Lord James Stewart. They guaranteed her own personal religion.
- In 1563 the crown shared the income from the Thirds with the new Church.
- She declared in 1565 that the reformed church has been taken into her protection.
- In 1567 she was married according to Protestant rites.
- Donaldson argued that it was not her religion that brought about her downfall.

### **Other Factors**

#### **Lack of attention to matters of State**

- Poor attendance at Council meetings.
- She often preferred to hide away with servants and favourites.

#### **Problems with her nobility**

- At the start of her reign she had to deal with Huntly’s revolt.
- The Chase About Raid was one of the results of her marriage to Darnley.
- Nobles’ feeling neglected was one of the reasons for the Riccio murder.
- Nobles were also involved in the Darnley murder.
- In 1567 some of her nobles finally took up arms against her as the Confederate Lords.

#### **Claim to the English throne**

- This created a suspicious monarch in Elizabeth of England.
- It might have gone some way to explain why Mary was so reluctant to reverse the reformation in Scotland – Civil war in Scotland would not make her popular in England.
- England gave refuge to the Earl of Moray after the Chase About Raid.

#### **Poor personal decisions**

- Darnley soon proved to be an unsatisfactory match due to his lifestyle and his demands for the Crown Matrimonial.
- Birth of a son provided the opposition with a potential replacement for Mary.
- Mary was implicated in Darnley’s murder.
- Mary, with undue haste, married Bothwell, the prime suspect at the time of Darnley’s murder.
- Strange circumstances surrounded her abduction by Bothwell.
- Bothwell, although Protestant, was not popular with many of the nobles.
- Mary was forced to abdicate 1567 – her half brother became the Regent.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: How significant was the impact of the Reformation on Scotland by 1603?

The candidate assesses the impact of the Reformation using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Religious Change**

- At the beginning of 1560, Scotland was a Catholic country with a Protestant minority. By 1603, it was a Protestant country with a tiny Catholic minority.
- Catholics only existed in Scotland where Catholic nobles gave them protection.
- Much of the lands of the Catholic Church remained in the hands of the Nobility.
- The new church still had the problem of not having enough revenue for the parishes.
- Religious conflict remained but was now mainly between support for the King's wish for bishops and the new Presbyterian ideas of Andrew Melville.
- It took some time for the Protestant faith to reach the North East and Highlands – these areas remained more conservative and tended to support the King on church government.

### **Social Change**

- The Reformation did little to change the structure of society.
- Aim of a school in every parish not achieved but some advances made in central Scotland.
- Literacy rates improved during this period.
- Increased persecution of witchcraft.
- The English language became more familiar as English bibles used in church.

### **Foreign Policy**

- The Reformation resulted in improved relations with England at least after 1567.
- Pro-French policy came to an end. The Regents and James VI pursued a pro-English policy.
- Social contacts with France declined – to be replaced with increased contact with the Netherlands.

### **Trade**

- Trade with England increased as did trade with Holland.
- Trade with France continued despite the change in religion.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: How successfully had James VI established his authority over Scotland by 1603?

The candidate assesses the success of James VI in increasing his authority before 1603 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **James established his personal rule**

- James took a rather long time to fully take control of his Kingdom.
- It was not until after his release from his forced imprisonment in the Ruthven Raid that he started to increasingly assume control of his kingdom.
- John Maitland as Chancellor played a key role until 1595.

### **Problems with Nobility**

- Perhaps the most difficult issue for James and at times his administration was that he appeared weak.
- Feud between Bothwell and Huntly was successfully dealt with when they joined forces to rebel against the king in 1594.
- James used those nobles loyal to him to persuade others to be more respectful of the law.

### **Establishment of Law and Order**

- James worked to extend law and order to more remote parts of the kingdom.
- Joint policing took place in the borders with some success.
- An attempt to settle 'civilised' Scots from Fife in Lewis failed.

### **Efforts to gain control of the Church**

- James wanted a church with bishops, this brought him into conflict with the Presbyterian party led by Andrew Melville.
- In 1581, 13 Presbyteries had been set up. This was seen as a challenge to royal authority.
- In 1584, the 'Black Acts' subjected the Kirk to the authority of the crown. Ministers were asked to subscribe. This forced some into exile.
- In 1592, 'Golden Acts' reaffirmed the privileges of the Kirk, General Assembly and Presbyteries. However the General Assembly could only meet with the consent of the King. James used this to his advantage with the Assembly meeting in the North East where he could rely on more support.
- In 1600, James appointed bishops to parliament. He had clearly gone far in controlling the Kirk and they thus helped to control the state.

### **Financial problems**

- The crown reached the point of being almost bankrupt. This was to place limitations on James in his attempt to exert his authority.
- Revision of customs rates and import duties were introduced.
- Taxation was increased.
- Central government was to have an increased impact on local society.

### **Foreign policy**

- Central was a pro-English policy in pursuit of the succession.
- Treaty of Berwick 1586: Anglo-Scottish friendship. James gained a pension from Elizabeth.
- Extremely muted protest at the execution of his mother in 1587.
- James was to assure Elizabeth of his support at the time of the Spanish Armada.
- James also moved against pro-Spanish Scottish nobles.
- Marriage to Danish princess in 1596, acceptable to England.
- James went to Oslo for his wedding, which shows he felt secure enough to leave his kingdom.
- Mitchison and Lee both argue that by 1603 Scotland was more prosperous and peaceful than it had been for generations.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND IN THE CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS 1603–1702

Question 6: “Here I sit and govern with my pen” How justified is this view of James VI and I’s control of Scotland after 1603?

The candidate assesses the effectiveness of James’ control of Scotland after 1603, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Absentee monarch**

- James left Scotland in 1603, promising to return every three years. He returned only once, in 1617. Arguable that he ruled successfully from a distance.
- James knew Scotland and remained interested in it.
- He used the Scottish Privy Council to help form policy and implement it.
- The Bishops were also used to assist his administration.
- James established an efficient postal service with London.
- James has a reputation amongst historians as a successful King of Scots.

### **The Borders**

- James continued to bring peace to the Borders. A joint border commission was established in 1605.
- A mounted police force was used in this area. Troublesome families like the Grahams were forced into exile.

### **The Highlands**

- James had little sympathy for Gaelic Scotland. He considered those on the Islands to be the least civilised of his subjects.
- In 1605, adventurers in Lewis failed, as did attempted plantations to bring ‘civilisation’ in 1607-08.
- He had more success using one highland clan against another.
- In 1609, he implemented the Statutes of Iona. This stigmatised ‘Irish’ dress and customs. The eldest son of a clan chief had to be educated on the mainland and taught English.

### **Increased influence of central government**

- At a local level both the law and taxation brought central government into the localities.
- Marked decline in feuding.
- Growth in those described as the ‘middling sort’.
- James would use those given new lordships in government, as they would be beholding to him.
- James also accommodated Roman Catholic nobles.

### **Church policy**

- This proved to be a major success.
- In part it was a continuation of his earlier policy pre 1603.
- James exploited the divisions in the Kirk and sidelined the radical Presbyterians.
- In 1606, Bishops were fully restored not only to Parliament but also as moderators of Presbyteries.
- James chose to have the General Assembly meet in areas where he would get more support.
- Five Articles of Perth, 1618: this introduced changes in worship.
- Passed reluctantly by Parliament in 1621.
- Main controversy over the Article on kneeling to receive communion.
- Some historians have argued that this was a sign of him losing touch.
- James did however have the sense not to impose a new liturgy.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: How important was foreign policy as a source of disagreement between James VI and I and his English Parliament?

The candidate evaluates the importance of foreign policy as a reason for disagreement between James and his English parliament, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Foreign policy**

- James wished to pursue a peaceful foreign policy. One of his first moves was to end the war with Spain in 1604.
- Parliament wanted a more aggressively pro-protestant policy.
- Parliament was against James' idea of a Spanish marriage for his son.
- Pressure on James to assist the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War.
- In 1621 James requested supply to prepare for war. Parliament voted for this, and then attacked the extravagance of the court. Not clear how the money would be used. Parliament wanted a Dutch alliance and a naval war against Spain.
- James wanted to push Spain for concessions and have a Dutch alliance as a last resort. Anti-Hapsburg league not anti-catholic league.
- Major problem was that the King did not make his wishes clear to Parliament.
- The King saw foreign policy as his prerogative.
- In 1624 war broke out with Spain after Charles and Buckingham's humiliating visit.
- Parliament supported the war but disagreements again with the King over its execution.

### **Other factors**

#### **Creation of unified Great Britain**

- James wanted to create a unified Great Britain. This was not welcomed by his English Parliament.
- They resented the influence of so many Scots at Court and felt that the Scots would flood English markets with cheap goods.

### **Religious issues**

- Parliament disliked James' willingness to give some toleration to Catholics.

### **Conflict over finance**

- 1610: Great Contract – James failed to get Parliament to vote an annual grant in return for giving up wardship and purveyance.
- James imposed customs duties without the consent of Parliament.
- James sold honours for cash.
- In the 'Addled Parliament' of 1614 no money was given to meet the shortfall in royal finances.
- In 1621, Parliament challenged the selling of monopolies.
- Throughout his reign James had a major problem securing sufficient finance for the crown.

### **Conflict over powers**

- Disputed Buckinghamshire election caused some conflict over the rights of king and Parliament.
- Parliament was suspicious of James' ideas of the Divine Right of Kings.
- Parliament feared that James might try to rule alone. Constant distrust was a feature of the reign.
- James ruled without Parliament for 7 years, 1614-21.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: To what extent was Charles I to blame for the outbreak of civil war in England?

The candidate evaluates the importance of Charles I as a reason for the outbreak of civil war in England, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **The Personality of Charles I**

- Charles believed in the Divine Right of Kings.
- He was stubborn and liked to be obeyed.
- Charles wanted order, hierarchy and uniformity in Church and State.
- His marriage to a French Catholic princess was unpopular.
- At times he appears to be influenced too much by his wife.
- He did not understand Scotland in the same way as his father.
- Actions after the Grand Remonstrance alienated moderate opinion.
- At times Charles asserted his will by acts of dubious legality.

