



2014 History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

© Scottish Qualifications Authority 2014

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

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

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

Part One: General Marking Principles for: History Advanced Higher

This information is provided to help you understand the general principles you must apply when marking candidate responses to questions in this Paper. These principles must be read in conjunction with the specific Marking Instructions for each question.

- (a)** Marks for each candidate response must always be assigned in line with these general marking principles and the specific Marking Instructions for the relevant question. If a specific candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed Marking Instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your Team Leader/Principal Assessor.
- (b)** Marking should always be positive ie, marks should be awarded for what is correct and not deducted for errors or omissions.

GENERAL MARKING ADVICE: History Advanced Higher

The marking schemes are written to assist in determining the “minimal acceptable answer” rather than listing every possible correct and incorrect answer. The following notes are offered to support Markers in making judgements on candidates’ evidence, and apply to marking both end of unit assessments and course assessments.

General Instructions

Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

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

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

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

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

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

Open each envelope and:

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

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

Marking Part 1: The essays

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

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

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

Advanced Higher History Script – Grade Criteria

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

Further general advice to markers – Essays

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

Factors which do lead to an essay failing:

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

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

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

2. **Extreme brevity.** A very short essay of around only 2-3 sides would have to be astonishingly well argued to get a pass. It is highly unlikely that there will be sufficient depth and breadth of argument to convince a marker it had covered enough of the mark able criteria to pass.
3. **Lack of historiography.** The need for historiography in essays is clearly set out in the Grade Descriptions in the Course Arrangements. Essays without recognition of different historical interpretations **must therefore fail**. There is a fairly open definition of “historical interpretations” as the minimum expected pass standard. What is expected at Advanced Higher level is that **there are signs of the candidates’ reading, and therefore some awareness that there are different views on an issue.**

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

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

1. **Structure.** This may be poor and the candidate might seem to ramble their way through their piece. However, it may still be that enough other insightful and relevant aspects are explored in enough depth to persuade the marker that the candidate should be awarded a pass at some level. A sense of structure often “appears” during the essay so a candidate should not be penalised or down-graded just because nothing much seems to have been laid out in the introduction.
2. **Accuracy.** Several minor inaccuracies, or indeed, a few fairly major ones, will not in themselves be sufficient to fail a response. It may be that the marker becomes increasingly convinced that the candidate is not in full control of their evidence, and that may deter the granting of an A pass, but it does not automatically lead to a fail.
3. **Relevance.** While relevance is important, it is not the sole criterion on which a response is judged. It is a question of degree; responses should be marked positively. A pass at the C level can be gained by an essay with enough relevance to convince the marker of its overall virtue; and a pass can be granted even despite the odd lapse or digression.

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

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

5. **Use of language.** Candidates' linguistic skills vary. Essays can often be clumsily expressed in fairly poor English, but still contain many of the admirable criteria that merit high reward. Equally, there can be fluent and stylish pieces that flatter to deceive when the marker gets beyond the language and studies the other criteria.
6. **Conclusion.** This is an important aspect of the essay; it pulls it all together and shows the marker how the candidate has marshalled their facts and arguments. A good conclusion is often decisive in pulling the essay into the next higher marks band, and a weak conclusion will certainly hinder the chances of getting an A. However, the lack of a conclusion in itself is not a factor leading to an automatic fail.

Marking Part 2: The source questions

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

The “how fully” question (12 marks)

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

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

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

The “how useful” question (12 marks)

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

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

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

The “two-source” question (16 marks)

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

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

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

Marking Scripts and Recording Marks

1. In everything that you record on a script, make your intentions absolutely clear for the benefit of SQA staff and any others who may refer to the script later.
2. Mark and value every answer and enter the marks awarded in red, at the end of the answer in the right margin, as indicated in the Detailed Marking Instructions. Occasionally a candidate may skip one or two pages in the script by mistake and proceed to answer questions further on in the script. You should be satisfied that in each case all the answers have been marked.
3. Where supplementary items are enclosed inside answer books, indicate clearly, on each item, that it has been considered and include any marks awarded in the answer book against the candidate's answer to the same/related question.
4. If the paper is one on which options are given, ensure that the candidate does not receive credit for answering more than the prescribed number of questions. If the prescribed number has been exceeded, mark all of the answers and select for inclusion in the total the highest marks gained by the candidate consistent with the rubrics of the paper. **Cross through the answers which are not included in the total.** Draw attention on the outside of the script, **not on the Mark Sheet**, to the fact that the candidate has exceeded the prescribed number of questions. If a candidate answers more than one of the options in a question, cross out the option which gains the lower mark and exclude this from the total.
5. If you refer a candidate's script to the Principal Assessor, put a brief explanation in the "For Official Use" section on the front cover of the script concerned. You should pass such packets to the Principal Assessor for further action.
6. The total mark for a paper should be entered in the Total box on the front cover of the answer book. (The total mark must be given as a whole number). Markers must check their additions carefully, by summing marks from the first to the last page of the script and then from the last to the first page. The transcription of marks, within booklets and to the Mark Sheets, should also be checked.

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

EXAMPLE

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

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

Ex Supplement

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

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

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

Special Assessment Arrangements

Transcriptions

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

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

Suspected Malpractice

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

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

Marker Report

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

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine arguments on the purposes of Roman frontiers in Northern Britain. The title allows for the frontiers as a symbol of power to be discussed. The specific argument specified in the title should definitely be considered but the candidate should bring to bear other purposes of the frontiers such as bureaucratic control, defence and demarcation. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the most likely purposes of the frontiers.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

Points discussing degree to which frontiers were symbols of Roman power:

- Frontiers allowed Rome to maintain “Pax Romana” – an attempt to safeguard any Roman citizen to the rear of the frontier
- Frontiers were as much propaganda statements as a functional facility
- Symbolic statement of Roman grandeur and technique
- Promoted Roman identity and power
- Confirm barbarian impression of Roman might – both reassuring and cowing provincials
- Used to display an Emperor’s career and demonstrate the extent of their influence – frontiers were “prestige projects” (Dr M Ibeji)
- Antonius Pius needed to establish credibility with the army and gain military prestige
- Hadrian, in 122AD, needed to appear commanding and powerful in light of imperial unrest – frontier would bolster position in Britain and in Rome.

Points suggesting Roman frontiers had other primary purposes:

Frontiers as a bureaucratic control

- Luttwak states that the frontiers provided “preclusivity” – total control of all movement into and out from the line
- Frontiers acted as collection points for the import and export duties upon which the empire’s tax revenues depended.
- Gask Ridge allowed supplies to be transported from north to Southern Scotland and control of good arable land between the Forth and Tay.
- At Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall gates acted as customs posts to allow trade and taxes to be collected
- At Hadrian’s Wall frontier control was achieved at milecastles and turrets along the linear barrier
- Frontiers meant that tribes could only enter the empire unarmed, under guard, and after paying a fee
- Frontiers theoretically allowed the province to develop peacefully to the rear.

Frontiers as a military control

- Gask Ridge, earliest Roman frontier – arguably built to supervise natives and provide early warning, rather than direct defence. May have been a launching pad for further conquest.
- Area around the Gask Ridge would have been heavily forested in Roman times – towers were designed to monitor, report on and, to some extent, control any movements across a cleared strip of ground (Breeze, 1982, 62).
- Hadrian's Wall and Antonine Wall built to protect the province from attack as well help police the neighbouring provincials.
- Hadrian's Wall was the most heavily fortified border in the Empire – used for frontier defence with forts along the wall.
- Defensive forts built along linear barriers at both Hadrian's and Antonine Wall.
- Watchtowers on frontiers built to maintain observation, and thereby control, along the boundary of the empire.
- Excavations on both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall revealed the existence of pits on the berm (space between the wall or rampart and the ditch). At Byker, on Hadrian's Wall, the pits were arranged in three rows, each containing two posts, probably the trunks of trees with their branches cut back and sharpened – was it a heavily defended frontier line?
- Frontiers had added role of keeping the army busy – keeping them out of internal politics.
- However, frontiers would not have stopped an invasion, merely slowed it.
- Frontiers did not suit Roman preference for open fighting – they were not fighting platforms – scarcely room to pass behind a man let alone fight.
- Frontiers were “a stumbling block rather than a barrier.”

Frontiers as a territorial border zone

- Hadrian – “*he was the first to build a wall 80 miles long from sea to sea to separate the barbarians from the Romans*”.
- Divide “them” from “us”
- Effort to control unrest in northern province – “The Britons could not be kept under Roman control” (SHA Hadrian)

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

- **N Fields:** Hadrian's Wall AD 122-410, highlights that the frontiers were to bring stability to the empire, to create a visible demonstration of imperial security
- **David Breeze:** The Antonine Wall in Roman Scotland, compiled by N Hodgson, “*In short, its purpose was frontier control.*”
- **A. Kamm,** the Last Frontier, suggests that the frontiers were “*to mark the boundaries between former barbarians and permanent barbarians, with facilities for passage between the two.*”
- **D. Shotter,** the Roman frontier in Britain, highlight that view that the frontiers were a method of control, whereby the surrounding “*native population became different without knowing it*” – a method of infiltrating and control native society.

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to investigate the view that the Picts had distinctive traits by the 8th century. The candidate can discuss the evidence for typical and atypical traits including language, succession practices, symbols and sculpted stones. The candidate must use the evidence to come to a conclusion regarding the extent to which the Picts had developed a distinctive identity, separate from their neighbours.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Evidence which may suggest that the Picts had developed a distinctive identity by the 8th century

- Since the publication of "*The Problem of the Picts*" in 1955 the Picts have been perceived as distinct, enigmatic and problematic
- Bede identified the Picts as distinct in terms of their foreign origins, their succession practice, their barbarity and their language, they were part of a Scotland which had emerged as a land occupied by "*four nations and five languages*"
- Antiquaries cultivated view that Picts were distinct based on their use of symbols and sculpted stones.
- Sally Foster identifies the issues/areas where Picts have, rightly or wrongly, been identified as distinct – including symbols, language, succession and barbarity.
- One of the most important perceived cultural oddities about the Picts is their allegedly non-Indo-European custom of matrilineal succession, which some attribute to Bronze Age cultures. This descent through the female line, instead of the male (as the Scots and Angles)
- Tacitus identifies the Picts as a distinct racial type when he tells us that the Caledonians, supposedly one of the name-groups of the Pictish race, were "fair or reddish haired and long limbed".
- Distinct place-names – place-names beginning with "Pit" are found throughout Pictish areas and this is thought to be a survival of a Pictish term meaning a parcel of land, such as Pitlochry and Pitsligo
- Strong differences among Picts, Angles, Gaels and Britons. The Picts were linguistically and culturally closely related to the Britons, but seem to have had an intermittent political cohesion, which distinguished them from their southern neighbours.
- Religiously, many parts of Pictish territory remained pagan long after the people of the British regions were describing themselves as "the baptised".
- The Pictish language has been seen as a mix of Celtic and non-Indo-European elements, requiring a translator to aid communication between the Pictish king, Bridei and St Columba
- What undoubtedly was distinctive, however, was the series of symbols employed by the Pictish nobility to decorate monuments – abstract, geometric, animalistic
- The meaning of the symbols still remains open to debate and there is no key to their meaning
- The symbol stones also suggest that the Picts were distinct because they denote a distinct degree of social and cultural unity – unlike in neighbouring societies there is a clear unifying culture among the Picts, a shared emblematic language and practices.

Factors which may suggest that a distinctive Pictish identity had not developed by the 8th century:

- Factors have been adduced to symbolise the separateness of the Picts, but not all of these would now be accepted.
- There is an enduring “perceptual barrier” which perpetuates the notion that Picts were distinct and enigmatic (Sally Foster).
- Current opinion favours Leslie Alcock’s view that the Picts were “typical north-west European barbarian society with wide connections and parallels”
- Traditionally interpretations have emphasised differences over similarities and as such the distinctiveness of their identity has been exaggerated.
- Picts were part of the shared “Celtic Commonwealth” – much like their Celtic neighbours
- At a certain level, the ruling élite throughout northern Britain, of whatever ethnic background, shared common aims and values.
- The material culture of Picts, other than the symbol stone was little different from that of their neighbours.
- The notion that their language was distinct is ill founded. Picts did not speak a non-Indo-European language; rather they spoke another type of Celtic language, P Celtic, similar to their neighbours Q Celtic.
- The Foul Hordes Paradigm which suggested Picts were especially barbaric and backwards can be dismissed. It was a convention of writers to describe their enemies as given to monstrous atrocities, the commonplace jibes of neighbours.
- The idea that kingship among the Picts was determined by an allegedly non-Indo-European custom of matrilineal succession has been shown to be at best an exaggeration of the truth. Instead, the Picts shared with their neighbours the custom of allowing succession to go through the female line in cases of dispute, but perhaps used the custom somewhat more frequently or openly.
- Even the distinctive symbol stones reveal similarities between the Picts and their neighbours – they reflect common Celtic concerns: the conversion to Christianity, the pursuits of the aristocracy through scenes of hunting, hawking, horse riding and battle.
- By the 8th century there was a Common Celtic “insular artistic style”, fusing elements from Anglo-Saxon, Pictish and Irish art.

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

- **S Foster, Picts, Scots and Gaels:** suggests that it is questionable whether the Picts were any more aggressive, barbaric or enigmatic than their neighbours
- **F Watson:** highlights that all Celtic kingdoms shared the same basic values and intermarriage led at least to cultural cross-pollination
- **E Campbell: Saints and Sea Kings,** refers to artistic integration and the existence of a melting pot of styles by the 8th century rather than a distinct Pictish identity
- **A Smyth: Warlords and Holymen,** concludes that some notions of Picts having a distinct identity are in essence unverifiable and that Northern Britain was essentially a Celtic land.