### **Other Factors**

#### **Charles' religious policy**

- Charles favoured the Arminians; a non-Calvinist group in the Church.
- In 1633 he had promoted William Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury.
- He enhanced the position of bishops in the church, which gave divine authority to the monarch.
- This was seen as a major break with the Reformation.
- He had promoted increased ritual in the church.
- England was hostile to anything perceived as 'Catholic'.

#### **Personal rule 1629-40**

- Ruled without parliament for this long period.
- He often raised taxes by dubious means eg Ship Money.
- During this period he relied heavily on a few individuals.

#### **Problems in Scotland**

- Charles had alienated many of the nobility through the Revocation Act.
- In an effort to achieve uniformity, a new prayer book was issued in Scotland. This caused major opposition.
- During this period Charles refused to make any concessions.
- A Scottish covenanting army occupied the north east of England, which forced Charles to recall the English parliament to gain sufficient finance to deal with them.

#### **The Long Parliament**

- Attacked the King's ministers – Laud and Strafford.
- Charles' betrayal of Strafford could be seen as a concession.
- Charles also accepted the Triennial Act, which stated that Parliament would meet every 3 years.
- Agreed also that Tonnage and Poundage, Ship Money and some other taxes were illegal.
- Root and Branch Petition – This called for the abolition of Bishops – This went too far for some.
- Grand Remonstrance – Pym's summary of the King's misdeeds. This was a challenge to the royal prerogative.
- Parliament almost equally divided on this issue.
- The King's actions (probably influenced by the queen) alienated moderate opinion.
- Marched into the House with troops to arrest 5 MPs.
- From then onwards things moved to the outbreak of war.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: How successful was Cromwell in his attempts to rule by constitutional means?

The candidate assesses the success of Cromwell, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Dissolution of the Rump Parliament**

- Cromwell's rule began after he used force to break up the Rump Parliament.
- This was an unconstitutional beginning to his rule and was to do great harm to any future attempts at a constitutional settlement.

### **Barebones Parliament 1553**

- This was a short lived experiment at rule by the 'godly', which was set up by Cromwell.
- It soon hit upon the problem of how to satisfy radical demands without alienating the conservatives.
- The more moderate element dissolved Parliament, handing the mace to Cromwell.

### **First Parliament of the Protectorate**

- New constitution called the Instrument of Government – Cromwell was Lord Protector.
- Cromwell assumed many of the powers of a King – head of the government and Army.
- Parliament questioned his powers – when his compromise was not accepted he dissolved Parliament.
- Republican and Royalist protests broke out in the country.

### **Major-Generals**

- Country divided into military districts – wide powers given to the Major Generals.
- This proved to be very unpopular – increased taxation and interfered in people's private lives.
- They imposed fines for swearing and Sabbath breaking and closed alehouses.

### **Second Protectorate Parliament**

- Cromwell refused to allow anyone to sit who opposed his rule.
- Parliament condemned the Quaker James Nayler for his impersonation of Christ. They wanted him sentenced to death. Cromwell felt this was too harsh.
- The Humble Petition and Advice was a new constitution recommended by Parliament. It reintroduced a second chamber – although Cromwell refused the Crown, some attacked it as giving him too much power.
- Cromwell appeared unable to get on with Parliament – he would not give up control of the army and was determined to tolerate religious sects.
- However without him things fell apart and the only solution appeared to be restoration of the monarchy.

### **Cromwell's achievements**

- He provided security for England.
- The war with Holland built up the English navy, trade and colonies.
- A certain level of religious toleration was introduced.
- He was the only figure able enough to keep the Republic together.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 10: To what extent was the revolutionary settlement of 1688–1689 a successful compromise?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the revolutionary settlement was a successful compromise using evidence and arguments such as:

### **The Convention Parliament**

- Declared that William and Mary were to be joint rulers.
- England became a limited monarchy. The joint monarchs agreeing to rule guided by Parliament.

### **The Bill of Rights**

- Much of the powers of the crown were actually retained. The monarch still chose their ministers, made their own policy, influenced Parliament and dispensed patronage.
- Some powers claimed by James were declared unconstitutional – powers to make statutes illegal, packing juries, taxing without consent of Parliament.
- No standing army in peacetime without the consent of Parliament.
- It reinstated ancient rights rather than give new rights to Parliament.
- Restrictive Succession. This was a major innovation. Catholics barred from the throne.
- Vague statements of intent – subjects could petition the king – parliamentary elections, debates and proceedings to be free – Parliaments held ‘frequently’.
- No ‘cruel or unusual punishments’.

### **Criticisms of the Glorious Revolution**

- No repeal of the Militia Act.
- Nothing to prevent over long Parliaments.
- King could still alter borough charters.
- Offices could still be bought and sold.
- No independent judiciary.
- It has been criticised as very conservative yet the Convention had lacked time to legislate on more than a few matters.
- Nearest approach yet to a written constitution. It implied a contractual monarchy – it entrenched the Protestant settlement and guaranteed the place of Parliament.

### **Parliament gains more power because of wars**

- New Parliament of 1690 granted customs for only four years.
- The financial needs of war ended the chance of the monarch being financially independent.

### **Events in Scotland**

- While the title of this essay would suggest primarily reference to England, some credit should be given if reference is made to the Claim of Right & Articles of Grievance in Scotland.
- The abolition of the Committee of the Articles – making the Scottish Parliament a stronger institution.
- Presbyterian settlement in Kirk.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **ROYAL AUTHORITY IN 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY EUROPE**

Question 11: To what extent did Louis XIV establish absolute authority over France?

**Structure** – a thematic structure may cover some but not all of the following areas and develop points within them – Councils, Intendants, cult of monarchy, palace of Versailles, Provincial Governors, Assemblies, Town Councils, Parlements, religious policy, foreign policy, limitations on absolutism.

#### **Introduction**

Context – Louis XIV's rule began 1661, inherited absolutism, elaborated it in early part of reign, attempted to take it too far in later years.

Factors – eg system of Councils, Intendants' powers, provincial authorities, attempts to control the church, effects of foreign policy.

Should establish a line of argument in terms of the question.

**Councils** – controlled government, Cabinet Council, Councils of Finance and Dispatches, Privy Council, took advantage of king's absence during wartime.

**Intendants** – power through royal appointment, carried laws to provinces, functions elaborated during king's reign, eg inspection of courts and tax exemptions, intendants might be corrupt.

**Cult of monarchy** – king portrayed as demi-god, art, poetry, and depicted king portrayed as god-like figure and warrior-king, cult was illusion not reality.

**Palace of Versailles** – seat of government, nobility kept there, design created link with antiquity, images of king in Greek form, Hall of Mirrors, gardens, palace more symbolic than tangible.

**Provincial governors** – terms of offices reduced from life to 3 years, kept at Versailles, less capable of establishing power in provinces, treatment of nobility stirred up resentment.

**Provincial assemblies** – fiscal autonomy removed, definite sums now to be paid to king, tax-raising responsibilities passed to intendants, assemblies resented their devaluation.

**Town councils** – lost right to elect functionaries themselves; jobs and titles now sold by the king to obtain loyalty, town councils resented reduction in powers.

**Parlements** – city Parlements lost right to make remonstrances to royal edicts; no longer be consulted on proclamations and legislation, Parlements became forums for discontent.

**Religious policy** – attempted Gallicanism, lost struggle with Pope, tried to wipe out Jansenism, drove Jansenists underground, treatment of Huguenots brought France into disrepute.

**Foreign policy** – early successes in war brought glory and lands to France, during reign however war brought damaging social, political and economic effects.

**Limitations** – intendants not highest quality, local authorities not abolished, communications difficult, successful foreign policy, bad effects after 1680s, disastrous religious policy.

**Conclusion** – should summarise arguments and provide a logical judgement in relation to question.

Question 12: How successfully did Louis XIV deal with the religious challenges which faced him?

**Structure** – a thematic structure may cover some but not all of the following areas and develop points within them: aims and policies, Gallicanism, quarrel with the Papacy, Jansenism, Huguenots, Revocation of Edict of Nantes.

### **Introduction**

Context – Louis XIV's rule began 1661, inherited absolutism, religious policy aimed at uniformity in Church, king challenged Papacy, Jansenism and Huguenots.

Factors – policy towards the Roman Catholic Church, attempts to rid Church of Jansenism, attempts to rid France of Huguenots.

Should establish a line of argument in terms of the question.

**Gallicanism** – Louis XIV wanted to establish Gallicanism, established 4 Articles of Religion to assert spiritual authority over Pope in France, failed in bid to gain support from priests without threats of removal from posts.

**Papacy** – quarrel with Papacy over Regale and Articles of Religion, had to enlist Papal help to repress Jansenism, so was forced to back down over Articles of Religion, policy towards Papacy was a failure.

**Jansenism** – Louis XIV wanted to rid Jansenism from Church, Jansenism growing amongst middle-classes, especially at Sorbonne, Louis XIV censored Jansenist books, asked Pope to condemn Jansenist writings, Jansenism did not die out, was driven underground, policy was a failure.

**Huguenots** – Louis XIV wanted to rid Huguenots from France, incentives for Protestants who converted to Catholicism, petty persecutions, attempting to reduce numbers of Huguenots, Huguenots remained in France.

**Revocation of Edict of Nantes** – In Edict of Fontainebleau 1685, freedom of worship for Huguenots removed, Dragonades began, dragoons billeted in Huguenot homes, children removed from Huguenot parents, resulted in international distaste for Louis XIV and brought Church into disrepute, Huguenots fled France taking wealth and business skills, economic disaster for France.

**Conclusion** – should summarise arguments and provide a logical judgement in relation to question.

Question 13: How far did the reforms introduced by Frederick II of Prussia improve the lives of his subjects?