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to enable the candidate to analyse and account for the obstacles to the spread of Christianity in the post Roman period. The candidate should discuss the importance of geographical obstacles relative to other factors, possibly including native polytheism, linguistic barriers and the fragmented nature of native social infrastructure.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support the view that geographical factors were the main obstacle

- Northern Britain was remote & arguably alienated from the Christian heartland, the Holy Land
- Travel across North Britain would be hard – especially after Rome's withdrawal
- Road network was far from comprehensive – more so after Rome's withdrawal
- Mountainous spine of Druim Alban was a barrier to conversion
- However, it would be a fallacy to perceive North Britain as impenetrable – abundant evidence of sophisticated trading network encompassing Mediterranean and England – if trade was possible, so was the exchange of religious ideas.

Factors which may suggest/support the view that other factors were obstacles to conversion

Native Polytheism

- Long held beliefs in an array of Gods
- Pagan Celts had a pantheon of gods and a supernatural other world; trees, hills, water, the sun and animals were all sacred to them, supported by a colourful imagery – loathe to give them up
- Pagan Celts had a long existing annual round of festivals tied to the agricultural cycle and concept of fertility – little to immediately draw them to the Christian faith
- Evidence of reluctance to give up old beliefs – some aspects of old religion even incorporated into Christian writings, Saints' Days often coincide with major Celtic festivals such as Samain (Halloween) and Beltane (May Day).

Linguistic Barriers

- St Columba, arriving in 563 needed a translator to speak to King Bridei
- E Campbell maintains that St Columba and the Dalriadans, on the west of the Druim Alban spoke "Goidelic" whilst those to the east would have been developing Brittonic
- Church may have struggled to present its message to an illiterate population
- Priests would preach, in open air, reading from a sacred book – difficult for a native congregation to see and understand images and messages
- Bede complains of secular clergy unable to read Latin and thus unable to explain scriptures to the laity – this would slow and impair the conversion process – by analogy true of Northern Britain.

Native Social Infrastructure

- Piecemeal Roman presence meant that Christianity never entirely took root in North Britain, certainly little evidence of Roman conversion beyond the frontier zones.
- The fragmented nature of society meant that Christianity would, in first instance, be unlikely “*to attain more than local importance*”, select groups valuing Christianity, such as in southern Scotland between the two walls.
- The development of early Christianity operated within the framework of the emerging kingdoms, based on older tribal groupings – fragmented.
- Christianity only became established in society when it married with the aspirations of kings such as Nechtan.
- Only when kings chose to convert to Christianity could it take root in society since the church needed power, access to land and rights which only the king could confer.

Viking incursions

- Many Christian sites were “convulsed by attacks” and thus unable to concern themselves with expansion or even royal successions
- Iona repeatedly attacked
- The presence of hoards such as St Ninian’s Isle hoard indicates the damage which Viking raids caused the fledgling Christian church
- Norse dominated the Northern and Western Isles and were slow to convert to Christian faith, favouring their collection of war loving Nordic Gods

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

- **A Woolf:** Contends that the process of conversion may have been speedy but actual “Christianisation” the adoption of a Christian way of life would be slow, subject to social obstacles
- **S Foster:** Highlights the continuity of pagan to Christian sites, indicative of the enduring hold of paganism
- **AAM Duncan:** suggests that conversion was the work of many decades and for the laymen meant “a more powerful magic than any that had gone before” – underlines the obstacle presented by long held beliefs.

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine and analyse the extent to which the Norsemen impacted upon native society. Candidates can examine the evidence for the impact being immense in terms of social, cultural and political impact. The candidate must come to a conclusion on the extent to which the Vikings impacted on the natives of Northern Britain.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which suggest/support the view that the Vikings impact was immense

- Extent to which Vikings overwhelmed the natives varied geographically
- Wainwright suggests that in the Northern Isles, the natives were submerged beneath Viking influence and were socially, politically and culturally overwhelmed
- The absence of native place names in the Northern Isles would seem to infer total domination – place names are of almost totally Norse character
- The Earldom of Orkney was wholly Scandinavian in character
- A Moffat forwards DNA evidence to show the dominance of Norse DNA over native DNA – indicates the natives in the North were overwhelmed
- The Jarls' Saga records the Peti and Papae being destroyed utterly by members of Rognvald's family
- The Annals of Ulster record, "the devastation of all the isles of Britain by the gentiles"
- The first record of Vikings in Central Scotland, from the Annals of Ulster, relays that "*a battle was fought by the gentiles against the men of Fortriu*" and a large number fell in the engagement – indication of Vikings militarily overwhelming Picts
- The Chronicle of Huntingdon records that "*Danish pirates*" had occupied the shores of Pictland and destroyed those Picts who defended their territory
- Caithness, Sutherland, Moray and Ross were conquered in "*a heroic way*" by Sigurd and Thorstein the Red
- "*Northmen wasted Pictland*" according to the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland and indeed, won "more than half of Scotland"
- A Smyth records that Norse piracy was relentless and sustained leading to conquest and occupation, an accomplished fact
- Hoards of precious metalwork, buried and never recovered, suggest natives overwhelmed
- The presence of Christian artefacts in the richly furnished graves of Norse elite, long before they converted, suggests natives being overwhelmed and robbed of precious goods.

Factors which may contradict

- The linguistic regions of Scandinavian Scotland show a combination of Norse domination in the Northern Isles but mixing or integration in Western Scotland and South-West Scotland – see place-names of mixed Gaelic and Norse character
- Vikings do not overwhelm the Christian faith since by 1000AD, Vikings are fully fledged members of the Christian church, establishing, as example, the Bishopric of Orkney
- Increasing support for “a belief in continuity has become much more prevalent” – lessens scale of impact
- B Crawford distinguishes regional variation, stating that in Southern Scotland the impact was sporadic and transitory with very few permanent Scandinavian communities establishing themselves – impact was certainly not immense across all of Northern Britain
- Little real evidence of natives being so overwhelmed to justify the use of the term “genocide” – where accommodation between Norse and natives leaders could be reached, it would be mutually advantageous
- Marriage alliances embraced by Norse and natives, such as native lord Dungadr profiting from a marriage alliance with his new Norse neighbours in Caithness
Intermingling of incomer and native leads to the development of a ruling class of mixed Norse and Gaelic heritage, Gall-Gaedhil, Scandinavian Gaels
- Excavation of major sites at Buckquoy and Birsay suggests intermingling or integration – Pictish artefacts found in Norse homes.

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

- **B Crawford:** Contends that local social and administrative structures are unlikely to have survived in Northern Scotland
- **K Forsyth:** Takes the view that “their impact on native society was immense”
- **G Wainwright:** Is unequivocal stating that in the Northern Isles, natives were overwhelmed in every sense of the word
- **C Downham:** Suggests that the region was already a melting pot of different cultures before the Vikings arrived and in this context there was a process of ethno genesis/cultural mixing.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine and analyse the extent to which Alba was a recognisable nation by 1000AD. The candidate could consider the extent of linguistic, cultural, territorial, religious and political unity before coming to a conclusion on the extent of cohesion and unity.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Features shared in common across Scotland:

Cultural/Social

- All of Scotland shared a common social system – united in that all was intensely hierarchical
- Legal rights and duties, social status was dependent upon gender, age, wealth, family ties and specialised learning
- The legal unit was with the family with young men and women all subject to senior men
- Common material culture
- Onomastic evidence indicates that elements such as aber, tre, lanerc appear in both north and south Scotland
- Pictish names of Drostan, Onuist, Necton and Mailcon are drawn from a common Brittonic pool
- See evidence of regional identities being transcended by an entirely new concept of Scottishness – evidenced by decline of distinctively Pictish identity in favour of new Gaelic identity
- Shared cultural values – all sources are male based and reflect cultural values linked to male role
- Shared occupation – almost everyone was engaged in agriculture – mixture of stock and arable farming
- Shared interest in hunting – provided food, sport and training
- United in stressing the role of conflict – endemic conflict over land, property, position.

Economic

- Some evidence of increasing economic centralisation, with monasteries such as Whithorn and Brechin and their associated markets and craft workers operating under direct unified royal authority
- Common approach to exchange – barter in the absence of coinage
- Shared interest in prestige goods – lord and retainer used prestige goods such as weapons, jewellery, clothing and horses to forge bonds.

Linguistic

- Everywhere, except Lothian, Gaelic was the language, not only of everyday life but also of the royal court of learning and law
- Common language – evidence suggests that language spoken either side of the Forth-Clyde line varied only in local dialect.

Religious

- United by Christian faith
- The unity brought by the Christian faith was bolstered by the increase in literacy. Latin was a common language – see carved Latin text from Tarbat, carving letters from Alphabet Stone from Lochgoilhead
- The Church was thoroughly Gaelic – ecclesiastical foundations of Scotland adhered to Gaelic forms
- A Woolf refers to a united “Albanian Church” characterised by culdees.

Political

- AAM Duncan claims that Northern Britain was unique amongst Celtic societies in that it was the only realm with “well-formed and independent political institutions”
- Kingdom of Alba was indeed a direct ancestor of modern Scotland
- United approach to kingship – kingship was increasingly centralised
- Contemporary literature refers to fir Alban, men of Scotland.

Factors which may contradict the view that Scotland was a united nation-state

- S Stringer asserts that the political landscape was fragmented and multi-centred
- Political and ethnic divides remained c.1000AD – the Northern Isles were wholly Scandinavian and as such, wholly separate
- There were several regional kingdoms – exceptional kings may have established over-kingship of neighbouring polities but this was usually short lived
- Britons and Picts were politically divided, even if united by a common language
- Geographical divisions endured – the Mounth was a major division
- North and south of the Mounth were two interlocking regna, and the larger of these was still comparative small and thinly populated
- De situ Albanie, from the 12th century, suggests that there were divisions, Ce (Mar and Buchan), Moray & Cat (Caithness)
- Alba comprised little more than a third of the modern country
- The system of thanes meant little in terms of unity – they were little more than wealthy landowners
- Thanes bore the title of mormaer but individually enforced justice – no real sense of legal unity
- The benchmarks which would determine unity, national sovereignty, institutionalised administrative and legal systems and a common sense of nationhood are not easily recognisable by the close of the 10th century.

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

- **K Stringer:** Contends “*there was no country like today’s Scotland and no nation such as today’s Scots*”
- **A Woolf:** Takes the view that “*in its fundamental structures the Scottish kingdom was no different from the kingdoms which had dominated northern Britain in the eighth century*”
- **D Broun:** suggests that the first people who thought of themselves as Scots in any way were the 10th century Gaelic speakers of Alba
- **S Foster:** highlights the role that the church would play, “*united by the presence of Christianity...a force whose religious and intellectual links cut across national boundaries.*”

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 2

Question 1

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** about the ways in which social status was demonstrated and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

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

Source A

- Social status demonstrated through the maintenance of a highly ordered hierarchy (Chieftain society)
- Social status displayed by accessing and controlling the circulation of produce from the land – who owned the souterrains
- Social status demonstrated in an increasingly centralised fashion – dominating a wider landscape
- Social status was demonstrated within specific settlements.

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

- Sites could convey the status of an individual but also the status of a local tribal grouping, symbols of communal strength, Brough of Birsay
- Wide array of material culture, gold personal ornaments and items such as Whitby jet and amber
- Burghead as an example of a high status fortified settlement
- Military and hunting paraphernalia.

Source B

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

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

- Ornate individual material culture was used to display social status
- Access to prestige goods from outwith immediate vicinity would confer owner with social status, eg from Ireland and Northumbria.
- Domestic architecture and monumental architecture played a role in demonstrating social status, for example, at one time brochs would bestow elite with status
- During the Late Iron Age settlements lacked monumentality as the emphasis was shifting away from using architecture to convey status.

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

- Nucleated villages around brochs, crannogs and hillforts are seen to be visible demonstrations of status, hierarchy and power
- Richard Hingley/Ian Armit argue that brochs allowed the elite to demonstrate social standing – the very act of harnessing the power of the community to build the structure demonstrated status
- Luxury items were clearly covetable – archaeologists have found jet, Samian Ware, olive oil and wine on native sites – access to luxury goods would confer power
- The development of well-defended settlements with complex multivallation has been viewed as demonstrating status – such as Eildon Hill North.

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

- Hillforts have been understood as demonstrating status, as the apex of a social triangle; for example, Traprain Law is viewed as the high status tribal centre, dominating the lower echelons.
- There would be regional variation in the way that social status was demonstrated
- Status was demonstrated through the control of moveable wealth – coin hoards have been found in open, unenclosed settlements such as at Birnie
- Status could be demonstrated through links to ritual and religion – by analogy we can expect that those who performed religious acts had status (a priestly class)
- Status could be and was demonstrated in death – elaborate burial practices such as cist burials from Dunbar or Newgrange Chariot Burial
- Status may be demonstrated through feasting – archaeologists have found feasting paraphernalia such as ladles and handled bowls from the Sma' Glen in Perthshire
- Status could be conferred through association with foreign styles/goods – Newbridge chariot shows links to mainland Europe.

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

- **Ian Armit, Celtic Scotland** maintains that status was demonstrated through prestige items which highlighted the presence of the social elite and their militaristic aspirations.
- **Richard Hingley** highlights the use of monumental architecture to convey social status
- **Ian Armit, Beyond the Brochs** notes that the social meaning of artefacts and architecture was not uniform and we need to exercise caution in developing generalising interpretative schemes in relation to how status/power was conveyed
- **B Smith & I Banks** warn against the widely held assumption of a hierarchical social structure & question the extent to which settlements are expressions of high status communities.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A and B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the ways in which social status was demonstrated in the Late Iron Age.

Question 2

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source C** as evidence for Rome's aims in Northern Britain during the Flavian period in terms of:

Provenance:

- Tacitus wrote *The Agricola* as a eulogy to his father in law, to glorify and venerate him – a laudatory biography written as an act of pietas
- Style had precedence over fact – directed at elite Roman audience, designed to excite and reinforce his chosen version of events, rather than record history
- Tacitus was the archetypal armchair historian, relying on oral accounts of Northern Britain having never travelled to the island
- Political and personal agenda ensured that fact was of secondary importance in *The Agricola*.

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

- Rome aimed to control and dominate, "Lust for domination"
- Rome aimed to enslave natives
- Rome sought to acquire riches, economic wealth
- Rome aimed to subject all to her authority, "Obedience and submission" – absorb the North within the Empire.

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

- Roman state was inherently imperialistic with imperialists' attitudes to other people, thus acceptable and expected to dominate
- Aggressive expansion was endemic
- Slavery was a commonplace feature of Roman society
- Rome aimed to accrue wealth as evidence by her attempts to collect custom duties and taxes in the frontier areas
- Rome considered herself the height of civilisation and thus free to intervene in affairs of other lesser states
- Rome aimed to bring benefits of their own civilisation to the barbarians
- Rome sought military conquest as revealed by Tacitus, when he laments that *Agricola* fleetingly conquered the North before it was all thrown away.

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

- D Breeze refers to Romans as having “*a belief that they had a mission to rule the world*” or “*a right to rule the world*”
- Some emperors required a triumph, no mention of acquiring minerals, agricultural produce – personal triumph sought above all else
- Throughout all of the Roman intervals in Scotland, the presence was virtually exclusively military since Rome sought to conquer North Britain
- Rome, in part, motivated by the desire to spread Romanitas, endowing the benefits of Rome on natives.
- Rome aimed to gainfully employ her army ensuring that soldiers remained convinced of the fact that fighting on behalf of the state was both a privilege and a duty
- The aim was to convince opponents to submit peacefully & if this failed military suppression would follow.

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

- **D Breeze** highlights the extent to which Rome was inherently imperialistic with an overwhelming desire to expand
- **D Breeze** continues to explain that Rome believed she had a mission to rule whilst also being able to fight a war when they could.
- **L Keppie** likens Rome’s aims to those of a current expansionist world superpower
- **B Hanson** emphasises that Rome’s aims were subject to wider imperial concerns, since Rome existed within a global environment.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence for investigating Rome’s aims in Northern Britain during the Flavian period.

Question 3

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the origins of the Scots in terms of:

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

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

- The source claims the Scots came from Ireland
- The traditional history explains that the Scots come to Argyll to help the Picts oppose Rome.
- Around 500AD Fergus Mor mac Eirc, an Antrim prince, founded the Scots in Northern Britain.
- Descendants of the first Irish/Scottish settlers came to establish the subsequent dominant Scottish clans.

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

- The Irish Annals of Tigernach describe the arrival of Fergus Mor around 500AD
- The traditional narrative records that Scots came from a small Irish kingdom called Dal Riata and the name was subsequently given to their Scottish colony.
- Irish colonised most of the west of Scotland, becoming an independent kingdom c.570s.
- Traditionally Fergus Mor, his three sons and 150 men set out as an organised migration to the west coast of Scotland
- Domestic handmade pottery from Ireland has been found in Iona
- St Columba came from Ireland to minister to his fellow Irish companions.

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

Chronicles

- The entry in the Annals of Tigernach relating to the arrival of Fergus may have been added or inserted later, in the 10th century and recorded in the 14th century.
- Bede in his Ecclesiastical History of the English People stated that, "*Britain received a third tribe...namely the Irish (Scotti). These came from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and won lands from the Picts.*"

Linguistic

- The word Scotti may have been applied indiscriminately to all those who spoke a Gaelic language, including Irish and Scottish Gaelic.
- Notions that the Irish and Dalriadic Gaels shared a common language added weight to the notion of the Scots as being incoming Irish settlers.
- The misassumption was that the Scots came from Ireland may be in part due to their common language – (the Dalriadans in Scotland could speak to the Irish and thus must have originated there).

Archaeological

- The absence of Irish types of objects and forms of settlement in Argyll has led academics to question the traditional version of events
- There are no ring forts, circular enclosures with earth banks in Argyll like those found in Ireland – highlights a weakness in the traditional narrative
- It was assumed that crannogs had spread from Ireland to Scotland but in actual fact, Scottish crannogs significantly predate those in Ireland by some 600 years
- The style of brooches which the Irish used to confer authority differed greatly from those used by the Scots in Argyll
- Irish ogham pillars are a common occurrence in Ireland yet only two have been found in Argyll – reveals different material cultures
- No real archaeological evidence to support the idea of an Irish migration – in fact, some evidence suggests influence went from Scotland to Ireland!
- Seaways allowed for close relationships between the Irish and Scots but they were different peoples.

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

- **E Campbell** supports the new version of history, seeing the Scots indigenous, not Irish settlers
- **A Smyth** maintains the traditional view that “the Irish origin of the Scots” is not contentious
- **C Thomas** explains that, “*these first Scots spoke the Irish of their homeland...arriving in a land bereft of both British and Picts*”
- **W Nicolaisen** records the presence in Argyll of place-name elements and “souterrain ware” from north-east Ireland – proof of Irish colonisation.

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

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

Candidates are required to make a balanced judgement about the nature of royal authority in Scotland and the kingdom's relations with England at the time of King Alexander's death in 1286. Whilst candidates should consider both royal authority and Anglo-Scottish relations some candidates may choose to emphasise one feature more than another in their answers. This would be a valid approach.

Evidence that royal authority was secure by the time of King Alexander III's death

- The factionalism which had dominated the early part of Alexander III's reign was largely absent by 1286
- Alexander recognised that his authority depended on a working partnership with the political community
- The magnates recognised the benefits of such a partnership – it brought stability, reward of office, influence and territory
- The King was able to promulgate laws using the Office of the Chancery
- The king relied on officers of state eg the Chamberlain, the Chancellor, the Steward
- Justice was served by three justiciars who operated in the name of the King
- At local level sheriffs were responsible for collecting royal revenues, mustering royal armies, dispensing royal justice
- Evidence of regular 'colloquia' called by the king to advise on important matters; these developed into parliaments
- The Treaty of Perth (1266) secured the west of the kingdom against Norse incursions, adding the Western Isles and the Isle of Man to the king's territories
- Alexander sought to extend royal authority into the West of Scotland and the isles
- The sheriffdom of Argyll was carved out of the vast sheriffdom of Perth
- The acceptance of the tailzie of 1284 to secure the succession of Alexander's granddaughter suggests the king's authority was well established.

Evidence that royal authority was not secure by the time of King Alexander's death

- The Lord of Annandale raised troops immediately after the king's death, possibly challenging the tailzie of 1284
- By 1286 government was largely in the hands of the Comyn faction, to the exclusion of other families, notably the Bruces
- The new sheriffdom of Argyll was never really operative during King Alexander III's reign
- Alexander still relied on the great magnates to exercise authority on the fringes of the kingdom
- The new territorial acquisitions were still not integrated into the kingdom.

Evidence that relations with England were good by the time of King Alexander III's death

- King Henry III of England intervened during Alexander's minority to protect the interests of the young king and his daughter
- No evidence that Henry III intervened by virtue of overlordship
- Personal relations between King Edward and King Alexander were friendly; Alexander spent some time in England
- King Alexander III's first wife was King Edward's sister
- When Alexander side stepped Edward's request for recognition of his overlordship, Edward did not press the matter
- King Edward sent a message of condolence to Alexander III on hearing of the death of his son, Alexander
- In a letter to Edward I Alexander hinted at the possibility of a marriage between Edward of Caernarfon and his granddaughter.

Evidence that relations with England were not good by the time of King Alexander III's death

- Henry III had been quick to intervene in Scotland to protect his own dynastic interests (his daughter was married to the young king), setting a significant precedent
- Edward I had requested that King Alexander pay homage for the kingdom of Scotland
- Alexander claimed he held his kingdom of God alone, but Edward reserved his right to claim such homage
- English kings never renounced their historic claims to lordship of Scotland.

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

- **Michael Lynch** suggests that far from taming the magnates, Alexander relied on them to a greater extent than any king before him.
- **Michael Brown** writes that Alexander's rejection of Edward's request for recognition of his overlordship was accepted and expected by Edward, whose aim was to register, not enforce, his claim and who sought no conflict with such an established ruler.
- **Norman Reid** argues that many of the positive perceptions of the reign come from later 'Brucean' propaganda. He accepts however, that the reign saw considerable advances in royal authority, though it may not deserve to be remembered as a "Golden Age."
- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that there is abundant evidence that Alexander pursued a remarkably even policy, not so much balancing one faction against the other, as rising successfully above faction and inspiring a genuine loyalty to king and crown which lasted long after his death.

Question 2

The candidate is required to make a reasoned judgement about whether or not the Guardians mishandled the succession crisis between 1286 and 1292. The question invites the candidates to consider the challenges the Guardians had to deal with, for example: in the light of the role they undertook in 1286; challenges to their authority; the political implications of the proposed marriage between the Maid and Edward of Caernarfon; the Maid's death and the threat of civil war; their dealings with Edward I 1291-1292.

Evidence that the Guardians did mishandle the succession crisis between 1286 and 1292

- Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, was quick to mobilise in defence of his own claim and interests on the death of Alexander III in 1286
- Bruce may have felt the Guardianship did not represent the whole political community
- The Scots agreed the Treaty of Salisbury with Norway and England, promising not to marry off the Maid 'save with the ordinance, will and advice' of Edward – virtually giving Edward the right (ordinance) to choose her husband
- Bishop Fraser's letter to King Edward may represent a plea on behalf of the Balliol-Comyn faction rather than an appeal from the Scottish political community as a whole
- The 'Appeal of the Seven Earls' was an attempt to promote the Bruce faction, rather than reflect the interests of the political community as a whole
- John Balliol was slow to submit to Edward's lordship
- King Edward insisted the Guardians be reappointed by him, emphasising his overlordship
- The Guardians were prepared to grant sasine of royal castles to King Edward I.

Evidence that the Guardians did not mishandle the succession crisis between 1286 and 1292

- The Guardians may have represented the Comyn-Balliol and Bruce factions fairly equally, as well as the whole political community and regional interests
- The Guardians were quick to neutralise the possible military threat from Robert Bruce in the winter of 1286-87; it was clear he did not receive widespread support
- Relations between England and Scotland were good at the time of King Alexander's death in 1286
- The Guardians had good reason to look on Edward as a friendly neighbour
- The Guardians and the political community welcomed the prospect of a marriage between the Maid and Edward of Caernarfon; the first wives of Alexander II and III were English princesses
- The Guardians ensured the Treaty of Birgham-Northampton contained clauses designed to ensure the independence of the Scottish kingdom in the event of the marriage
- Bishop Fraser's letter to King Edward apparently invited him to arbitrate the succession issue on behalf of the Scottish Community of the Realm
- The Scottish Guardians were reluctant to cross the Tweed to meet with Edward at Norham, fearing this would be interpreted as a surrender of Scottish sovereignty
- The Guardians resisted Edward's demand for recognition of his overlordship in 1291.

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

- **Fiona Watson** believes that a marriage between the Maid and Edward of Caernarfon was a solution which won general approval; it reflected the current political relationship between the two kingdoms.
- **Wendy Stevenson** suggests that the Guardians were very much aware of what happened to the Welsh a few years earlier: *'The Scots in their hour of need were prepared to accept a union of the crowns but were determined to avoid the fate of the Welsh and remain politically independent'*.
- **Ranald Nicholson** writes that the 'reservations' which Edward insisted should be written into the Treaty of Birgham-Northampton nullified the safeguards devised by the Scots.
- **GWS Barrow** describes Edward's actions as "sinister" in seizing the Isle of Man and appointing Antony Bek, the bishop of Durham, as lieutenant in Scotland, on behalf of the Maid and Edward of Caernarfon; none of this was provided for in the Treaty of Birgham-Northampton.

Question 3

The candidate is required make a balanced judgement about how important Scottish resistance was in undermining King Edward I's control of Scotland between 1297 and 1298. Candidates should analyse the impact of resistance, as well as examining the view that King Edward I's government's own actions did much to undermine its own position. They may also examine the view that King Edward's control was not, in fact, significantly undermined during this period.

Evidence that Scottish resistance was important in undermining King Edward I's control of Scotland between 1297 and 1298

- Edward's conquest of 1296 had been deceptively easy; he may have underestimated the Scots' will to resist
- The earliest indications of unrest were in the western Highlands: the Macdougalls rose against Macdonald (pro Edward) influence
- Wallace began an uprising in the south west of Scotland
- Andrew Murray led a simultaneous revolt in the north of Scotland
- Wallace's murder of the sheriff of Lanark
- The raid of William Douglas and William Wallace on Scone came close to capturing Ormesby Edward's justiciar
- Edward freed many of the magnates taken prisoner after Dunbar hoping they would help end the rebellions: they didn't; there is evidence that some magnates opted to support Wallace at Falkirk
- English authority was dealt a serious blow at the Battle of Stirling Bridge
- Wallace led raids into England
- After Stirling Bridge, English control of Scotland collapsed north of the Forth
- As Guardian, Wallace sought to promote resistance to the English, to restore the kingdom, to restore overseas trade links
- Edward was unable to follow up his victory at Falkirk; there was not Scottish collapse after Falkirk
- John Comyn was made joint Guardian of the kingdom with Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, after the resignation of William Wallace in 1298; resistance continued.

Evidence that other factors were important in undermining King Edward I's control of Scotland between 1297 and 1298

- John De Warenne spent little time in Scotland and remained oblivious to the seriousness of the situation there
- Hugh de Cressingham, Treasurer of Scotland was widely hated for his punitive taxation of the Scots
- Scots were not used to tax demands from central government
- King Edward I did not personally lead the 1297 campaign against the Scots
- The English defeat at Stirling Bridge was largely a result of the incompetence of their military commanders.