**Structure** – a thematic structure may cover some but not all of the following areas and develop points within them: religion, education, law, taxation, freedom, economy, government.

**Introduction**

Context – Frederick II, king 1740-86, define despotism, wanted to be a Philosopher-King, had despotic policies but put some enlightened policies into practice, define Enlightenment, philosophers' ideas, Prussia had some liberal tradition, also militaristic and rigid society; Frederick II influenced by Enlightenment to some extent but also wanted to maintain effective government.

Factors – religious toleration, education for all, equality before law, fair taxation, freedom throughout society, progressive free-trade economy, decentralised government.

Should establish a line of argument in terms of the question.

**Religion** – maintained Prussian tradition of toleration towards non-Protestants but excluded them from some jobs and imposed taxes on them, not keen to interfere in people's religious beliefs.

**Education** – no action in early years of reign, Education Decree 1763, promised much, money for education used for army reform, king did not believe in too much education, no significant reform.

**Law** – much activity in this area, Samuel von Cocceji, responsible for law, only minister given free hand, although many enlightened reforms were made, king retained right to intervene in some cases.

**Taxation** – French tax-farmer de Launay overhauled tax-system, introduced Regie tax, king wanted greater revenue for government.

**Freedom** – serfdom abolished on all but crown lands, king saw serfs as beasts of burden, gave them heredity of tenure.

**Economy** – king was mercantilist rather than free-trader, promoted immigration to increase workforce, dynamic new agricultural methods promoted.

**Government** – strongly centralised, new rank of Fiscals established in civil service to watch over senior officials in General Directory, king highly interventionist in policy-making.

**Conclusion** – should summarise arguments and provide a logical judgement in relation to question.

Question 14: To what extent was Joseph II successful in his efforts to introduce enlightened reforms in Austria?

**Structure** – a thematic structure may cover some but not all of the following areas and develop points within them: religion, education, law, taxation, freedom, economy, government.

**Introduction**

Context – Joseph II, emperor 1780-90, define despotism, wanted enlightened empire, had despotic policies but put some enlightened policies into practice, define Enlightenment, philosophers' ideas, problems in Austria, eg multi-racial, multi-linguistic, multi-national; Joseph II enlightened to some extent.

Factors – religious toleration, education for all, equality before law, fair taxation, freedom throughout society, progressive free-trade economy, decentralised government  
Should establish a line of argument in terms of the question.

**Religion** – Joseph II established National Church to control Catholic majority, however showed toleration to non-Catholics.

**Education** – Joseph II built schools, detailed curriculum, education for girls, however non-Josephist schools shut down, wanted educated population to fill government and civil service posts.

**Law** – some enlightened policies, fairer courts system, some despotic policies, centralised Supreme Court in Vienna, wanted uniformity within empire, easier to govern.

**Taxation** – some enlightened policies, taxation of all 3 estates, some despotic policies, wanted to create revenue for government expenditure.

**Freedom** – some enlightened policies, reduction in serfdom, some despotic policies, repealed reforms to appease nobles, wanted healthy, contented workforce and to maintain support from nobility.

**Economy** – some enlightened policies, agricultural instruction for peasants, some despotic policies, Via Josephina built to allow control of provinces from Vienna; wanted prosperity for Austrian people.

**Government** – some despotic policies, German spoken, centralised government, some enlightened policies, promotion based on merit, wanted unity in empire, greater control over provinces.

**Conclusion** – should summarise arguments and provide a logical judgement in relation to question.

## **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE CITIZEN STATE**

Question 15: How important were economic problems in weakening the authority of the Ancien Regime?

The candidate evaluates the importance of economic factors as a reason for the weakening of authority of the Ancien Regime, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Economic factors**

- French economy based on agriculture.
- During the 1780s there were a series of poor harvests.
- 1788 was a major disaster resulting in high unemployment.
- Rise in food prices resulted in less demand for manufactured goods creating unemployment amongst the urban workers.
- Production and employment in textiles fell.
- Food shortages led to accusations of grain hoarding.
- The nobility were increasingly blamed as peasants started to take political action.
- The Economic crisis clearly created an environment in which the Ancien Regime was struggling to survive.

### **Other factors**

#### **Enlightenment ideas**

- They attacked the despotic nature of the Ancien regime.
- They were critical of many aspects of the Ancien regime but not necessarily totally opposed to it.
- Limited, as only certain sections of society would read them.

#### **The monarchy**

- Absolute monarchy.
- Unpopularity of the Queen.
- Decadent and extravagant nature of the court.

#### **Unfair nature of the system**

- Privileged orders of the first and second estate.
- Unfair taxation system.
- Cumbersome administration.
- Collection of taxes by Farmers General inefficient.
- The Bourgeoisie saw their wealth increasing but had no representation.
- The Peasantry had a wide range of taxes and feudal rights imposed on them.

#### **Financial crisis**

- By the 1780s France faced bankruptcy in part due to heavy expenditure in wars.
- This was arguably the biggest threat facing the Ancien Regime.
- Inability of the government to gain agreement on tax reform.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 16: To what extent was Louis XVI responsible for the failure of the constitutional monarchy of France?

The candidate assesses the significance of Louis in the failure of the constitutional monarchy, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **1789 August Decrees and Rights of Man and the Citizen**

- Louis refused to approve these decrees thus causing tension.
- He had been allowed to suspend or delay laws for up to 4 years.

### **October days 1789**

- Anti-revolutionary royal banquet.
- March by people on Versailles, as a result the King was forced to Paris.
- Louis now styled King of the French under the law.

### **Civil Constitution of the Clergy 1790**

- Clergy had to take an oath to the Constitution.
- Result was split in the church.
- Louis reluctantly agreed to this.

### **Flight to Varennes June 1791**

- Louis angry with himself at accepting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.
- Aim to flee Paris and try to renegotiate with the Assembly.
- He was stopped and returned to Paris.
- Louis had left a proclamation, which made clear his feelings about the Revolution.
- Clearly he had failed to understand the popularity of the revolution.
- Many began to think that he could no longer be trusted as head of state.
- The credibility of the new constitution was undermined before it was implemented.
- Support for a republic grew.

### **Champ de Mars Massacre July 1791**

- Crowds gathered to sign a republican petition.
- Lafayette's national guard fired on the crowd.
- Result was that the moderates kept control and were prepared to compromise with the King.

### **Constitution September 1791**

- Louis reluctantly accepted much to the anger of the Queen.
- Louis continued however to veto laws thus increasing his unpopularity.

### **War declared April 1792**

- The constitution just might have survived had it not been for the war.
- Queen in contact with Austrians.
- Brunswick Manifesto aim to help the King had opposite effect.
- Increased calls to abolish the monarchy.
- August 1792 attack on palace – king handed over to the Commune.
- Louis suspended from power and then on 21/22 September, France became a Republic thus ending the constitutional monarchy.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 17: “France became ungovernable during the Reign of Terror 1793–1794”. How justified is this view?

The candidate assesses the effectiveness of the government of France during the reign of terror, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **War**

- This caused major problems for France in this period.
- Military defeat would mean the end of the revolution.
- Large body of émigrés working for the defeat of the revolution.
- Response by French government was ‘total war’. State factories produced arms and ammunition.
- Sections of the Sans Culottes helped the war effort.
- Some success as war started to go in France’s favour.

### **Counter-Revolution**

- Increasingly rebellions broke out. They all threatened the revolution.
- Major rebellion in the Vendee region, Marseilles and Lyon.
- Extreme measures were taken to deal with them – drowning from barges, mass executions by cannons.
- At times the government gave in to popular demands to maintain support of the Sans Culottes. This was seen as necessary to defend the revolution.
- Rebellions were crucial but at a cost.

### **Food shortages**

- It was essential that the army be supplied with food as well as the towns and cities.
- This was successfully achieved although the revolutionary armies created resentment amongst the peasants.
- Maximum prices fixed (including grain) which was resented by the peasants.

### **Extreme laws**

- Many of the principles of the revolution were sacrificed in order to preserve it.
- Law of Suspects meant that anyone suspected of counter-revolution could be arrested and held without trial.
- Priests who remained loyal to the papacy were prime targets, this together with ‘Dechristianisation’ proved unpopular in the rural areas.
- Law of Prairial – any enemies of the people could be arrested and put on trial without witnesses.
- Increasingly all trials by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris.

### **Political opposition crushed**

- Candidates may refer to the structure of the government at this time – the Committee of General Security and the Committee of Public Safety.
- Any political opposition was ruthlessly crushed creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in Paris.
- These were people committed to the revolution like Hebert, Danton and Desmoulins.
- Finally the terror turned on itself when its leading figure Maximilian Robespierre was executed.
- The Terror had preserved the revolution but at great cost.

### **Any other relevant points**

Question 18: How far did the French people benefit from the effects of the Revolution by 1799?

The candidate assesses the effectiveness of the Revolution in bringing benefits to different social groups using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Clergy**

- They became servants of the state. Some in fact were paid more.
- Many of the clergy who would not accept state control were persecuted and killed.
- Some of the clergy were deported.
- Protestants benefited from increased toleration.

### **Nobility**

- Lost all their feudal dues and privileges.
- In 1790 all titles were abolished.
- They lost venal offices, high office in church and army and state.
- Property of émigrés confiscated.
- Increasingly historians argue that those who stayed in France did not suffer as badly as once thought.

### **Peasants**

- Abolition of indirect taxes, feudal dues and tithes all helped the peasants.
- In some areas peasants benefited from the sale of church lands.
- Abolition of seigneurial courts brought improved justice.
- Peasants became involved in local politics.
- The last vestiges of serfdom were abolished.
- Peasants were however still subjected to conscription.
- Very few peasants had the education to benefit from the new meritocracy.

### **Urban workers**

- By 1799, deflation had meant that their real wages were higher.
- Still suffered from sporadic unemployment.
- Only able to vote in primary elections.