Evidence that King Edward I's control of Scotland was not seriously threatened between 1297 and 1298

- The 'aristocratic' revolt of William Fraser, James the Steward and the Earl of Carrick was short-lived
- They may have been motivated to resist by fears of being summoned to fight in Edward's continental war
- William Wallace was never vigorously supported by the Scottish nobility who had surrendered at Irvine in 1297
- The defeat of Wallace at Falkirk in 1298 underlined the fragility of his achievement during the period
- The English maintained some control of Scotland south of the Forth.

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

- **GWS Barrow** believes that although the revolt of Wishart, the Steward and Carrick was short-lived, by spinning out surrender negotiations they gained valuable time for the likes of Wallace to gain strength.
- **Michael Brown** stresses the failure of English leadership: the earl of Surrey was reluctant to take up his post and in the summer of 1297 Edward I was distracted by the clash between himself and his lords over their service in his French campaign.
- **Peter Traquair** emphasises the ability of Andrew Murray and William Wallace to draw on support from men of wide-ranging backgrounds, 'breaking down the traditional barriers that separated the layers of feudal society'.
- **Fiona Watson** writes that Edward I's decision to release Scots like Alexander Macdougall of Argyll, John Comyn of Badenoch and John Comyn of Buchan to restore order underlines the loss of control of his own officials.

Question 4

Candidates are required to analyse how important the divisions amongst the Scots were as a reason for the collapse of resistance to the English by 1305. It is expected that candidates would examine these divisions in the light of various other possible explanations for Scottish failure in this period in or order to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

Evidence which suggest that divisions amongst the Scots led to the collapse of the Scottish resistance by 1305 may include:

- The divisions which existed amongst the Scottish leadership, as evidenced by:
- The collapse of the Bruce/Comyn guardianship (the dispute at Peebles)
- The inclusion of Lamberton as a Guardian
- The Soules Guardianship
- The relatively small scale of Scottish military resistance, eg the skirmish at Roslin in 1303
- Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, abandoned the Scottish cause in 1302
- While most Scots submitted under John Comyn's leadership in 1304...
- ...Wallace and a few diehards were determined to fight on
- ...William Oliphant continued to hold out in Stirling Castle
- Wallace was handed over to the English by a Scot
- The secret pact between Lamberton and Robert Bruce indicates Bruce's willingness to abandon the Balliol cause and pursue his own family interests
- The terms agreed by Edward I and John Comyn and the Ordinance of 1305 show that the Comyns were willing to conclude a peace with England which favoured their interests over Bruce's.

Evidence which suggest that factors other than divisions amongst the Scots led to the collapse of Scottish resistance by 1305 may include:

- The Scottish cause was weakened when Boniface VIII lost interest following his fallout with the French king and his new friendship with Edward
- The Peace of Asnieres which was concluded by the English with the French excluded the Scots
- King John allowed Philip of France a free hand in negotiating a peace with Edward
- The end of the war with France allowed King Edward to concentrate his forces on Scotland
- The prospect of a Balliol restoration receded with the conclusion of the peace
- The surrender of the Scots was largely induced by the understanding that they would be treated leniently in the Ordinance which was to be published in 1305
- The arrest, trial and execution of Wallace indicated that the English were once again in the ascendancy and were prepared to deal harshly with those who would not come to the King's peace.

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

- **Michael Brown** emphasises that throughout the war Edward I maintained significant Scottish support from the likes of the earls of Angus and Dunbar and from 1302 the earl of Carrick; these motivated by concern for their lands or a desire to serve the winner.
- **Marc Morris** writes of the impact of the peace signed between England and France in May 1303 and the certainty that Balliol would not be coming back: 'the painful realisation that the cause they had fought for was now irredeemably lost'.
- **Michael Lynch** writes that circumstances outwith the control of the Scots intervened. The twin props of the Scottish cause – the French alliance of 1295 and the support given by the papacy from 1299 onwards – both collapsed.
- **Fiona Watson** writes that following the collapse of the French war effort against Edward, '*The same people who had objected so strongly to the English presence in 1297 now felt that the interests of their families and their communities would no longer be served by indefinite warfare*'.

Question 5

Candidates are required to analyse the factors which led to military success for the Scots between 1314 and 1328. Candidates should attempt to evaluate the relative importance of factors in order to be able to reach a balanced conclusion. Some candidates may note that King Robert's personal control of the military effort steadily reduced after 1314.

King Robert's military genius

- King Robert's tactics at Bannockburn suggest that he was only prepared to commit to pitched battle when the odds were steeply in favour of success
- Bruce chose his ground well: the woodland of the New Park gave him the option of retreat
- Barbour writes of Bruce's men digging holes to limit the manoeuvrability of the English army
- He did not decide on a full engagement until early in the morning of the second day
- After Bannockburn the Scots largely continued the tactic of avoiding pitched battles
- Scottish raids on the north of England were highly effective, raising considerable revenue and reducing the will of the northern magnates to fight
- The Scots used lightly armed soldiers on horseback giving them mobility and speed.
- By the 1320s, the Scottish raids on the north of England began to take on the character of invasions
- In 1319 Bruce sent Douglas and Randolph into the north of England while Edward II was besieging Berwick
- The move unsettled the northern lords in Edward's army which began to disintegrate
- In 1322 the Scots responded to English invasions by withdrawing north of the Forth and laying waste to much of Lothian to prevent English troops from foraging
- The Scottish victory at Old Byland in 1322 was disastrous for the English; King Edward II narrowly escaped
- King Robert was aided by very able commanders, such as Thomas Randolph, James Douglas and Walter the Steward
- Following the deposition of King Edward II the resumption of Scottish raiding - which had been suspended by truce in 1323 - provided a timely reminder of the effectiveness of the Scottish strategies
- Isabella and Mortimer sent a force north to deal with Bruce: the force was given the run-around by the Scots; young Edward III was almost captured
- Bruce brought siege-engines into the north; began laying siege to English castles; talked of annexing English territory
- This alarmed Isabella and Mortimer; peace negotiations opened
- Bruce opened a new front in Ireland in 1315, partly to satisfy Edward Bruce's ambitions
- This threatened English use of Ireland for resources
- Bruce appears to have considered drawing Wales into a pan-Celtic alliance
- Irish campaign renewed following deposition of Edward II.

Weaknesses of the English military effort

- King Edward II was not as capable a military commander as his father
- King Edward II lacked the political and military will to prosecute his claim over Scotland
- Several tactical errors at Bannockburn, such as the decision to camp on the caes at the end of the first day, were to prove extremely costly
- Divisions within the English nobility made it extremely hard for Edward to bring a force to the field for much of the period
- Many senior English nobles did not favour a continuation of the military campaign
- The earl of Lancaster's rebellion of 1322 reveals the depth of feeling of some northern English magnates, some of whom were prepared to support King Robert
- Andrew Harclay was given the new earldom of Carlisle as reward for helping Edward deal with Lancaster but executed shortly after for making his own peace agreement with King Robert
- A series of tactical blunders led to the defeat at Old Byland in 1322
- The English were distracted by their continuing problems with France
- The regime of Isabella and Mortimer fared little better.

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

- **Michael Brown** writes that Bruce's key advantage remained the ineptitude of the English leadership and Edward II's problems with his political community.
- **Michael Penman** is highly critical of Bruce's strategies in Ireland in 1315-1318, in particular his decision to leave Ireland to lay siege to Berwick, leaving his brother to his fate.
- **Colm MacNamee** has demonstrated the success of the Scottish raids by showing the economic impact on the north of England but adds that Scotland was stronger than England during this period only in the sense that she was better led.
- **Ranald Nicholson** writes of the 'brilliant strategy' in three phases that Bruce adopted in 1327: a new campaign in Ulster; the invasion of the north of England and the humiliation of Edward III at Weardale; and the sieges of northern castles and the threatened annexation of Northumberland.

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 2

Question 1

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers **Sources A and B** on the degree of influence of King Edward in Scottish affairs during 1292 and 1296, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

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

- It was as if Edward's court of claims had awarded John the kingship as a "courtesy title"
- Edward insisted King John had to pay homage and fealty on several occasions
- Edward made King John repudiate the Treaty of Birgham
- King John was summoned to appear in person before the English parliament to defend the decisions of his court.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- King John was forced to accept King Edward as his feudal overlord and his own position as a vassal
- As an English landowner King John was already a vassal of Edward
- The Treaty of Birgham had guaranteed the continued existence of Scottish law and customs, including the independence of the Church in the event of a royal marriage
- King John was forced by King Edward to appear as a witness in a series of cases which were appealed in the English parliament, eg
 - Mazun
 - Bartholomew
 - MacDuff of Fife
- When King John failed to appear when first summoned to answer the Macduff appeal Edward drew up new rules covering such appeals with penalties for non-appearance
- King John's appearance before Edward's court to answer the Macduff appeal was a humiliating experience
- King Edward demanded feudal military service from the Scots in his war with France in 1295
- King John's weakness in the face of King Edward led to the appointment of the 'Council of Twelve' in 1295.

Source B

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

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

- Defeat at the Battle of Dunbar was a major blow to King John
- Many of the nobles supported King Edward instead of King John; both Robert Bruce, the lord of Annandale, and his son, the Earl of Carrick, came out in support of Edward
- Tenants too had to support King Edward and the lack of support from Annandale and Carrick tenants reduced the number of King John's men-at-arms
- Edward gained control of Edinburgh Castle

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Edward brought an army north in 1296 to deal with a contumacious vassal
- Bruce the Competitor had passed his title and the family claim to the kingship to his son in 1292
- The earls of Dunbar and Angus declared their support for King Edward
- The earl of Dunbar may have been swayed by the vulnerability of his earldom on the marches
- The Scots launched two cross-border attacks in March and April before Dunbar
- Edward found Stirling Castle abandoned by its defenders
- King Edward was able to march as far north as Elgin after the Battle of Dunbar
- King Edward extracted oaths of loyalty in the "Ragman Roll" in the months after his victory at Dunbar.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- King John did attempt to resist English encroachments on his royal authority, but caved in under English pressure
- King John may have agreed to meet Edward's request to provide military support for Edward on the continent
- King John's political community was opposed to such demands
- There was no place for King John at the head of the Scottish army
- The earls led the two invasions of the north of England in 1296
- They failed to take Carlisle
- King John endured a series of ritualised humiliations; stripped of his royal trappings at Montrose in Edward's presence
- King John was eventually stripped of the symbols of his kingship and taken prisoner
- King Edward levied very heavy taxes on the Scots
- King Edward appointed John de Warenne as Lieutenant of Scotland in 1296
- Hugh de Cressingham was appointed Treasurer in 1296.

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

- **GWS Barrow** has argued that when faced with opposition from his own nobles and the English king, John was in an impossible position. He emphasises that King Edward viewed John as a feudal vassal. Barrow's views are widely echoed by other historians on this issue.
- **Michael Prestwich** writes that Edward did not live in an age when a man could be content with a mere recognition of his authority; he had to exercise his rights in order to establish them.
- **Steve Boardman** 'I think of Balliol as one of those unfortunate figures who simply gets run over by history'. He writes that Balliol did try to assert his own power as Scottish king and to govern effectively, but he was faced with one of the most powerful kings in western Europe – 'a massively prestigious figure'.
- **Fiona Watson** suggests that no one could have stood up to Edward, and anyone who tried would have to fight a war over it.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the degree of influence of King Edward I in Scottish affairs during the reign of King John between 1292 and 1296.

Question 2

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source C** in understanding the reasons for the victory of King Robert during the Scottish civil war in terms of:

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

- Until recently John of Fordun's chronicle is widely regarded as the first attempt at a narrative history of Scotland, and is highly nationalistic in tone
- It is now accepted that Fordun had little or nothing to do with the material in his chronicle covering the wars
- These 'gesta annalia' preserve a variety of contemporary or near-contemporary sources
- Some of these reflect the 'pro-Bruce' sentiment of the period, while others are clearly sympathetic to Balliol and/or the Comyns.

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

- King Robert's charisma; his presence alone was enough to cause the enemy to scatter
- The herschip of Buchan destroyed his enemy's powerbase in the northeast and his tactics of granting life and peace
- King Robert experienced considerable good fortune in battle
- King Robert's opponents suffered from a growing lack of confidence.

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

- Bruce had broken out of the south-west following Edward I's death in July and the abandonment of Edward II's appearance in Scotland
- The speed and mobility of Bruce in the north surprised his enemies
- The Earl of Ross asked for a truce
- Buchan was the Comyn heartland; the destruction was so great that it was remembered in the folk memory several generations later. Comyn power was shattered.
- The way opened to take Aberdeen
- Ross now submitted to Bruce: the Macdougalls of Argyll were isolated.

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

- Bruce was fortunate in the timing of Edward I's death
- Edward II had other priorities: his father's funeral, his wedding, his coronation
- Edward II would not reappear in Scotland until 1310, giving Bruce a 'window of opportunity'
- Bruce used his time in exile (1306-07) to raise support from lords in the Western Isles
- Bruce was lucky in being able to tap into family rivalries there, eg Macdonalds v Macdougalls, MacRuaris v the Earl of Ross
- The murder of John Comyn meant that the anti-Bruce forces lost their most experienced leader
- He was able to raise men in the Bruce lands in the southwest, before breaking out after the Battle of Loudon Hill
- He marched up the Great Glen taking Inverlochy, Urquhart and Inverness castles
- Bruce used Moray as a base, dividing his enemies in Ross from Badenoch and Buchan
- Aberdeen was captured by Bruce forces in 1308
- Both Ross and Macdougall sent letters to Edward II pleading for help – in vain
- King Robert adopted a tactic of taking castles by stealth and then razing them to prevent subsequent use by the enemy
- King Robert's brother subdued pro-Balliol and pro-Comyn forces in Galloway.