### **Bourgeoisie**

- Perhaps the group to benefit most from the Revolution.
- Provided all the leaders for the state after 1791.
- They benefited most from having all posts based on merit.
- They had the required education.
- They increasingly became landowners.
- They benefited from the voting system based on property.
- Increase due to the war of the numbers employed by the state.
- Some bourgeoisie failed to benefit such as producers of luxury goods.

### **Benefits for all**

- Equality before the law.
- Freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest.
- End of extreme punishments and torture.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **OPTION C – LATER MODERN HISTORY**

### **HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH**

#### **BRITAIN 1850s–1979**

Question 1: “By 1928, Britain was a fully democratic country.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate assesses the degree to which Britain became a democratic country by 1928 using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Definition of democracy**

- Definition of a democracy – ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people.’ Essentials for a country to be termed a ‘democracy’ are considered.
- A democracy is more than simply having the right to vote; it is about how the British political system became fairer and more representative of the people, who in turn became better informed about the choices they had available to them.

#### **Right to vote**

- The right to vote is crucial in a democracy.
- Second Reform Act of 1867.
- Third Reform Act of 1884.
- Representation of the People Act of 1918.

#### **Fairness**

- Fairness is crucial in a democracy.
- Ballot Act of 1872.
- Redistribution of Seats Act of 1867, 1885 and 1918.
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883.

#### **Parties**

- Choice of Parties is crucial in a democracy.
- By the early 1900’s people had a choice of three national parties to vote for – Conservative, Liberal and Labour.

#### **Members of Parliament**

- Opportunity to become an MP is crucial in a democracy.
- Abolition of the Property Qualification for MPs in 1857.
- Payment of MPs in 1911.

#### **House of Lords**

- Accountability is crucial in a democracy.
- Parliament Act of 1911.
- Loss of the veto power of the House of Lords.

### **Education and Literacy**

- Access to information is crucial in a democracy.
- Education Act of 1870 (1872).
- Spread of railways.
- Proliferation of local/national newspapers widely available to all.

NB Candidates are expected to use their knowledge and understanding of the above factors and also use the evidence to analyse the evidence with regard to the question.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How important were the trade unions in the growth of the Labour Party by 1906?

The candidate assesses the importance of the trade unions in the growth of the Labour Party by 1906 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Labour Party origins**

- The Labour Party grew out of the Labour movement in an attempt to provide a voice for the working classes in parliament.
- After the Third Reform Act of 1884 there was no national working class political party to attract the votes of the newly enfranchised working class males. In 1900 a Labour Representation Committee was formed which became the Labour Party in later years.
- The growth of the Labour Party can be explained as a series of alliances between socialist groups, the realisation by the trade unions that it would be useful to have a political voice in parliament and the effect of the Great War.

### **Social Democracy**

- The Social Democratic Federation (SDF) was involved in the creation of the Labour Party.
- Led by Hyndman, this organisation demonstrated against low wages and unemployment; the SDF were dismissive of trade unions and unsurprisingly the rest of the Labour movement were unhappy at working with the SDF.
- The SDF argued that the Labour Representation Committee should become openly socialist and become involved in a 'class war.'
- The SDF had isolated itself just as the Labour movement was becoming increasingly influential and by 1905 the SDF had split within itself.

### **The Fabians**

- The Fabian Society opposed the idea of revolution and supported slower, gradual change through parliamentary reform.
- The Fabians were a significant group on the road towards creating a separate political voice for the working class.
- Never a large organisation, the Fabians had only 67 members by 1886. The Fabians saw their role as a fact-finding pressure group and relied on the other socialist organisations to mobilise the working class as a distinct political group.

### **Keir Hardie**

- Before the Independent Labour Party existed, working class MPs linked themselves to the Liberals and gained the nickname the 'Lib-Labs.' Keir Hardie wanted a separate party with its own identity and socialist ideology and in 1893 the Independent Labour Party was formed. Lack of success at General Elections made Hardie realise that it was necessary for the ILP to ally with other groups within the Labour movement.
- Hardie urged trade unions and socialist societies to work together, realising that support from the trade unions was critical as they had funds and also they represented working class interests.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **Trade Unions**

- Initially, leaders of the big trade unions saw their role as a pressure group on the Liberal Party; socialist ideas not welcomed. However, attitudes towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century changed as employers continued to resist union demands for improvements in working conditions. Faced with the possibility of anti-union laws the Trades Union Congress of 1900 agreed to support the creation of the Labour Representation Committee. More importantly, the unions agreed to finance the Labour Party with money from subscriptions paid by union members (political levy). The Taff Vale Case of 1901 was crucially important to the development of the Labour Party – consequences of the decision were a serious threat to the trade unions and so membership of the LRC rose rapidly as unions realised they needed a separate voice in parliament. Details of the deal made by the Liberals and the LRC (Lib-Lab Pact) which were of mutual benefit ought to be considered; reversal of the Taff Vale decision restored the immunity of the unions from prosecution after a strike.

NB Candidates are expected to use their knowledge and understanding of the above factors and also use such to analyse the degree of importance of the various factors with regard to the question.

## **Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: “Between 1931 and 1939, the British people suffered severe economic hardship.”  
How accurate is this statement?

The candidate assesses the degree of severe economic hardship suffered by the British people between 1931 and 1939 using evidence and arguments such as:

- **Unemployment** – Steady growth in unemployment throughout the 1920s; problems faced by the old industries of shipbuilding, iron and steel, coalmining and textiles. Unemployment over 3 million by the early 1930s. People unemployed in areas of older industries for months, even years. National Government formed to combat the Great Depression.
- **Trade** – The Great War had almost bankrupted Britain; markets were lost, assets sold off. By 1920 foreign competition was growing and damaging Britain’s trade. British free trade policy allowed foreign goods to enter the country but British goods often blocked from entering the countries of foreign competitors. British exports became too expensive and other countries looked for new suppliers.
- **Economic problems** – Problems faced by Britain after the Great War were structural – lack of investment in new industries, loss of markets and new developments replacing the need for old products.
- **Benefits** – In 1931 unemployment benefit was cut by 10% in an attempt to ‘balance the books.’ Unemployed married women received no benefits; unemployment benefit was restricted to 26 weeks; introduction of the ‘Means Test’ to assess families’ situation.
- **Prosperity?** – ‘Hungry Thirties’ were not a time of gloom, unemployment and depression for all in Britain, however. For many people this was a time of prosperity and rising living standards. The older industrial regions of Central Scotland and the north of England suffered high unemployment but ‘new’ industries in the south of England were prospering and so were those who lived there. The standard of living for those in work did improve. There was a boom in private house building; a growth in consumer industries such as motor cars, radios and electrical goods. In the Rowntree report of 1936 it found that real wages were rising and that people were better off if they had a job. Prices of goods fell; however, in depressed areas there was no housing boom and unemployment remained a serious problem.
- **Government action** – Limited success of government initiatives to deal with the economic problems. Devaluation of the pound; end of free trade; Special Areas Act; consideration given to the effectiveness of these measures. Rearmament programme after 1936 helped create more jobs. ‘Too little and too late’ perhaps?

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: How significant an impact did the welfare reforms of the Labour Government 1945–1951 have on the lives of the British people?

The candidate assesses the impact of the welfare reforms of the Labour Government of 1945-51 on the lives of the people by using evidence and arguments such as:

- **Labour's reforms** – Between 1945 and 1951 a series of reforms were brought in by the Labour government which established a welfare state; government taking responsibility for its citizens well-being 'from the cradle to the grave.' These social welfare reforms were based on the Beveridge Report of 1942 which identified the main causes of poverty and hardship – the 'Five Giants.' These were want, disease, squalor, ignorance and idleness.
- **Want** – Want was tackled by the National Assistance Act which provided a safety net for those not paying National Insurance. The National Insurance Act covered sickness/unemployment benefits, maternity, widow and death benefits plus old age pensions. There was also a Family Allowance Act and Industrial Injuries Act. By including all workers and families in the benefits scheme it seemed as if this attack on poverty caused by money shortages would be very helpful.
- **Disease** – Disease was tackled by the National Health Service – it was the right of all citizens to receive treatment and its aim was to provide comprehensive, universal and free treatment at the point of service. By 1950 the idea of free medical treatment for all was undermined when charges were introduced for spectacles and dental treatment. Overall, however, it was a major success, as seen in the steady improvement in health standards.
- **Squalor** – Squalor was tackled by house building programmes – mainly council estates; introduction of 'prefabs'; the New Towns Act resulted in the building of new towns such as Glenrothes and East Kilbride. By 1951 there was still overcrowding and not enough houses had been built. However, council estates were a massive improvement on overcrowded tenements. Rents were a third of those in the private sector and the amenities were far superior to those of the old tenements.
- **Ignorance** – Ignorance was tackled by the Education Act of 1944 – the school leaving age was set at 15 years; there was to be secondary education for all; introduction of the 11+ examination. For those who passed the 11+ the system worked well. However, those who failed the exam were stuck in a trap of low expectations and inferior education and many opposed deciding a child's future at age 11 or 12 years.
- **Idleness** – Idleness was tackled by the nationalisation of various industries; this was a means of keeping full employment and meant that the government took over the running of certain industries. In times of economic distress the government could use tax money to keep these industries going. Nationalisation was costly and sometimes led to bad management but it did provide an avenue of employment.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: (a) “Urbanisation brought more problems than benefits to the lives of the Scottish people between 1880 and 1939.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate assesses the impact of urbanisation on the lives of the Scottish people between 1880 and 1939 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Urbanisation**

- By 1900 one in three Scots lived in one of the big four cities in Scotland – Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee or Aberdeen.
- For wealthier social groups – urban centres could be places of culture, prosperity, business and education aimed at producing a new professional elite.
- Middle classes regretted the loss of more traditional institutions such as the church.
- Working classes became free from older, local traditions.
- Society became more divided; this was illustrated in religion, leisure and education.