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

- **Alexander Grant** writes that the transformation of Bruce's fortunes was largely due to the outstanding military skill he showed from 1307; his strategy was based on swift, small-scale operations in which he kept the initiative.
- **Michael Brown** writes of Bruce building around himself a close-knit group of adherents, bound to his leadership; these included his brother, Edward, James Douglas and Thomas Randolph: 'Robert was able to leave the war in the south to such men, relying on bonds of family and service'.
- **Michael Penman** points out that Edward II's lack of direction left the English occupation regime undermanned and underpaid, dependent on the ranks of Bruce's Scottish enemies to fill the gaps in their garrisons and 'to be their eyes and ears in the localities in the full knowledge that they could do little to aid these nobles in any fight'.
- **Fiona Watson** stresses the importance of luck to Bruce: '*one of the key attributes of a successful leader*'.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence of the reasons for the victory of King Robert during the Scottish civil war.

Question 3

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the ways in which King Robert attempted to consolidate his political authority in terms of:

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

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

- The Declaration of Arbroath was one of three letters sent to the Pope
- The Declaration was intended to justify the war against England as a war to maintain the kingdom's freedom
- The Declaration was intended to show that King Robert's kingship was supported by a united community
- In the Declaration King Robert appealed to the Pope to ask Edward II to ease pressure on the Scots.

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

- The Declaration emphasised an unbroken tradition of Scottish independence
- The Declaration emphasised that King Robert was accepted by the Community of the Realm, which had the right to depose him if he were to act against the kingdom's interests
- The letter was sent in the name of the Scottish barons, not the King himself
- The Declaration also justifies King Robert's kingship in terms of divine approval as witnessed by his military victories
- The letter failed to lift the papal interdicts
- King Robert may have intended to use the Declaration in order to ensure or gauge the degree of support for his kingship amongst the Scottish nobility
- Some of those who put their seals on the letter would later be involved in the Soules conspiracy
- The Declaration can be seen as redefining the relationship between the king and the political community as in some way 'contractual'
- The Declaration can be interpreted as a justification of the Scots' 'deposition' of King John.

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

- The Statute of Cambuskenneth was designed to force magnates to choose between their English and their Scottish loyalties
- King Robert was quick to reward his senior lieutenants, such as Thomas Randolph and James Stewart
- King Robert was keen to have recognition of his kingship by both the King of France and the Papacy
- King Robert did not seek completely to replace the old 'ruling class' with a new one – he was prepared to accept former enemies into his peace at almost any time
- Bruce was nervous about the succession: in a succession tailzie of 1315 he nominated his brother as successor rather than his daughter, Marjory, setting aside primogeniture
- Emergency Scone parliament in 1318 following Edward Bruce's death in Ireland and death of Marjory: his grandson Robert, nominated as heir in a second succession tailzie
- Same parliament: law threatening conspirators and rumour –mongers with imprisonment to await the king's will
- The Soules conspiracy 1320 suggests his insecurity was justified
- The presence of Edward Balliol at the English court 1318-1320 added to his insecurity
- Edward Balliol accompanied Edward II on the expedition to Berwick in 1319
- King Robert moved swiftly and harshly against the Soules conspirators.

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

- **Amanda Beam** writes that the issues discussed at Bruce's emergency parliament in December 1318 suggests there was a very real fear of conspiracy or coup, hence the need to issue a new tailzie naming his grandson Robert as successor, to calm fears of another disputed succession.
- **Michael Brown** writes that Bruce distributed lands and rights on a scale unparalleled in late medieval Scotland. 'His aim was to strengthen and extend the identification of the political class with the Bruce dynasty and its right to the throne'.
- **Michael Penman** believes the statement of contractual kingship in the Declaration has been misinterpreted. 'The insertion of a warning written on behalf of the Scottish nobility that a king of Scots in league with the English could be replaced by force was surely directed against Edward Balliol who was then about to bring in the English'. **Michael Brown**, on the other hand, believes it was King John the author had in mind when writing of the right to depose a king who had failed to defend their liberties.
- **Colm McNamee** writes that because it was drafted by royal clerks the Declaration reflects the Bruce regime's view of itself rather than the objective view of the barons.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the political and diplomatic ways in which King Robert attempted to consolidate his authority in Scotland by 1320.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of the artistic changes in Italy, and to come to a balanced conclusion on the relative importance of the use of perspective in those changes.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support

- Perspective contributed to the greater realism of art, making it more credible and making the effect more striking for the viewer eg depicting architectural proportions.
- Filippo Brunelleschi invented a theory of perspective in the 1420s. This was revised and publicised in Leon Battista Alberti's treatise of 1435, "On Painting".
- Donatello's bronze "Feast of Herod" was the first extant fully developed example of one-point perspective. It relates closely to Alberti's later description.
- Perspective is clearly seen in Masaccio's Trinity in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. It strikingly gives the illusion of depth to the fresco and draws the eye up to the figure of God the Father supporting the crucified Christ.
- Paolo Uccello's three paintings of the Battle of San Romano clearly use perspective. The painting certainly appears to have depth but it is clearly a stylised battle scene, not seeking to portray reality.

Factors which may contradict

- Perspective is just one aspect of the greater realism of Renaissance art. Artists also tried accurately to portray human emotion. Vasari famously wrote that Giotto "taught painting to weep". Consider for example the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden by Masaccio. The raw human emotion could be seen as more important than the technically accurate representation of space.
- Accurate portrait painting could also be seen as an important innovation. For example Fra Filippo Lippi's "Portrait of a woman and a man at a casement" c.1440.
- Nudity was something of an innovation in Renaissance art. Consider the eroticism of Donatello's "David". In the Middle Ages nudes were rarely presented except to illustrate punishments for bodily vices. When collections of ancient sculpture, carved gems, and coins were formed and studied in the Renaissance, however, contemporaries were impressed by the naturalism and beauty of classical nudes. Classicising nudes became a major Renaissance art form for the first time since antiquity.
- A greater awareness of the classical past also characterises early Renaissance art. Brunelleschi's nave and old sacristy of the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, or his loggia of the Ospitale degli Innocenti contain features of classical architecture rarely seen since antiquity.
- Realistic depiction of nature became more commonplace in Renaissance art eg Giovanni Bellini's "Madonna and Child" of 1509 reflects the artist's intense observation of nature, with a pastoral scene. Giorgione's "Sleeping Venus" of 1508-10 is set in an entirely credible rural setting.

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

- **Diane Bodart** argues that perspective made it possible to produce an exact, and thus true in its fundamental principles, reconstruction of a vision of the world.
- **Jacob Burckhardt** contends that fifteenth-century Italy was “the place where the individual was born”.
- **Christiansen and Weppelmann** see the Italian Renaissance as the first great age of portraiture. Artists strove to evoke the identity or personality of their sitters, from heads of state and church, military commanders, and wealthy patrons to scholars, poets, and artists.
- **Loren Partridge** sees the depiction of the human nude as being supported by certain strains of humanist thought that understood a human body's external grace as an expression of the soul's inner spiritual perfection made in the likeness of God.
- **Richard Turner** plays down the debt of Florentine architecture to the classical past. Any obvious connection with specific Greek or Roman buildings is absent. Brunelleschi reinstated the ancient order, but this was only a general borrowing.

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to write about the relative achievements of Cosimo de' Medici and his grandson Lorenzo. Candidates may consider their political influence, their relative cultural influence and the economic achievements (or otherwise) of the two men. They should thus reach a balanced conclusion regarding the achievements of Lorenzo relative to those of Cosimo.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Political achievements

- Cosimo was in theory simply a citizen of Florence, yet he built up a considerable power base in Florentine politics (and beyond) through a patronage and client network.
- Cosimo manipulated the constitution of Florence.
- As an international banker, Cosimo had a political vision that looked beyond Florentine Tuscany. He was given a free hand in determining the city's foreign policy.
- Lorenzo used marriage to extend Medici influence. He became related to Pope Innocent VIII by marriage. He himself married into a powerful Roman dynasty, rather than continue the family tradition of marrying a Florentine. In 1489 he obtained a promise from Innocent VIII of a cardinalcy for his son Giovanni, the future Leo X.
- Lorenzo's achievements appear much greater than they may actually have been because they are seen in the light of the disastrous invasion of Italy by Charles VIII which followed his death.
- Lorenzo faced an open challenge to his regime during the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. The Medici regime lasted only two years after the death of Lorenzo before it was swept away by Savonarola, part of whose attraction was that he set out to prevent the concentration of power in oligarchical hands.

Cultural achievements

- Cosimo was a great patron of the arts. He bought manuscripts and founded a library at San Marco. He supported scholars like Marsilio Ficino. He took a strong interest in Donatello and Michelozzo (who designed his palace).
- As a patron of the arts, Lorenzo's role was to encourage others to employ the city's artists rather than to commission works from them himself. He arranged for Guiliamo de Sangallo to work for the King of Naples. It was his cousin Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici who obtained "Primavera" and "The Birth of Venus" from Botticelli. His business associates paid Ghirlandaio for the fresco cycles in Santa Trinita and Santa Maria Novella.

Economic achievements

- Cosimo was shrewd in his choice of partners and managers for the family bank, methodical as a book-keeper and imaginative as an investor.
- Lorenzo neglected the Medici bank, which bored him. International branches collapsed, for example in England. By Lorenzo's death in 1492 all branches outside Florence had closed and the Medici financial power base had gone.

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

- **John Najemy** contends that Lorenzo acted like a prince, making himself the indispensable point of reference for every public decision, election, and policy for all aspects of Florence's dealings with its subject territories and other states, and for its religious and ritual life. However, he also sees Lorenzo's rule as characterised by crises whose root cause was the precariousness of the support behind him.
- **Francesco Guicciardini** describes Lorenzo as a tyrant, but a pleasing tyrant!
- **J R Hale** sees Lorenzo as an arbiter of taste in Florence, encouraging a liking for country life. He also sees Cosimo as the richest man in Europe.
- **F W Kent** suggests that Lorenzo's activities as an art patron were more extensive and creative than previously thought. He argues that Lorenzo was a man whose achievements might have rivalled those of his grandfather had he not died so young.

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to demonstrate knowledge of the geographical location of Venice and the influence that had on its art. Other balancing factors should also be brought in, such as the Venetian constitution of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Factors which may support the idea:

- Venice lay in a position impregnable to either army or navy.
- The city controlled a substantial maritime empire. A network of trade routes stretched through the Greek islands to Egypt and the Orient, to Constantinople and the Black Sea ports. Venetian ships brought grain and salt, fruit and cheap wine from the Mediterranean, as well as more exotic goods from the east – spices, and silk, cotton, drugs and jewels. From Venetian warehouses the goods were re-exported throughout Europe. The wealth of the empire, drawn from its geographical position, paid for much of the art.
- The art reflected this Byzantine influence and exoticism. Venice saw itself as the heir to Constantinople, unlike Florence which saw itself as the heir of Rome. Hence the large number of treasures in the city looted from Byzantium or beyond. Byzantine mosaics form part of the artistic tradition of Venice.
- A rejection of classical symmetry in its earliest Renaissance buildings.
- The presence of water in Venice meant that artists preferred oil painting to frescos. The effect is strikingly different.
- The new-found importance of terra firma in northern Italy is reflected in the pastoral themes in a surprising number of Venetian works. For a man-made set of islands, the attraction of meadows and mountains was strong.

Other factors:

- Power was restricted to the patrician families, numbering about 150, who dominated the Great Council. This ruling group was closed to new groups, a situation known as the “serrata”. To avoid the resentment and frustration caused by this closed system, the Venetian republic created a second rank of privilege – the Citizenry, who dominated the civil service. This meant that Venetian government was more broadly based than any other major Italian state. This is reflected in some of the public art of the city.
- The art was often state art, designed to reinforce the authority of the state. The Judgment of Solomon on the corner of the new extension to San Marco in 1430 promotes the idea of the city as the seat of justice.
- Personal ostentation was discouraged within the patricians and citizenry, so as to avoid envy. A sense of engagement in a common enterprise was instilled in the population. This was reflected in the art.
- The power of the Doge was strictly limited in theory. Art tends therefore to glorify the city rather than its head of state.
- Power was spread between a large numbers of people who had to be seen as equal under God. Hence, paintings of public ceremonies do not focus on key individuals, but on the beauty of the city in what is known as the “eye witness” style.

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

- **Elizabeth Horodowich** claims that Venice's lack of civic unrest is rooted in the emphasis on civic unity and allegiance to the state rather than to individuals or families. Power was distributed broadly and this encouraged patricians to subordinate their individual interests to the interests of the republic. This is reflected in the art.
- **Mary Hollingsworth** says that "it is difficult to overemphasise the importance of art as state propaganda in Venice". It promoted an image of power and affluence abroad and re-enforced the myth of stability and perfect government at home.
- **Patricia Fortini Brown** sees the huge canvases commissioned by the scuole as being in the 'eye witness style', celebrating everyday Venetian life.
- **Mary Hollingsworth** sees a transformation of the art in the later fifteenth century as individual doges, such as Nicolo Tron, Francesco Foscari or Agostino Barbarigo took on the trappings of a prince and reversed the tradition of honouring the office not the holder. They commissioned art to promote their image and status. She cites the Scala dei Giganti in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace as an example.

Question 4

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to show their knowledge of Charles's invasion of Italy in 1494-5 and to make a judgment as to the extent to which it met its aims.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

To claim the throne of Naples

- Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494 at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, Il Moro, Duke of Milan. He had a good claim to the throne of Naples through the Angevin line of his paternal grandmother, Marie of Anjou, which he aspired to possess. He wanted to end the domination of Naples by the house of Aragon, which dated back to 1442. He dreamt of using Naples as a base from which to launch a crusade against the Turks to recapture Constantinople.
- Charles's army was said to be 25,000 strong, including 8,000 Swiss mercenaries. His siege train was the first to include artillery. To secure France against invasions, Charles made treaties with Austria and England, buying their neutrality with large concessions.