### **Religion**

- Kirk identified with middle class values – shared Victorian ethic of hard work, thrift and self help.
- Missionaries went into slum areas to preach to those who saw the church as an irrelevance in society; Kirk faced a serious challenge to its influence.
- Contentious issue of collapse in church membership.
- Catholic/Protestant divide possibly the real social division – divisions reflected in occupations, social institutions and football clubs.

### **Education**

- Rise of urban middle class illustrated social division.
- Increased demand for mastery of the 3 Rs; ‘good’ education seen as passport for social improvement; Education Act of 1918 important in assisting Scoto-Irish community to grasp educational opportunities (Devine).
- Other historians critical of education system – mainly targeted the needs of the middle class. It did little to help social mobility of working classes – view held that education became a low social priority once needs of the middle class were met.

### **Leisure**

- 1880–1939 – huge potential audience for mass entertainment – cinema, football etc.
- Churches remained centres of much respectable popular entertainment.
- Promotion of healthy activities such as walking, cricket, gardening, bowling, golf.
- Libraries, art galleries, public halls were built to bring culture to the masses; building of municipal baths would improve health as would creation of parks.

### **Influences on popular culture**

- Churches became heavily involved in trying to combat the appeal of ‘rough culture’ eg football and the social divisions it created.
- Influences from outside Scotland changed how Scots spoke, thought, dressed and behaved.
- Urbanisation had created new social and religious divisions in Scotland.

### **Overview**

- Urbanisation widened the horizons of Scots and exposed them to new influences.
- In 1939 Scotland was still influenced by church values and retained some of the old customs and habits.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: (b) How far had Scotland developed its own political identity by 1979?

The candidate assesses the degree to which Scotland had developed its own political identity by 1979 by using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Political attitudes**

- In the 1920s all three major UK political parties supported the union; Scottish National Party formed in the 1930s but made no political breakthrough until the 1960s.
- By the 1970s, political nationalism had become allied to emotional desire for ‘freedom.’
- By the 1930s the London-based government had made changes which granted some power to departments with responsibility for Scottish affairs based in Edinburgh.
- Little support for Scottish nationalism before World War 2.
- SNP formed in 1934 with merger of Scottish Party and National Party – very little impact during the 1930s.

### **Political nationalism in the 1940s and 1950s**

- Discontent with the government during World War 2 led to increase in support for SNP in some areas; in Kirkcaldy election in 1944 the SNP won 44% of votes cast; in 1945 the SNP won Motherwell with its first MP, Dr Robert McIntyre.
- No further election victories for another 20 years, however.
- Membership of SNP seemed almost an irrelevance in Scottish politics with a membership of around 2,000.

### **Growth of political nationalism**

- Throughout the 1950s political nationalism made little progress; the ‘Scottish angle’ in British politics was largely ignored.
- Without clout at the ballot box it appeared that supporting some form of Scottish separateness was a lost cause.
- In the 1960s the political situation in Scotland changed once again – the new Labour Government needed its Scottish MPs to maintain its authority. All of Scotland made a development area, apart from Edinburgh – grants, incentives to help economic growth.
- Public discontent with government grew in Scotland – Winnie Ewing won by-election in Hamilton in 1967. In 1973 Margo MacDonald won Govan by-election; by 1974 SNP had 11 MPs.

### **Nationalism and Devolution**

- Argument that SNP did better in times of economic hardship in Scotland – true to an extent.
- Discovery of oil in North Sea – ‘Its Scotland’s oil!’ – emotional nationalism through popular culture eg music, football grew; fashionable to be Scottish. By the later 1970s both main political parties were concerned about the attraction of the SNP to voters.
- Devolution legislation in the 1970s was largely the product of nationalist pressures on Labour Government which needed to maintain its support in Scotland to remain in power.
- The 1979 referendum was the closest Scotland had yet come to devolved power within the UK.
- By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Scotland had its own parliament, however.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **GROWTH OF NATIONALISM**

#### **GERMANY**

Question 6: How important were economic factors in the growth of national feeling in Germany during the period 1815 to 1850?

This question is about the growth of nationalism in Germany 1815-1850. Candidates must consider the impact of economic nationalism but also other relevant factors. Some candidates may choose to categorise those other factors as cultural nationalism and political nationalism.

#### **Context**

- In 1815 Prussia was given more land in the centre and west of Germany as a reward for fighting Napoleon. The result was that Prussia became the biggest ‘German’ state and in hindsight it is possible to see the beginning of the rivalry between Austria and Prussia.

#### **Economic factors**

- In 1815, Prussia gained coal and iron resources and access to the River Rhine.
- To encourage trade Prussia formed a customs union in 1818 that by the 1830s was called the Zollverein.
- The Zollverein was a prototype of a ‘united Germany’ under Prussian control that excluded Austria – Kleindeutschland.
- The Zollverein also helped Nationalism to spread.
- The new railway network, centred in Prussia, also helped to bring German states together.
- William Carr has called the Zollverein “The mighty lever of German unification.”

#### **Other factors**

##### **Political nationalism**

- In 1815 Metternich became worried about the growth of Liberal and Nationalist student societies.
- In 1819 Carlsbad Decrees banned student societies and censored newspapers. The following year the power of the Diet was increased so that soldiers could be ordered to stop the spread of new ideas in any of the German States.
- Revolutions of 1848 were the first attempt to challenge Austria’s political power in Germany. A new German parliament was started in Frankfurt but it failed.
- In 1850 the humiliation of Olmutz seemed to crush Prussia’s political ambitions and restore Austrian power.

##### **Cultural nationalism**

- Fichte described ‘Germany’ as the fatherland where all people spoke the same language and sang the same songs.
- German poets and authors, such as the Grimm brothers, and composers such as Beethoven, encouraged feelings of national pride in the German states.
- However Golo Mann wrote that most Germans ‘seldom looked up from the plough’. He doubted the influence of artists most Germans knew nothing about.
- In 1830 anti-French feelings promoted ‘the watch on the Rhine’ and nationalist festivals such as Hambach (1832) also encouraged nationalist feelings.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: How important was the role of Prussia in the achievement of German unification by 1871?

This question is about how German unification came about. The power of Prussia must be considered and also the role played by Prussia's first minister Otto von Bismarck.

### **Background**

- Prussia was victorious in three wars, against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France between 1870 and 1871. The result of the wars was an increase in the power of Prussia and the unification of Germany.
- Developments by early 1860 relevant to unification.
- The strong Prussian economy based on the Zollverein.
- An efficient railway network allowed men and equipment to move easily.
- Army reforms of 1850s and 60s financed by Bismarck's ignoring the Landtag – major increases in power and skills of Prussian army.
- The relative weakness of Austria economically, diplomatically and militarily by the 1860s.
- Prussia fought and won three wars between 1864 and 1871 which led directly to unification.

### **The role of Bismarck**

- Bismarck acted as a catalyst. Changes such as the Zollverein, the spread of railways and growing Nationalism would have united Germany eventually.
- Bismarck had the political skill to take advantage of circumstances as they arose and over which he often had no direct control. Supporters of this view believe Bismarck was an opportunist – taking advantage of situations as they arose.
- Bismarck, in the words of one historian, was like a card player who, although he did not deal the cards, played his hand very well.

### **The War with Denmark**

- Bismarck's first step in weakening Austria's power was a war with Denmark.
- The recently reformed Prussian army was tested in an 'easy' war before any conflict with Austria erupted. Austria could not refuse to get involved in the row with Denmark if it wanted to keep its influence over the German Confederation.
- At the Convention of Gastein, Austria was politically and militarily cornered by Bismarck. A war with Austria could be provoked when it suited Bismarck.

### **The War with Austria**

- Planning – political isolation of Austria – Bismarck's diplomacy with Russia, France and Italy.
- Provocation of Austria within the German Confederation.
- Realpolitik – the Treaty of Prague. The German Confederation was ended and by the end of 1866 a North German Confederation had been created. Most of it was Prussian territory.

### **The War with France**

- The southern states of Germany only became part of a united Germany after the third of Bismarck's wars against France in 1870.
- France provoked – the Hohenzollern Candidature and Ems telegram.
- French army was crushed at the battle of Sedan and France surrendered in January 1871. The North German Confederation and the South German States united.

### **Prussianisation or unification?**

- Was Germany united – or Prussianised? Many states believed they had been defeated and absorbed by Prussia rather than choosing to unify.
- Prussian King became the German Kaiser. Prussian taxes and laws became German taxes and laws. By 1871 Germany was united, but it was a Germany under the influence of a very strong Prussian state.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: “Hitler’s promise of a better future for the German people was the most important reason for the growth in support for the Nazis up to 1933.” How accurate is this view?

The attraction of a “Better future” must be addressed and the candidate could define such a future in many ways.

- **Context** – Low support for Nazis in 1928 (12 seats Reichstag). By 1930 rapidly growing support (108 seats) “Great Depression put wind in Hitler’s sails” (Taylor).
- **1920s background** – Humiliated at Versailles – Economic ruin in 1923 – Suffered invasion and occupation 1923 – Underwent political violence and revolution 1918/1919 – Unsure of their new political system – Germans ripe for promises of better future.

### **The better future?**

- **Versailles** – By promising to rip up Versailles Hitler promised a better and stronger future.
- **Political stability** – Some feared a return to the revolutionary violence of 1918/1919. Nazis would remove communist threat.
- **Return to old values?** – Many on Right still identified with ‘old’ Germany while working within new Germany. How loyal to the new democracy would these sympathisers with old Germany be when a crisis arose in the early 1930s? How far would they be attracted by a bright future with echoes of the past?
- **An end to confusing democracy** – The Weimar Constitution established a fair and democratic system but the voting system, Article 48 of the Constitution and the power of the President all became weaknesses in the system. By promising an end to such political weaknesses Hitler offered a brighter future.
- **Economic recovery?** – The economic crisis of 1923 was for many Germans “the scar that never healed.” The economic crisis from 1929-32 allowed the Nazis to gain support as they said they had the answers to Germany’s problems and promised a prosperous future.
- **Jobs for all** – Unemployment stood at 6 million in 1932. Hitler promised to solve that problem.
- **Scapegoat** – Hitler used feelings of nationalism, patriotism and racism to create a belief that Germans were the master race. By the early 1930s it suited many Germans to see the Jews as an excuse for Germany’s difficulties. By removing Jews a brighter future seemed assured.
- **Pro Nazi media** – Hugenberg empire promoted positive image of Nazis.
- **Nazi glamour** – parades, rallies, uniforms – a sense of belonging and pride.

Candidates should also consider the behind the scenes political tensions of 1930-33 perhaps as a balance to the ‘bright future’ appeal of the Nazis eg Hartzburg Front helped Hitler with vital financial backing , President Hindenburg, – Article 48 – Chancellor Bruning governing without majority support in the Reichstag – Von Popen/Schleicher – belief they could use Hitler as ‘drummer boy’.

Question 9: To what extent was Nazi control of Germany from 1933 to 1939 due to the popularity of their policies?

Candidates are expected to refer to most of the following in a balanced answer which considers the popularity of the regime along with the more ruthless aspects of a totalitarian regime which given the impossibility of challenging Nazi power perhaps bred an atmosphere of acquiescence rather than popularity.

### **Creation of totalitarian state.**

- Reichstag fire – decree ‘for the protection of the People and State’ – banning many freedoms and allowing imprisonment without trial – the Enabling Act authorised the Nazi influenced government to issue laws which the Reichstag could not change.
- Centralising power – Hitler made sure all German states were ruled directly from Berlin and the individual states had no separate political voice.
- Totalitarian power – July 14, 1933 Nazi party only legal political party in Germany. Trade unions were also banned. ‘The Night of the Long Knives’ removed threat of political challenge and pleased army.
- The Oath of Loyalty and the Death of Hindenburg. Hitler now unchallenged head of state, head of government and in control of army.
- The Nazi Police State – the power to make laws, to enforce the laws and to control the law courts were all in the hands of the Nazis.

### **Work, leisure and the economy**

- When Hitler became Chancellor in 1933 unemployment stood at 25.9 %. By 1939 it stood at less than 1%. Hitler had delivered his promise of providing work and bread for the German people.
- The German Labour Front allowed workers to campaign for improved working conditions and gave workers access to the popular Strength through Joy (KdF) movement which provided leisure activities for thousands of German workers.

### **Education and German youth**

- The purpose of youth organisations such as Hitler Youth and the League of German Maidens was to prepare the boys for military service and the girls for motherhood – “we were politically programmed”. In schools German youth was indoctrinated with Nazi ideas.

### **Religion**

- Concordat or agreement was reached with the Catholic church.
- Protestant churches were put under the control of the Reichbishop.

### **The use of propaganda**

- Propaganda important to maintain control, spread its system of beliefs and to persuade the population to identify with the new regime.

### **Scapegoating**

- Hitler offered a scapegoat, or an excuse, to explain Germany’s problems and to help non Jewish Germans feel better about themselves.
- The removal of thousands of Jews from their jobs also created vacancies in the labour market.

### **Restoring pride**

- Foreign policy successes – Saar, Rhineland, Anschluss, Sudentenland all increased German influence and pride after humiliation of Versailles.
- **Control through fear**  
Gestapo, concentration camps, police state - see above.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## ITALY

Question 10: How important were economic factors in the growth of national feeling in Italy during the period 1815 to 1850?

### Background

- 1815 – Congress of Vienna. Austria regained control of Italian peninsula. Metternich – Italy was “purely a geographic expression.”
- One of the few places of independence was the Kingdom of Sardinia, which now controlled Piedmont.
- Unification was hampered by Austrian control of Lombardy and Venice, several independent Italian states, the autonomy of the Papal States, and the limited power and influence of Italian leaders.

### Economic factors?

- By 1815 some economic change created seed bed for future change.
- Improved communications across Alps and Apennines – ideas and commerce spread.
- Internal trade barriers started to fall.
- Social change – land redistributed and commercial middle class began to develop.
- Economic crisis 1846/47. Bad harvests create mass revolutionary mood.

### Other moves towards unification?

- Artistic and literary encouragement for different forms of nationalism.
- Alessandro Manzoni’s *I Promessi Sposi* (The Betrothed): 1840 version used a standardised version of the Tuscan dialect, a conscious effort by the author to provide a standard language usable by all Italians.
- Gioberti – ‘Of the moral and civil primacy of the Italians’, 1843 – Pope as future leader of Italian federation.
- Balbo – *Of the Aspirations of Italy* – hope for unified leadership lay with Piedmont.
- Importance of writings – clarity of purpose and focus as opposed to earlier vague ideas of Carbonari.
- 1815-32 – local risings against absolute rule of restored monarchs – no common programme, little popular support.
- Austrian Empire crushed all of these revolutions. Old rulers restored.
- Secret societies – Carbonari. At first only demanded more rights from their respective government, by 1820, the Carbonari were involved in numerous failed revolutions. Secret societies failed – lack of organisation or common purpose.
- Mazzini – an idealist who aimed for unification and republic.
- 1831 – Young Italy, a group created for the sole purpose to spread the ideas of unification, revolutions, and republicanism. But disbanded 1836. Mazzini exiled – a romantic symbol but of limited practical value.
- 1846 – liberal pope, Pius IX – a possible signal for change.
- Fall of Metternich triggered possibility of change.
- Revolution of 1848 – revolutions quickly crushed.
- By 1850 unification seemed very far off.

### Any other relevant factors

Question 11: How important was the role of Piedmont in the achievement of Italian unification by 1871?

### **Strength of Piedmont**

- Military strength.
- International respectability – Crimean War.
- Stable parliamentary government ruling with King.
- Internal stability.
- Scientific and economic progress – commercial treaties won trade away from Austria. Railroads, economic freedom, stable finances and a higher standard of living.

### **Skills of Cavour**

- PM from 1852.
- Manipulation of public opinion by use of press. Promotion of some liberal ideas and most importantly spread the propaganda of Italian unity under Victor Emanuel II.
- Cavour supported unification with a strong state to lead it, namely Piedmont.

### **Cavour needed the help of a strong ally**

- Napoleon III – France traditional enemy of Austria. Napoleon III supported united Italian peninsula – Plombieres meeting.
- Piedmont would stir up trouble in one of the territories controlled by Austria, thus forcing Austria to go to war against Piedmont. France would help Piedmont in exchange for Nice and Savoy. In April 1859, war broke out between Piedmont and Austria.
- After the war Piedmont had greatly increased its size and influence.
- Other factors – Garibaldi, Napoleon III, Bismarck – but also Cavour's (Piedmont's) diplomacy with people and manipulation of circumstances.

### **Garibaldi's campaign in southern Italy – big success**

- Cavour worried? If Rome was attacked, France and Austria would immediately help the Pope and crush the opposing army, thereby discrediting and destroying the unification agenda.
- Cavour encouraged riots and uprisings in the Papal States thus giving the Piedmontese troops a reason to come under the pretext of maintaining order. In 1860, two thirds of the Papal States joined Piedmont and Rome was left alone.
- On September 18, Garibaldi gave up command of his army and shook hands with Victor Emanuel II, signifying the unity and formation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.
- Kingdom of Italy had been formed but missing parts were Rome and Venetia.
- Rome was under the protection of Napoleon III.
- Venetia was controlled by Austria and its troops.
- Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia. Prussia promised Venetia if Italy joined them in the war.
- 1870 – Franco-Prussian War. Napoleon III was forced to pull the French troops from Rome to aid the war effort. Rome and the remaining Papal States remained unprotected, Italian troops marched in unopposed. In October 1870 Rome voted to join the union and in July 1871, it became the capital.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: “Mussolini’s promise of a better future for the Italian people was the most important reason for the growth in support for the Fascists up to 1922.” How accurate is this view?

- **Post war atmosphere** of disillusionment and frustration. Disappointment at gains from the peace settlement. Felt cheated – allied promises not delivered even after loss of 700,000 men.
- **Disastrous effect of the war** on the economy and the standard of living. Massive unemployment. Discontent with liberal parliamentary system PR and coalition governments. Industrial unrest – a wave of strikes in 1919 and 1920 – fear of communist revolution.

#### **A better future offered by Mussolini?**

- Mussolini and the fascists – attractive – aimed to rescue Italy from feeble government. Mussolini defender of private enterprise and property. Anti communist action – regularly attacked socialist headquarters and newspaper offices.

#### **Political programme deliberately vague**

- A guarantee of law and order. Promise of reconciliation with Roman Catholic Church. Mussolini dropped his republican ambitions. Royalist support. Promises to make Italy great and gain compensation for war effort. General strike in the summer of 1922 – fascists declaration – if the government unable to stop the strike they would crush it themselves. Mussolini was able to pose as the saviour of the state from communism.

#### **Other factors in growth of support**

- The anti-fascist groups failed to co-operate with each other. The communists refused to co-operate with the socialists.
- Political support – Giolitti held the elections of May 1921 so that the fascists might win some seats and then support his government. Giolitti overlooked violence in the hope that they would become more responsible once they were in parliament.
- Royal support? March on Rome – King Victor Emmanuel III invited Mussolini to form a new government. No official attempt to stop Mussolini – army and the police stood aside.

Question 13: To what extent was Fascist control of Italy from 1922 to 1939 due to the popularity of their policies?

### **Popularity through economic benefits**

- Government subsidies where necessary – industrial development.
- Self-sufficiency – the ‘Battle for Wheat’ encouraged farmers to concentrate on wheat production.
- Land reclamation was launched to increase agricultural yield – Pontine Marshes.
- Public works programme to reduce unemployment.

### **Popularity through strong foreign policy**

- Propaganda for Mare Nostrum and New Roman Empire – conquest of Abyssinia.

### **Mussolini’s personal popularity**

- Use of media to promote Mussolini as macho Italian man.