Rivalry with the house of Aragon

- Ludovico Sforza's aim was to punish his former enemy, Ferrante II, the deceased Aragonese king of Naples, and oust his newly-installed son, Alfonso, from the throne.
- Charles was initially successful, entering Florence apparently as a conqueror at the invitation of Piero de' Medici. Piero had offered Charles 200,000 ducats as a loan to finance the war effort, because he was concerned to maintain Florentine trade links with France. Piero gave Charles the keys of the republic's fortresses. Charles entered Florence with his lance on his thigh, signifying conquest. The humiliation was sufficient to topple the Medici from power in Florence.
- Charles crossed the Alps unopposed. The Duke of Milan was the only person powerful enough to block his progress, and in the early stages the Milanese supported the invasion. The Venetians stood aside and did nothing to impede Charles' progress. Venice had recently been at war with both Milan and Naples and so felt that the best response was not to intervene.
- Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) met Charles in the Vatican Gardens and had no option but to offer him the crown of Naples because the Borgia papacy lacked a credible defender. His rival Cardinal Giuliano da Revere, encouraged Charles, hoping that Alexander would be deposed.

Extent of success

- In February 1495 Charles VIII entered Naples. He captured the city without a siege or pitched battle.
- The Italian states eventually realised the danger to their autonomy presented by Charles. They proclaimed the Holy League or the League of Venice against him on 31st March 1495. This included the Borgia papacy, Ferdinand of Aragon, Emperor Maximilian, Ludovico Sforza of Milan, the Republic of Venice. England joined in 1496.
- The League gathered an army under the condottiere Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.
- Charles left Naples on 20th May 1495, soon after his formal coronation as King of Naples, never to return. He feared that he might become trapped in Naples. His lines of communication between France and Naples were too long and too exposed. He never won effective command of the southern kingdom. Charles left Gilbert de Montpensier as Viceroy, with some troops but Aragonese allies of Alfonso II soon ousted him. Naples proved ungovernable by an absentee monarch.
- Charles fought the League in the very brief Battle of Fornovo, on 6th July 1495. Charles was defeated but succeeded in retreating with most of his army, but had to abandon most of the booty from the campaign and return to France. He died in 1498 before he could regroup his forces and return to Italy.
- Florentine chronicler Marcello Adriani described the French army returning home after the Battle of Fornovo as emaciated, their clothes in shreds.
- No crusade was to be launched against Constantinople.

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

- **Lauro Martines** writes that Charles VIII entered Naples “with the ease of an ambassador”. Most of powers which might have blocked his progress through Italy opted to stand aside.
- **Alison Brown** sees Charles as brutal in his methods, fighting to kill and provoking his enemies into fighting against him. As early as October 1494 in the Romagna, it became apparent that Charles would stop at nothing. Reports of the “cruelty of Mordano” spread terror and consternation among the neighbouring states. She describes Charles as an unloved conqueror of Florence. She sees Charles brutal methods in taking the town of Monte San Giovanni as ensuring that his conquest of Naples would not be long unopposed.
- **David Abulafia** concludes that Charles was unable to establish a secure hold on the fractious kingdom of Naples.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the importance of the wealth of the papacy amongst a range of possible explanations of Rome's dominance of the High Renaissance. The candidate will need to identify other factors which explain the dominance of Rome and then reach a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support

- The papacy was a very rich institution, with vast sums to spend on large-scale projects. It had a nominal right to the papal states. A strong pope could exact revenue from papal vassals in this territory. Pilgrims flooded into the city, bringing wealth to the city. Popes claimed the right to tax the church. A succession of popes sought to restore the reputation of Rome as the centre of the Christian world, especially following the Great Schism and then the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The city had suffered badly from the Black Death and been abandoned by the papacy during the Avignon Papacy of 1309-77. They attracted to the city some of the finest artists to be found anywhere in Italy, including Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael. Leonardo was in Rome on and off from 1508-19; Michelangelo 1496-1501
- The scale of the works undertaken in Rome was much greater than anything attempted in the city states in the preceding century. Examples might include the tomb of Julius II, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, or the rebuilding of St Peter's basilica.
- The popes of the High Renaissance were individually very wealthy men, for example Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI.

Factors which may contradict

- In 1494 the Medici, who had been patrons of the arts, were expelled from Florence. Their regime was replaced by dominance of Savonarola, the Dominican friar, who denounced worldly wealth. He saw art as diverting the people from Christian worship. Many works of art, including some by Botticelli and Fra Bartolomeo, were thrown on the so-called "Bonfires of the Vanities".
- The fortunes of the Medici bank in Florence had faded by the late fifteenth century.
- The Medici, who had dominated Florence, succeeded in having two of their house elected pope, Leo X and Clement VII. They maintained the Medici passion for art, but in Rome more so than in Florence. They were devoted to the embellishment of their see and prepared to pay for it on a scale with which there was nothing comparable in Florence.
- Rome was the traditional seat of the descendants of St Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, whose relics lay in the crypt of St Peter's. Rome therefore had huge religious significance. St Peter's was the most important church in Christendom. This spiritual dimension attracted many artists to the city.
- Rome had been the centre of the Roman Empire in classical times and many of the finest ancient buildings and sculptures were still to be seen in the city. These had inspired generations of artists, and did so again in the early sixteenth century. The unearthing of the statue of Laocoon in Rome in 1506 had a marked effect on artists such as Michelangelo.

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

- **George Holmes** contends that the High Renaissance was the last great revolution in the Florentine tradition of painting. The popes by their wealth and ambition attracted to Rome many of the artists who had their roots in Florence.
- **John Julius Norwich** takes the view that though individual popes enjoyed considerable wealth, the institution itself was in a permanent financial crisis. Alexander VI, who had enjoyed several bishoprics and abbacies before becoming pope, did much to restore the papal finances. He is said to have in effect bought the papal see by bribing rival cardinals.
- **Peter Partner** explains the intricacies of papal finances and shows that whilst the popes lived well, their financial situation was very insecure, with mounting debts.
- **JR Hale** sees Leo X as enjoying the wealth of the papacy and using that wealth to employ the finest artists of the day in extravagant projects.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 2

Question 1

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the values of Renaissance Florence in terms of:

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

These may include:

- Leonardo Bruni was a leading Florentine humanist of the early fifteenth century.
- In 1427 he became Chancellor of Florence
- "In Praise of the City of Florence" was based on a second century AD text (the Panathenaicus) on the city of Athens written by Aristides.

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

- Florentines saw themselves as the heirs of the Roman Republic
- Florentines despised tyranny
- Florentines were ambitious, claiming overlordship over the entire world by right of inheritance
- Florentines valued justice and liberty and protected them in their constitution.

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

- Bruni, as a humanist, studied ancient Greece and Rome and saw in it a model for contemporary states such as Florence.
- Bruni's claim that Florence was founded by the Romans is disputed by some historians who see this as mere propaganda.
- Florence was at war with the Duchy of Milan, then ruled by the Gian Galeazzo Visconti who was a despot.
- Bruni's claim that Florence valued justice and freedom can be supported by referring to the complexities of the Florentine constitution in the fifteenth century with its nine priors, the twelve Good Men, and the sixteen standard-bearers of the companies. They were selected by lot from lists of citizens prepared by periodic scrutinies. Bruni was writing before the later manipulation of this system by the Medici family.

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

- The Florentine constitution prevented the concentration of power in one man's hands until 1434, when Cosimo de' Medici established a tentative despotism, party-supported, which was gradually consolidated by his descendants. Cosimo saw himself as first amongst equals; others saw him and his grandson Lorenzo as having too much power over the state.
- It is debatable whether Bruni wrote his "Praise" out of love of Florence and to consciously imitate the ancients or whether he was actively seeking to encourage the Florentine people to stand up and fight against Milanese despotism.
- Active citizenship was promoted by the so-called civic humanism of a succession of Chancellors of Florence, including Coluccio Salutati and Bruni. Bruni argued that the city should be defended by its own people in a citizen's militia rather than its mercenaries, a theme later taken up by Machiavelli.
- Florentines were very proud of their city and its fine buildings. This is sometimes referred to as "campanilismo", love of one's bell tower. Civic pride, and a determination to outdo neighbours might be seen as Florentine values.

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

- **Hans Baron** saw Florentine humanism as acting in the service of the state in advocating the active life and seeking to encourage the Florentine people to take up arms in defence of the city from the tyranny of Milan.
- **JR Hale** in contrast sees Florentine humanism as largely motivated by a love of learning and a scholar's love of the ancient world.
- **Gene Brucker** sees Cosimo as having great power despite the restraints of the Florentine constitution. This derived from his wealth and his leadership of a faction. He worked behind the scenes, manipulating others.
- **Vespasiano da Bisticci** wrote that Cosimo "lent to one man a good sum of money, and made a gift to another to help marry his daughter or buy lands."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful as evidence of the values of Renaissance Florence.

Question 2

16 marks

Interpretation (maximum of 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on the status of the artist during the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- It is implied that painting is at least the equal of any other art form and should therefore be held in high esteem.
- Painting was condemned on the grounds that it was done with the hands
- Painting was condemned because painters were paid for their work
- Painting could deal with weighty issues just as much as poetry.

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

- Whilst some artists were highly sought-after (Leonardo da Vinci for example), the overwhelming majority struggled to make ends meet and rarely received much recognition for their work. Their work was often anonymous.
- Fifteenth-century Italians had snobbery against the mechanical arts, those which required the use of hands, in contrast to the liberal arts which were considered superior because they involved use of the intellect.
- Anyone who needed to charge for their work was seen as financially insecure and therefore not a gentleman.
- Humanist training involved the study of the liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric and logic (called the Trivium) as well as mathematics, geometry, music and astronomy (the Quadrivium). Relatively few artists received such an education. They were often apprenticed to a master.

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

- Masaccio made only a modest name for himself before his death in 1443 at the age of 26.
- Michelangelo's father opposed his son's chosen career because of its low status. The artist later explained that he was never the sort of painter or sculptor who kept a shop. He refused to be classified as a sculptor because of its associations with artisanal labour.
- There was little solidarity amongst artists. Leonardo compared the sweaty and dusty figure of a sculptor with a baker.
- Working for a rich patron such as the Medici or the papacy enabled an artist to escape from the rules of their guild.
- Leon Battista Alberti wrote in "On Painting" in 1435 that a painting should be admired for the skills of the artist and the insight he offered to a biblical or historical event, rather than simply the amount of gold leaf used in the work. Artists had an understanding of mathematics and geometry and so should be classified as part of the liberal arts.

Source C

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

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

- Writers and humanists were given more respect than painters
- There was status insecurity: where some artists achieved high status, others did not
- Artists were more respected in Florence than elsewhere in Italy
- Overall the status of the artist grew over the period.

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

- Some artists, such as Mantegna or Michelangelo, were highly sought after, in contrast to the overwhelming majority. Leonardo da Vinci for example was pursued relentlessly by Isabella d'Este because she wanted a work of art by him in her collection. Julius II was determined to secure the services of Michelangelo on his tomb and on the Sistine Chapel.
- Most artists were expected to fulfil the terms of the contract of employment. Mantegna, in contrast, seems to have been given greater freedom.
- Michelangelo refused to let other people see his work until it was finished. He fell out with Pope Urban II over the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.
- Vasari sees the mastery of the artists increasing from the thirteenth century, culminating in the genius of Michelangelo. He describes the latter as divine.
- Many artists were anonymous, producing formulaic paintings for the market. Others were apprenticed to a master and tended to be given the less skilled or conspicuous parts of a painting to work on while the master concentrated on the faces of key figures. Some of these in turn became masters in their own right though. The young Leonardo famously painted an angel for Verrochio which outshone the work of the master.
- Only an elite group of artists were encouraged to comment on the overall design of a project. Most worked on a narrow aspect of a project. Few (of which Mantegna is an example) had the overview.
- Mantegna is said to have been made a knight by Lodovico Gonzaga to honour him.
- Francis I gave a chateau to his friend Leonardo.

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

- **Giorgio Vasari** wrote about many artists who came from humble origins to produce great work. He more than anyone created the idea of their being an elite of artists, specifically Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo. He tells us that Raphael at the papal court lived like a prince. Vasari also writes of how Mantegna devoted himself to the service of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga, and that ruler always valued and patronised Mantegna's talents.
- **Lauro Martines** sees artists of the sixteenth century as better off than of the fifteenth century. In the earlier period they were seen as craftsmen, working with their hands, something which was seen as demeaning. By the sixteenth century they were artists, and fees and profits rose accordingly.
- **Loren Partridge** argues that the medieval and Renaissance prejudice against the mechanical arts dates back to Lucian in the 2nd century AD who wrote that to be a sculptor "you will be nothing but a labourer getting meagre returns, one of the swarming rabble. Even if you could become a Phidias or Polykleitos (the two most famous sculptors of classical Greece), everyone would praise your craftsmanship, but none would wish to be like you; for whatever your achievement, you would be considered an artisan, a craftsman, one who lives by the work of his hands".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the status of the artist during the Italian Renaissance.

Question 3

12 marks

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

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

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

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit

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

- Princes used art and public ceremonies to project an image of power and authority in their courts.
- Courts reflected the personality of the prince.
- Marriage was used to maintain the power of the dynasty and raise it above others.
- Princes used their wealth to promote the talented.

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

- Princely courts became dedicated to the pursuit of magnificence. This was to be seen in the architecture, the ceremonies and the extravagance of the court.
- Courts were branded with the personal designs of the prince. The city of Rimini was ruled by Sigismondo Malatesta, who ordered his personal device (of the letters S and I) to appear throughout the city, including in the Tempio Malatestiano.
- The ducal court at Urbino reflected the personality of Federigo da Montefeltro. The Studiolo with its portraits of key ancient and Christian figures was inspired by the humanism of the duke.
- Dynastic succession was vital to the security of the state. Federigo da Montefeltro became increasingly desperate for a male heir and did much to celebrate the birth of his son Guidobaldo, including commissioning a series of paintings celebrating him and his new son.
- The Este family of Ferrara and the Gonzaga family of Mantua secured their dynasties by intermarriage.
- Great artists of humble origins found work and encouragement in the princely courts of Italy. The court of Urbino offered patronage to Piero della Francesca, Rafael Sanzio and Bramante. Mantegna found a home in Mantua. Leonardo da Vinci worked for eighteen years in the court of Lodovico II Moro of Milan.
- Mantegna is said to have been knighted by Lodovico Gonzaga for his work in Mantua.