### **Propaganda**

- A strict press censorship – also radio, films and the theatre were similarly controlled.
- Government youth organisations which indoctrinated the public with the brilliance of the Duce and the glories of war.
- Education in schools and universities was closely supervised.

### **Suppression of political opposition**

- Suppression of other political parties – arrests of leaders.

### **Popularity through workers’ benefits**

- Free Sundays, annual holidays with pay, social security, sports and theatre facilities and cheap tours and holidays.

### **Popularity through political/industrial stability**

- In local government – local Fascist party bosses (ras) often had as much power as elected government officials.
- Corporate state – aimed to end class struggle and strikes. The government tried to promote co-operation between employers and workers to end class warfare.
- Strikes and lockouts were not allowed.
- Mussolini hoped to control the workers and direct production.

### **Popularity through agreement with Pope**

- Lateran Treaty, 1929 – Italy recognised the Vatican City as a sovereign state, the Catholic faith as the official state religion and made religious instruction compulsory in all schools. Now it was possible to be a good Fascist and a good Catholic.

### **The price of unpopularity**

- Mussolini did not succeed in creating a completely totalitarian state. Critics survived. Ovrá not as oppressive as Gestapo. Often only lip service was paid to Fascist organisations. Toleration of Fascist state as long as it brought benefits.
- When popularity fell during WW2, Mussolini was overthrown.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **THE LARGE SCALE STATE**

### **THE USA**

Question 14: To what extent was the increase in hostility towards immigrants in the USA during the 1920s due to fear of revolution?

The candidate makes a judgement on the extent to which the increase in hostility towards immigrants in the USA during the 1920s was due to fear of revolution, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Attitudes towards immigration after 1918**

- By 1918 Ellis Island checkpoint for immigration and standards was designed to discriminate against immigrants who could not speak English. Immigration Laws in the 1920s: 1921 quota system, 1924 proportion lowered, 1929 restriction of 150,000 immigrants a year: general favour towards 'old' immigrants from Western Europe and discrimination towards poor from Eastern and Southern Europe.

#### **Fear of Revolution**

- The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the creation of the world's first Communist (Bolshevik) government under Lenin created fear in capitalist America. Fear that Communism (as an internationalist belief) might spread to America, created the 'red scare' which had little reality, though the bombing campaign of a small group in sending bombs to important Americans seemed to confirm the threat.

#### **Importance of other factors**

- **Economic reasons** – Competition for jobs and housing. Belief from the established Trade Unions in the aftermath of the First World War that 'American' workers were being undercut by Italian/Polish workers who would work longer for less pay. Immigrants were also seen as 'strike breakers', by hostile trade unions, in labour disputes. All added to opposition to immigration from within America.
- **Rising crime rates** – Immigrants were blamed for crime in 1920s American society, especially in the cities. Statistics showing soaring crime rates in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of immigrants were held as proof of the bad influence of the immigrant on his or her environment. The criminality of the foreign born in America was no larger than that of the native population. Catholic immigrants from Italy, Poland, Greece, Mexico and Canada and Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe faced hostility. Anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were tried for robbery and murder in the 1920s: a good example of link between crime, political attitudes towards immigrants and racism.
- **Racism** – As the immigrant community tended to live together in poorer parts of cities, looked and spoke differently, it was easy to see them as being 'different'. They were an easy target for ill informed prejudice and racism.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 15: To what extent was the economic boom of the 1920s caused by the development of mass production methods?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the economic boom of the 1920s was caused by the development of mass production methods, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Development of mass production methods**

- Effects of mass production in making goods cheaply and in great numbers. Example of Henry Ford and car production, steel, petrol and rubber production. Creation of a consumer society. Increase in car ownership. New inventions contributed to this growth in demand for goods with labour saving devices for the home such as refrigerators and vacuum cleaners.

### **Importance of other factors**

- **Impact of World War One** – America emerged from the War in a very healthy economic state. She had done well lending money to the combatant nations and thrived as their economies were in poor shape at the end of the war. This economic strength encouraged export of goods to Europe. The war economy had encouraged more efficient production methods as well.
- **Policies of the Republican government** – As President Coolidge said, ‘the chief business of the American people is business.’ Republicans cut taxes which gave people more disposable income to buy consumer goods and also gave businessmen more money to invest in their businesses. The government also protected home industries by taxing imports through a system of tariffs. Acts such as the 1922 ‘Fordney-McCumber’ Tariff Act set tariffs at a record level of 40%!
- **The Credit Boom and consumer confidence** – Encouragement of consumer spending on credit. For a small deposit the goods could be taken home. Regular payments plus interest then had to be made over a period of time. At the time consumer confidence was high, wages were high for many and the stock market was growing. Easy profits were made as shares rose.
- **Natural resources** – The United States of America is blessed with significant natural resources, such as coal, oil, agricultural land and minerals. These were easy to access and America had a large population to exploit them. The growing American population provided a ready market for goods as a result.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 16: “The economic recovery of the 1930s can be explained entirely by the effects of the New Deal.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the accuracy of the view that the economic recovery of the 1930s can be explained entirely by the effects of the New Deal, using knowledge and arguments such as:

### **The New Deal: Background**

- Context of the victory of Roosevelt in 1932 presidential election after the inadequate response of Hoover and the Republicans to the Great Depression that followed the Wall Street Crash. The New Deal is associated with Roosevelt and the Democrats who took a more interventionist approach to dealing with the economy than the Republicans. The New Deal aimed to provide relief for the unemployed, aid recovery of the economy and reform to create a fairer society.
- **The First New Deal** – Launch of ‘Alphabet Agencies’ giving relief and recovery in first 100 days of Roosevelt presidency – eg Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), Public Works Administration (PWA) providing relief and work. Confidence building measures such as checking banks in 1933 to ensure they were well run and credit worthy. Economic prudence by cutting wages of state employees by 15% and spending savings on relief programmes. Ending unpopular prohibition to raise revenue and cheer people up.
- **The Second New Deal 1935-1937** – Reform to improve living and working conditions for many Americans through acts such as the Social Security Act (1935) providing a state pension scheme for the old, widows, as well as help for the disabled and poor children. Also National Labour Relations Act (1935) giving workers right to join Trade Unions, etc.
- **Power of the Federal Government** – Debate as to the increased role of the Federal Government in American society and in particular the economy. Challenges to this in the Supreme Court, opposition from State government, especially in the South, employers groups forming Liberty League opposed to the New Deal.
- **Economic effects** – Debate on the economic effects in terms of relief and recovery. They certainly helped in terms of providing basic relief. As to recovery, they made a difference, but its role is open to discussion as employment continued to be a problem never running at less than 14% of the working population. The importance of rearmament in reducing unemployment and revitalising the American economy during World War Two may be considered.
- **Confidence building** – Debate on the issue of reform of society: ‘confidence’ in government and its role in running the economy. It changed expectations in America, protected workers and provided social reform. Role of Roosevelt may be considered: inaugural address facing up to reality of economic slowdown, but providing leadership and vision: ‘you have nothing to fear but fear itself.’

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 17: How successful were the black radical protest movements of the 1960s in achieving their aims?

The candidate makes a judgement as to how successful the black radical movements were in achieving their aims in the 1960s, using knowledge and arguments such as:

#### **Black radical protest movements: aims**

- Movements were civil rights groups which rejected Martin Luther King's non-violent approach. In general they believed that achieving desegregation and gaining voting rights did not solve the problems of black Americans. Direct action was needed.

#### **Black radical protest movements: methods**

- **Stokley Carmichael and 'Black Power'** – Importance of the March Against Fear. Development of symbols of defiance such as the clenched black fist, slogans such as, 'Black Power, Black Power' and 'Get Whitey'. SNCC changed name by replacing non-violence with national development of a belief in self reliance, active defence of blacks with violence if necessary, black pride and a rejection of even 'liberal' whites help.
- **Malcolm X and Nation of Islam** – A version of Islam was embraced by Malcolm X while in jail. Although he split with Nation of Islam and was murdered in 1965 his ideas of resistance and defiance grew. The Nation of Islam, led by Elijah Muhammad, became important in spreading the message of self-help and the need not to rely on or wait for whites to give blacks their freedom. Malcolm X in particular identified racism as being an American wide problem from the south to the ghettos in the north.
- **Black Panthers** – set up by Huey Newton. Supported ideas of Carmichael and Malcolm X, but were willing to use violence and became associated with militancy. Chants like "The Revolution has come, it's time to pick up the gun" did not help. Also developed extensive self help schemes for poor blacks in the cities.

#### **Black radical protest movements: impact**

- Groups like the Panthers probably represented a minority view within the black community, but had a big impact on white society because of their image. Made little impact in the 1960s in terms of achieving their aims.

#### **Possible evidence for this view**

- Importance of the Watts riots in Los Angeles at showing that voting rights and desegregation did not mean economic or social equality for blacks.
- Racist attitudes were common, eg Mayor Daley in Chicago who resisted desegregation in Chicago.
- **The Kerner Commission** – set up in reaction to the race riots, which erupted on the murder of Martin Luther King. Findings were harsh reading and showed that America was divided between the poor black and richer white. If you were black, you were far more likely to be poor, unemployed, have a low skilled job than a white man. Despite Acts and protest, massive inequality remained.

#### **Possible evidence against**

- Leaders such as Malcolm X are credited with raising the self-esteem of black Americans and reconnecting them with their African heritage.
- Blacks were increasingly elected into positions of power, such as mayors of cities.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

## RUSSIA

Question 18: How important was military strength in maintaining the Tsarist state up to 1905?