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

- Though aristocratic blood was important to securing the prince, many of the princes of the fifteenth century were not originally of aristocratic blood. Many (Gianfrancesco Gonzaga in the service of Venice for example) traced their wealth and influence to their careers as condottieri.
- Federigo da Montefeltro was illegitimate and succeeded to the title of Signore of Montefeltro on the assassination of his half-brother. He made his military forces available to Venice, the papacy, the Aragonese, and Florence.
- Galeazzo Maria Sforza as Duke of Milan sought to compete with the grandest courts of Europe, including those of France and Burgundy, with thousands of courtiers. This led him to lavish gifts and lucrative stipends on them. In 1476 the ducal budget devoted almost 200,000 ducats to court expenses, including everything from buildings to musicians.
- The Gonzaga family enhanced its prestige and impressed its high-ranking visitors with the frescoes in the official waiting room of the ducal palace, the Camera Picta, with its striking portraits of the family by Mantegna.

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

- **Geoffrey Lubkin** has estimated that Galeazzo Maria Sforza spent huge sums on food, drink, jewellery, and clothes – as much as half the income of Italy's wealthiest princely state. To this outlay were added all the expenditures of court members who lived outside the walls and spent their money on sustenance and display.
- **Alison Cole** writes of how the regional courts, with their hunger for novelty, love of magnificence, and thirst for recognition, played a key role in the dissemination and development of the Renaissance ideas. Though their stature remained essentially provincial, Italian courts enhanced their international standing by bestowing lavish hospitality on visiting dignitaries and marrying into high-ranking foreign families.
- **Marco Folin** has written of how court ceremonies sought to enhance the figure of the prince, celebrating his monarchical qualities. "Co-optation into the hierarchy of crowned heads meant that the old city despots had to adopt a demeanour and lifestyle worthy of their recently acquired rank, forcing them to reshape their appearance to fit the new "mask" they had chosen to wear". Competition between states was no longer merely waged with the weapons of war and diplomacy, but also with those of artistic and cultural pomp

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

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715 – 1800)

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the relative importance of the range of causal factors that resulted in the 1715 Jacobite rising. The question invites evaluation of the central role of the Earl of Mar which may be discussed alongside the importance of religious economic, political and dynastic factors. Using the relevant evidence, a balanced conclusion should be made.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest Earl of Mar was the main cause of the 1715 rebellion

- Exclusion of Tories from office after 1714 created often powerful opportunistic Jacobites such as the Earl of Mar, the self-appointed leader of the rebellion.
- Although formerly a supporter of the Treaty of Union, Mar found himself out of favour and political power under George I's government. Mar's change of allegiance earned him the nickname "Bobbing John".
- Many Scottish peers were unhappy at a lack of Hanoverian patronage. This discontent increased as they were forced to compete to gain entry to the House of Lords, as there were only 16 Scottish peers.
- His motivation for his conversion to Jacobitism has been widely interpreted as personal ambition and political desperation. The Earl of Mar launched the '15 without detailed consultation with the Jacobite court, despite Mar's claims to have had a commission from James.
- Mar's Jacobite standard raised on the Braes of Mar summed up his motivation for leading the '15 through the following motto; *'For our wronged king and oppressed country. No union. For ourselves. Who dare meddle with me?'*

Factors that may contradict the assertion that the Earl of Mar was the main cause of the 1715 rebellion

Religious factors

- Long and short term religious factors feature prominently in the history of the origins of the 1715 rebellion, for example the disestablishment of the Episcopalian church.
- Episcopalian clergy were expelled from their parishes as Presbyterian discipline was imposed on traditionally pro-Episcopalian congregations, reinforcing support for the Jacobite cause
- Anti-Catholic sentiment in the first 10 years of the century – in 1704 Queen Anne issued a Royal Proclamation against popery in Scotland.
- Financial support from the King of Spain. This was conditional on the restoration of Catholicism.
- The Stuarts steadfastly refused to give up their Catholicism despite the negative impact it may have had upon their chances of restoration.

Economic Factors

- Tendency towards Anglo-centrism in contrast to the Stuart's emphasis of multi kingdoms alienated Scots, for example the 1705 Alien Act would have categorised Scots as foreigners if they'd refused to move towards Union.
- Treaty of Union united disparate sections of society in supporting the Stuarts – strength of Scottish hostility sufficient to persuade the French to support the abortive landing of 1708.
- 1713 – In defiance of the Treaty of Union, for the first time a Scottish staple crop – malt – was subjected to English levels of tax. Scots MPs responded by moving for a dissolution of the Union.
- 1714 – James published a declaration to repeal the Union.

Political/Dynastic Factors

- Almost continual war with continental Europe, especially France, alienated much of Scottish society and significantly disrupted trade, particularly eastern seaports.
- Act of Security 1704 – free trade clause exacerbated disruption of trade between Scotland & France due to British involvement in the War of Spanish succession.
- Royal navy refused to protect Scottish ships despite pressing sailors from Scottish ports.
- Repeated imposition of taxes of new indirect taxes to pay for foreign wars reduced the popularity of the House of Hanover further.
- Anglicisation of Scottish politics led the old Jacobite cavaliers to adopt the Tory party whilst many patriotic Scots nominally sympathetic to the Whigs also supported the Jacobites

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

- **Szechi** contends that religious factors were key to mobilising support for the Jacobite cause – “the Episcopalian clergy and hierarchy – ie the spiritual mentors of at least 20 per cent of the Scottish population – were so imbued with bitter Jacobitism that it would take the best part of a century of defeats to persuade them to reconsider their commitment to the cause of the exiled Stuarts”
- **Mackie** stresses the organisational abilities of Mar who almost single handedly raised the largest ever Jacobite army partly through a willingness to coerce his tenants to rise.
- **Pittock** holds the orthodox view that stresses the reaction to the Treaty of Union amongst many Scots. He argues only a lack of co-ordinated leadership prevented the mobilisation of an anti-Union Scottish army in 1714 – “the Union was the catalyst for the prospect of a major rising, this time with the aim of restoring James VIII...opposition to the Union was the single most important issue in Scottish domestic politics in 1715 and this opposition was strongly, if not solely Jacobite”
- **Mitchison** notes the ill feeling amongst Scots nobility who were denied political power. “The top positions in politics and army were going to stay in English hands...it would have been prudent to arrange more, since Jacobitism had not faded from the position of a real alternative policy.”

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to comment upon the importance of the Treaty of Union as a causal factor to the growth of the Scottish economy during the eighteenth century. Responses should consider the short and long term impact of Union, and the role of other factors that may have generated economic growth. Better quality responses may acknowledge the uneven effects of the Treaty of Union, and its regionalized nature that can be concealed by broad assessments of the Union's impact. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors that may support the view that the Treaty of Union was vital to the growth of Scotland's economy during the eighteenth century

- Terms of the Union were fair, and arguably generous – Scotland was granted free trade with England and English colonies from 1707.
- Union created the largest free trade area in Europe and granted access to Britain's north-American colonies – a market of 2.1 million people by 1770.
- Weak performance of the Scottish economy in the years immediately following the Union was in the context of a very frail economy, whose ability to trade was hampered by the ongoing complication of the War of Spanish Succession.
- Union provided Scotland with new trading relationships with English allies such as Portugal, and allowed exploitation of the Irish market that was banned from direct importation by the Navigation Acts.
- Short term gains included significant increases in grain and cattle exports to England in the first decade following Union. Both were afforded additional protection by special clauses within the Treaty.
- Political stability facilitated a stream of capital and labour from England.
- Export industries benefited from the protection of Scottish shipping by the Royal navy.
- Spectacular success of Glasgow, largely through the tobacco industry but also through spin-off industries of shipbuilding, glass-works and distilling.
- The Scottish banking industry was strengthened by the payment of Scotland's public debts by the Equivalent fund and the Bank of Scotland's new position as depository for government funds.
- 1730-1780 Sustained economic expansion in key industries of linen, tobacco and black cattle, all of which involved significant exporting to England or British colonies.

Factors that may contradict the view that the Treaty of Union was vital to the growth of Scotland's economy during the eighteenth century

- Significant sectors within the Scottish economy suffered two decades of economic stagnation following of Union.
- Failure of the Treaty to promote economic growth indicated by willingness of the British government to establish the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in 1727.
- Free trade left often uncompetitive Scottish industries vulnerable to better quality, cheaper English imports.
- Difficulty of exporting manufactured goods to England. Linen, Scotland's most important manufactured export, sold poorly in London markets. It was also subject to British export taxes introduced in 1711 and 1715. The woollen, brewing, paper and candle making industries fared similarly poorly in the short term.
- Imposition of new taxes increased total duties by approximately five times over all Scottish industries.
- Bureaucratic, expensive and time-consuming applications of British excise duties, such as the Salt Laws, which doubled the cost of navigation hampered Scottish trade.
- Export industries were constrained by British commercial policies, weakening Scotland's established trade relations with France and Holland.
- Extent of smuggling limited the benefit of newly acquired access British colonial markets.
- Role of other factors in promoting economic growth, such as an effective legal system, abundant raw materials, an emerging business class, cheap labour and technical innovation.

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

- **Campbell** emphasises the orthodox interpretation which emphasises the importance of the Treaty of Union in the achievement of economic growth in Scotland by the end of the eighteenth century, which was done so "on a foundation established through Union with England."
- **Whyte** revises the traditional interpretation by arguing that the long term benefits of the Treaty of Union to the Scottish economy should not be exaggerated, as other factors were as important in the growth of prosperity. "The Union was important for Scottish economic development but was not decisive. The origins of many eighteenth century economic developments lay in the seventeenth century."
- **Whatley** states that the Scottish economy was in profound difficulties by the end of the seventeenth century that "could not have been surmounted without the opportunities and protection which the Union provided."
- **Mackie** comes to an even handed conclusion that both Union and business acumen shared responsibility for the growth of the Scottish economy in the eighteenth century. "The rise in prosperity was in part due to new opportunities presented by the Union, and in part also to the ability of the Scots to seize the opportunities."

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to make a judgement upon the extent to which standards of living improved in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Better quality responses should consider the full range of factors linked to standards of living including quantitative indices such as wage and price data in addition to qualitative indicators related to the living and working experiences of an increasingly industrialised, urbanised populace. Candidates may also acknowledge the significant regional variations, which pose significant challenges in this field of study, reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors that may suggest standards of living improved in Scotland in the eighteenth century

- An orthodox interpretation to establish whether the standard of living has improved or deteriorated depends on the extent to which their wages grow faster or slower than the rate of inflation.
- Eighteenth century Scotland experienced a modest rate of population increase, creating a tight labour market that required only a modest increase in economic activity to generate significant wage rises.
- Thus there was a sustained increase in real wages of skilled labour market, for example Glasgow mechanics' wages increased by over 50% between 1777 and 1793. Edinburgh printers and stonemasons experienced similar wage increases.
- Textile workers, Scotland's largest industrial labour force in the second half of the eighteenth century, benefited from sustained increases in their wages.
- Agricultural workers wages rose an estimated 45% between 1750 and 1790 in response to increasing wages available in urbanised areas, while specialised rural craftsmen and semi-skilled workers benefitted from changes in the structure of Scottish farming.
- 1780s onwards – massive increase in employment opportunities for weavers, an expansion of full time positions and a significant increase in the number of opportunities for upward mobility within the labour market and an increase in real wages
- Urbanisation created a greater range of better paid employment opportunities including plasterers, cabinet makers and chair makers, while mortality rates were not significantly impacted upon until the early nineteenth century
- Commonplace for a considerable proportion of wages to be paid in kind, leading to under estimation of rises in incomes according to Treble.
- New opportunities for female employment in linen spinning in rural areas
- Significant increases in real wages of hewers in the Scottish coal fields
- Gradual erosion of the wage differential between Scotland and England which had narrowed considerably by the end of the eighteenth century
- End of the seventeenth century poverty was endemic as confirmed by famines of 1690s – contrasts sharply with the mid eighteenth century signs of prosperity – emergence of the tobacco industry and banking industries and the establishment of an emerging manufacturing sector through the Carron ironworks, Vitriol works at Prestonpans and a booming textile sector.
- Post 1760s the Highlands benefited from an increase in the price of black cattle, the development of in shore fishing and the growth of the kelp industry.

Factors that may contradict the suggestion that standards of living improved in Scotland in the eighteenth century?

- Scotland remained a low wage economy in comparison to England throughout the eighteenth century.
- Demands of factory discipline; sweated labour working previously unknown hours in a disciplined environment striving towards increased productivity negatively affected work-life balance.
- The agrarian revolution dramatically reduced the number of those whom had a legal entitlement to land as smallholders were replaced by landless labourers directly answerable to land owners.
- Adverse social consequences of rapid urbanisation including inadequate sanitation, endemic poverty amongst a largely casual workforce and gross overcrowding within subdivided tenements.
- Artisan craftsmen lost status and income due to encroaching industrialisation.
- Steady increase in the cost of living due to inflationary pressures throughout the eighteenth century tempers the impact of wage increases, particularly once European conflict begins in the 1790s.
- Transformation of the Highlands from feudalism to capitalism. Arguable whether the dissolution of the traditional clan society and likely migration to the urbanising lowlands actually improved standards of living for the departing clan folk.
- Post 1760s Highlands – rapidly increasing rents suggest increased standards of living were far from universal.