### The Pillars of Autocracy

- **The Army** – This was controlled by the officers who were mainly upper class and therefore conservative and loyal to the King. They ensured that the population and the peasants in particular were loyal to the Tsar. Most of the soldiers had been peasants themselves, but had been taught to be loyal to the Tsar. They crushed any insurgence and were used to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar.
- **The Church** – Helped to ensure that the people remained loyal to the Tsar. They preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar. Ensured the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Law.
- **Fundamental Law** – This stated “To the emperor of all Russia belongs the Supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear.”
- **The Secret Police (Okhrana)** – This was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out any opposition to the Tsar. They did this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. Those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar were imprisoned or sent in to exile. Large numbers were exiled. However, they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsarist state.
- **Civil Service** – Mainly employed middle class people therefore ensuring the loyalty of that class. The Civil Service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption as well as about meetings which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate. This led to censorship.
- **Censorship** – This controlled what people were able to read – controlling what University lecturers could say, controlled access to schools, limited books available in libraries.
- **Russification** – This was an effort to restrict the influence of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language. As a result law and government were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language. This maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minorities cultures. As a result of this discrimination of the minority peoples became more widespread. State intervention in religion and education. Treated subjects as potential enemies, and therefore inferior.
- **Zubatov Unions** – These were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories, thus reducing the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups. Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes and so were disbanded due to pressure from employers.
- **Revolutionary groups weak** – There were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (peasants unhappy at the mir system), Social Democrats (disillusioned and angry town workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British style parliament). However these groups on their own were not powerful or popular enough to affect change. Moreover these groups were further weakened by the fact they were not very well-organised and they did not cooperate.

### Any other relevant factors

Question 19: “The power of the Tsarist state was relatively unchanged after the 1905 Revolution.”  
How accurate is this view?

### **Agricultural Reforms**

- Stolypin introduced these important reforms, which were to win the support of the peasants. Redemption payments were ended. Peasants were given complete freedom to leave the Mir and they could turn their holdings in to their own property. This was to produce a rich class of peasants and help farming. This reduced opposition to the Tsar as these peasants became loyal to the Tsar and allowed him rule as he wished.

### **Stolypin cracked down on Revolutionaries**

- Many of the revolutionaries were stamped out. Stolypin set up tribunals, which sentenced to death every terrorist captured by the secret police. This reduced opposition to the Tsar and his running of the country. Crushed the Soviets in 1905 which were a focal point of opposition to the Tsar.

### **October Manifesto**

- Duma to have legislative powers, ie agree to new laws. The electorate was to be widened, and it promised freedom of speech, to have meetings and liberty of conscience. This split the revolutionary forces with the moderate liberals accepting it.

### **Duma (parliament) granted to buy off the middle classes**

- Before Duma met, the Tsar took back much of the power he had conceded. He announced the “Fundamental Laws” whereby the Supreme autocratic power belonged to the Tsar, in that no law could be passed without his approval.
- The Duma had two chambers. The first house was elected and the second house (state council) would be largely dominated by the Tsar and could veto lower chamber proposals.
- The Tsar could appoint and dismiss ministers who were not responsible to the Duma.
- The Tsar could dissolve the Duma, but had to call elections for a new one.
- Article 87 meant the Tsar could issue decrees “in exceptional circumstances” when the Duma was not sitting.
  - 1<sup>st</sup> Duma: Lasted from April to June 1906. Dismissed for demanding a full democratic parliament. “Vyborg Group” of liberals who resisted were arrested and banned from future elections.
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> Duma: Lasted from Feb to June 1907. Few liberals in this Duma as most of them were part of the “Vyborg Group”. Closed due to the Tsar’s resentment to criticism of the administration of the army.
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> Duma: Lasted from 1907 to 1912. The rich dominated it and only 1 man in 6 could now vote. This Duma was very right wing and was accused of merely rubber-stamping Tsarist policies; however, it helped Stolypin bring about Land Reform which was disliked by the nobles, questioned ministers, discussed state finances, and made proposals to modernise the army.
  - 4<sup>th</sup> Duma: lasted from 1912 to 1914. It was of a similar make up to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duma. It also criticised the government at times, such as its handling of the Lena goldfield strike and the very heavy-handed style of the government in repressing working class protest. Dissolved itself at the start of WWI.

### **June 1907 Electoral Law Change**

- Franchise restricted to favour the gentry and urban rich at the expense of the workers, peasants and nationalities.

### **Army remained loyal to the Tsar**

- This enabled the Tsar to repress opposition such as revolutionaries.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 20: To what extent was the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 due to the failings of the Provisional Government?

### **Lacked Authority**

- The Provisional Government was an unelected, self-appointed body and had no right to exercise authority.

### **The Petrograd Soviet**

- The old Petrograd Soviet re-emerged and ran Petrograd. It undermined the authority of Provisional Government especially when relations between the two worsened. Order No. 1 of the Petrograd Soviet weakened the authority of the Provisional Government as soldiers were not to obey orders of Provisional Government that contradicted those of the Petrograd Soviet.

### **The War**

- The Provisional Government gave in to the pressure of the army and from the Allies to keep Russia in the War. This was a big mistake as it had helped cause the February Revolution and helped destroy the Provisional Government as the misery it caused continued – soldiers became more sympathetic to Bolshevik propaganda.

### **The Land Issue**

- All over Russia peasants were seizing nobles' land and wanted the Provisional Government to legitimise this. The failure of the Provisional Government to recognise the peasants' claims eroded the confidence in the Provisional Government. Food shortages caused discontent, and they were caught up by revolutionary slogans such as "Peace, Land and Bread".

### **Workers**

- The workers were restless as they were starving due to food shortages caused by the war. Also shortage of fuel caused lack of heating. The Bolsheviks slogans appealed to them such as the workers control of industry.

### **Lenin and the Bolsheviks**

- Lenin returned to Russia with the announcing of the April Theses, with slogans such as "Peace, Land and Bread" and "All Power to the Soviets". Lenin talked of further revolution to overthrow the Provisional Government and his slogans identified the key weaknesses of the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks kept attending the Petrograd Soviet when most of the others stopped doing so and this gave them control of the Soviet, which they could then use against the Provisional Government.

### **The July Days**

- The Bolsheviks staged an attempt to seize power, rising in support of the Kronstadt sailors who were in revolt. This was easily crushed by the Provisional Government but showed increasing opposition to them, especially from the forces. However it also showed that the Provisional Government was still reasonably strong and able to crush opposition such as the Bolsheviks who now appeared weak and disorganised.

### **Kornilov Affair**

- General Kornilov, a right wing general, proposed to replace the Provisional Government with a military dictatorship and sent troops to Petrograd. Kerensky appealed to the Petrograd Soviet for help and the Bolsheviks were amongst those who helped, and were armed to do so. Some Bolsheviks were released from prison to help. The Bolsheviks did not return their weapons to the Provisional Government after they defeated Kornilov. Bolsheviks were able to act as protectors of Petrograd.

### **Bolshevik Organisation**

- Bolsheviks were highly organised – formation of Red Guards (armed factory workers) – role of Trotsky in planning actual seizure of power.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 21: How secure was the Bolsheviks' hold on power by 1921?

### **Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly**

- After successfully taking power in the October Revolution Lenin was determined that the Bolsheviks would hold on to power. As a result, he had to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. In the elections for the Assembly, the Bolsheviks only won about a quarter of the seats. Obviously the Bolsheviks would not be able to rule effectively through the Constituent Assembly, so after only a day's session of the Assembly the Red Guard, with the threat of guns, dissolved it. This was done as it was unlikely the Bolsheviks could have held on to power otherwise; moreover the Allies might have interfered in Russia if they withdrew from the war. All other parties were outlawed.

### **End of the War – Treaty of Brest Litovsk**

- Lenin realised that Russia was exhausted due to the war and had no real chance of defeating the Germans. He thought if Germany won the war then Russia would be no worse off; if they lost the war then Russia would get all of the land they lost in any treaty they signed with the Germans. Lenin was also quite happy to sign a treaty with the Germans as they had been providing him with revenue since the war had started and he was keen to continue receiving it. Lenin believed that Russia needed “breathing space to recuperate for the struggle”. Lenin (and Trotsky) believed that the international struggle would be replaced by a class struggle in Europe.

### **Civil War**

- To establish their power the Bolsheviks had to defend their position against various enemies, who were named collectively as the Whites.
- Lenin was unwilling to share power with other socialist parties and banned all other political parties in Russia. As a result, it was highly likely these people would fight the Bolsheviks, leading to Civil War.
- As well as this there was the minority nationalities that rose in rebellion and were collectively known as the Greens. Peoples like the Ukrainians and Georgians fought against the Bolsheviks to gain their independence. The Bolsheviks defeated their enemies and were able to establish their authority on Russia.

### **Red Terror**

- Used to repress opposition after taking power, and impose Bolshevik rule on Russia. It was a secret police that did not really need proof or evidence to take action against Bolshevik opponents. They were ruthless and often savage in carrying out their “duties”.

### **Kronstadt Rebellion**

- Petrograd and dock yard workers crossed to the Naval base at Kronstadt to protest about their conditions and the desire for more freedom. They demanded that they should be better off under the Soviet State than the Tsarist state, not the other way round. What was of greater significance was that these people were supporters of the Bolsheviks in 1917, and now their supporters were turning against them. The rising was brutally crushed, but Lenin learned from this and to preserve Bolshevik rule, he decided to reduce the harshness of War Communism to avoid further risings.

## **War Communism to NEP**

- War Communism was driven by the need to produce food for Russia and the Bolsheviks during the Civil War. Under War Communism this would be done by forcibly requisitioning food from the peasants. However peasants were only producing enough food to feed themselves and their families. They saw no profit in producing any more grain, as they received nothing for it. As a result the secret police (Cheka) went in to the countryside to take the grain by force. As a result the peasants just grew less food. The result of this was that there was famine in Russia, which claimed up to 5 million lives. To solve the food problem, Lenin introduced the New Economic policy, which allowed the peasants to trade the grain they had produced for private profit. This flew in the face of Bolshevik philosophy and beliefs and caused great division amongst the Bolsheviks. However the policy worked and as a result, economic instability was overcome by the Bolsheviks, which helped them to establish control over Russia.

## **Any other relevant factors**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]