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

- **Feinstein** represents the orthodox, pessimistic assessment of standards of living across Britain during the eighteenth century that describes a period of stagnation between 1760-1800. "No worthwhile improvement in real consumption of goods and services per head took place during the first six decades of industrialisation."
- **Treble** offers a revisionist view, arguing that Scottish incomes increased significantly during the latter half of the eighteenth century. "The data...which deals with the largest single source of male employment in eighteenth-century Scotland presents a picture of substantial growth in the real income of agricultural workers."
- **Flinn and von Tunzelmann** suggests that in comparison to English wages Scottish incomes steadily narrowed the gap from 1750 to the end of the eighteenth century.
- **Nenadic** – growth of the middle classes, especially in urban areas, whom were purchasing newly available luxuries such as fine furnishings, sugar and tea, suggests an increasing proportion of the Scottish population was upwardly mobile.
- **Devine** notes the increasing standard of living of many families during the later eighteenth century as a result of the employment of women "family incomes were rising as many more women and children became involved in the labour market as spinners, bleachers, day labourers, factory workers and harvesters."

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the extent of Scotland's administrative autonomy following Union in 1707 and whether the expression "semi-independent" best sums up Scotland's situation. It should be noted that much of the debate is concerned with the nature of "management", as practiced by the Duke of Argyll and his brother the Earl of Islay. Candidates judging the nature and extent of Scottish autonomy within the emerging British state may also consider wider definitions of administrative autonomy including the role of the General Assembly and secular bodies such as the Convention of Royal Burghs, thus reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest that Scotland was "semi-independent" in the first half of the eighteenth century

- Indifferent British ministers effectively devolved executive control, granting the second Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Islay significant autonomy.
- Irregularity of direct interference in Scottish affairs from Westminster – between 1725 and 1737 British Ministers intervened only once following the Porteous Riot in Edinburgh.
- Argyll and Islay's Argathelian management established effective control of Scottish affairs between 1725-41 through a system of governance designed by Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes of Culloden and Lord of Session Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.
- Argathelian power was further increased by extensive patronage and political corruption. By 1741 half the constituencies in Scotland were controlled by Argyll and Islay.
- Representative bodies such as the Convention of Royal Burghs retained their independence and ability to act as lobby body which actively scrutinised new legislation affecting Scotland
- The Earl of Islay, "the uncrowned king of Scotland", enjoyed significant authority under Carteret who relied completely on the Campbell machine to administer Scotland.
- The General Assembly retained a powerful and independent voice within Scottish society, evolving into the closest equivalent of a Scottish parliament.
- The independence of Scottish law ensured that along with the Kirk, institutions that pre-dated Union continued to underpin a form of local and national administration that remained unique within the new British state.
- Status of Edinburgh endured – continued to act as an administrative, legal and religious centre.
- Appointment of Scottish secretary of states between 1713-25 and 1742-46 was not a reflection on British attempts to tighten administrative control on Scottish affairs, but rather a result of political struggles within England.

Factors which may suggest that Scotland was not 'semi-independent' in the first half of the eighteenth century

- Absence of a centralised mechanism of administration following the abolition of Parliament in 1707 and the Privy Council in 1708
- Abandonment of commissions established to administer Scottish affairs from Edinburgh in the years immediately following Union.
- English politicians continued to dominate senior political positions. These nominally British ministers granted Scottish politicians limited autonomy on the expectation that stability and order be maintained. When this was not forthcoming, they were removed from office.
- The dismissal of the Duke of Roxburgh from his position as Secretary of State for Scotland following the Malt Riots of 1725.
- Establishment of the Board of Trustees following the Malt Riots consolidated the Union and British control over Scottish affairs.
- Legislation on Scottish affairs originated in London and was subject to British Ministers.
- Significant London-initiated legislation indicating increased intervention included the annexation of Highland estates, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions and the establishment of sheriffs as instruments of local government.
- Effectiveness and extent of administrative autonomy dependent on the effectiveness and will of the Lord Advocate and Solicitor General both of whom reported to British ministers.
- Formulation of legislation, foreign policy and other areas of significant decision making remained in London, and were often presided over by men who knew little about Scotland.

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

- **Lynch** describes the government of eighteenth-century Scotland as one in which "the Scots at least ran their own branch of the spoils system", adding that "others, more pessimistic, might well conclude from the same evidence that Scotland was, if not quite a provincial colony, certainly a satellite state."
- **Shaw** states that ultimate power resided in London, but stops short of arguing that there is compelling evidence of systematic English interference in Scottish affairs.
- **Harris** contends that the administrative autonomy of Scotland was tightly controlled throughout the period 1707-1750 – "The autonomy of Scotland in the first 50 years of the Union, even after 1725, was heavily qualified. Indeed, even the independence envisaged by the Treaty of Union was breached on several occasions."
- **Murdoch** suggests that the unfilled position of Secretary of State for Scotland following the Malt Riots of 1725 allowed the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Islay to manage Scotland's affairs through an informal system of government, allowing considerable autonomy over Scottish affairs.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is for candidates to ascertain the extent to which the terms of the Scottish Enlightenment should be re-interpreted specifically to Edinburgh rather than accepting a wider Scottish definition. Candidates should interpret Enlightenment in its broadest sense, encapsulating theoretical discussion, artistic and literary achievement and practical application. Using the relevant evidence, a balanced conclusion should be made.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest the Scottish Enlightenment was a largely Edinburgh based phenomenon

- Scotland's pre-eminent intellectual centre – the concentration of leading figures of the Enlightenment created opportunities to discuss and debate intellectual interests and the formation of cultural institutions such as the Select Society of Edinburgh, the Philosophical Society and the Cape Club.
- Other aspects of the Enlightenment established their own societies and institutions encouraging the further concentration of intellectuals and artists in Edinburgh. For example, the Edinburgh Musical Society attracted figures of international standing including Barsanti and Schetky.
- Specifically, the work of David Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, became one of the most debated works of the age.
- Pre-eminence of Edinburgh's educational institutions – growing reputation of Edinburgh University, particularly in medicine achieved partly by attracting talent from Glasgow. By the end of the eighteenth century it was regarded as the finest medical school in Europe.
- The establishment Scotland's first art institution, the Academy of St. Luke
- Retention of the headquarters of Scotland's two most important institutions, the Kirk and the Law, ensured the attraction of a disproportionate numbers of educated professionals.
- James Craig's New Town, "the Athens of the North," houses designed by the Adam family became the physical embodiment of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Factors that may suggest the Scottish Enlightenment should be considered a national phenomenon

Education

- Work of leading figures at Glasgow University such as Francis Hutcheson, chair of Moral Philosophy, whom attained a Europe wide reputation for his writing; Adam Smith (moral philosophy) Gershom Carmichael (science and philosophy)
- Increasing profile of and curricular development of Scottish Universities. Glasgow established a medical school while at Aberdeen Reid and Beattie found repute in philosophy.
- Intellectual clubs were not confined to Edinburgh. Glasgow's Literary Society and Aberdeen's Philosophical Society providing venues for enlightened discussion.
- Maturation of Mercantile Glasgow – massive expansion of service industries supported the Enlightenment's "Glasgow scene".

Enlightenment Literature

- Although undoubtedly texts of the Enlightenment, MacPherson's translations embraced a tradition at odds with an Edinburgh elite eager to refine their Scottish dialect
- Similarly, the Scots verse of Ayrshire born Burns, though at times lauded by Edinburgh society, stands distinct from the modes, language and style of the more anglicised literature produced by contemporary Edinburgh based writers.

Agricultural and Industrial Innovation

- The Enlightenment was as much a movement of practical application as academic theorising.
- James Watt's steam engine is credited as a key catalyst that preceded the industrial revolution.
- Scientific innovation James Hutton, Joseph Black
- Belief in rational improvement helped to encourage agricultural improvement across Scotland through the recognition that the natural world can be adapted by the application of logic and reason, as described in Kames' *The Gentleman Farmer*.
- In practical terms this manifested itself in the transformation of significant swathes of Scotland's countryside through drainage, enclosure and the cultivation of new crops.

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

- **Devine:** "Enlightenment ideas were not confined to geniuses such as Hume and a small circle of well-known thinkers, but were also widely diffused throughout the ranks of the educated classes of Scotland."
- **Herman:** argues that Edinburgh and Glasgow were "twin cities of the Scottish Enlightenment". "They complemented each other. Glasgow was more innovative and practical...Edinburgh was more artistic and literary, more intellectual"
- **McKean:** argues that the concentration of Enlightenment glitterati was due to the vacuum created by the emigration of Edinburgh's nobility following the Treaty of Union
- **Buchan:** "For a period of half a century...the small city of Edinburgh ruled the Western intellect. For near fifty years, the city...laid the mental foundations for the modern world."

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715 – 1800)

Part 2

Question 1

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence for investigating reasons for the failure of the 1745 rebellion.

Provenance:

- Lord Elcho became Charles Edward Stuart's aide de camp, joining the rebellion as the Jacobites marched from the Highlands to Edinburgh.
- One of "the Scots", Lord Elcho was a council member who voted to retreat from Derby against the Prince's wishes.
- Lord Elcho's journal is a detailed description of the campaign that is supported by other contemporary sources such as Lochiel's narrative, providing a critical portrait of the Prince's leadership.

Points from the Source

- The Prince's war council was split between a minority who unquestioningly supported his intentions and a majority who were willing to disagree with him.
- He treated his army as mercenaries expecting obedience without question.
- The Prince's favouritism was towards the Irish members of the council who had nothing at stake.
- He ignored the Scots who had everything at stake.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Lord George Murray and the Prince had a particularly difficult relationship which deteriorated as the rising ran its course.
- Following the decision to retreat from Derby on the 6th of December 1745 the Prince dissolved the council, despite repeated requests from Lord George Murray for a resumption of command by the council.
- Following the dissolution of the council, several damaging decisions, including the garrisoning of Carlisle and the choice of Culloden Moor as a battle field, were made by the Prince.
- There had been tension between the Irish, led by Sir Thomas Sheridan, and the Scottish Jacobite officers from an early stage in the rising.

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

- Charles had almost no military experience or training. His uncompromising leadership resulted in the alienation of Lord George Murray, the most experienced and able military tactician amongst the Jacobite command.
- Following “Black Friday’s” decision to retreat from Derby Charles’s behaviour became erratic. Sulking and often drunk, he refused to reconvene the council yet paradoxically also failed to effectively lead the army himself.
- The Jacobite retreat was shambolic. Poor decisions were made at Carlisle, Falkirk and Stirling. In the absence of a council Charles was responsible for this descent into chaos.
- The lack of strategic grip was most apparent at Culloden, a battle field chosen by the Prince and Colonel O’Sullivan which complemented Hanoverian strengths perfectly.
- Consideration of a range of other factors leading to failure of the rising, including ambiguous French assurances of support, inadequate funding, the regionalised nature of support within Britain and the effectiveness of the Royal navy’s blockade.

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

- **Lenman** has argued that the acrimony caused by the Prince’s leadership style was pivotal in ensuring the failure of the Jacobite cause. “It was the fatal dissension in the Jacobite command which ensured that the Rising would end in bloody disaster.
- **Pittock** states that France’s decision at the beginning of February 1746 to abandon the planned invasion was the key event which condemned the Jacobites to failure as it was “the first occasion on which it became clear the Jacobites must lose”.
- **Mackillop** acknowledges Charles’s unwillingness to consult with his officers, yet argues that the Jacobites failure to gain favour with the established institutions such as the Kirk was the deciding factor in the failure of the rebellion.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful in offering a full explanation of the failure of the rebellion of 1745.

Question 2

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source B** as an adequate explanation of the attitudes towards Highland culture amongst Lowland Scots in terms of:

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

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

- Gaelic, the native language of the Highlander, was associated with backwardness.
- Gaelic speakers were excluded from mainstream culture.
- Lowlanders rarely understood Gaelic language or Gaelic culture.
- Gaelic verse was regarded as incapable of being anything more than primitive if emotional poetry.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Inferiority of Highland culture was reinforced by Lowland caricatures depicting the Gael as filthy, lazy and violent.
- Established Lowland tradition of anti-Highland literature popularised by songs and verse.
- Gaelic culture was largely oral vernacular rather than written text as expressed by Gaelic bards such as Dugald Buchanan and Rob Donn Mackay.
- Macpherson's contrived Ossianic epics were eagerly received in the Lowlands, becoming popular as examples of authentic ancient Scottish literature.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source

- Anti-Highland sentiment was reinforced in the work of writers including Sir Richard Holland and William Dunbar who depicted Gaels as inferior and uncivilised.
- Centuries old Lowland prejudice was strengthened in light of Highland support for the Jacobite cause that appeared to justify belief that traditional Highland culture was dangerous and required state intervention and assimilation.
- Charles Edward Stuart's support in the Highlands gave rise to associations of popery and alliances with the antichrist, tainting Gaeldom further in the eyes of Lowlanders.
- Gaeldom remained an inaccessible, remote area. Lowland political elites sought greater control of a region they commonly regarded as alien and hostile.
- Post-Reformation, the Highlands was not converted to Presbyterianism. Catholicism, Episcopalianism and localised superstition endured. Thus, Highland culture came to be regarded as heretical, pagan and irreligious by the Lowland Kirk.
- Prior to the advent of Highlandism the physical landscape of the Highlands was dismissed as ugly and threatening. Writers such as Dr Johnson remarked on the "hopeless sterility" of the region.

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

- **Murdoch** and **Sher** note the paradoxical attitudes of Lowlanders towards Gaeldom, which combined a dismissal of informal Highland culture and language with unabated enthusiasm for the contrived Ossianic mythology.
- **Gillies** notes that disinterest in Gaelic language delayed scholarly study of the subject until the later nineteenth century.
- **Devine** states that anti-Highland attitudes were prevalent throughout Lowland society. The Kirk, government and general populace were united in feelings ranging from ambivalence to outright hostility, the latter reaching its zenith in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion.
- **Smout** confirms the hostility held by Lowlanders towards Gaeldom. "Very few men who were both literate and perceptive wrote at any length about the Highlands before the middle of the eighteenth century. Lowlanders usually called them the Irish, being unwilling even to admit them as Scots."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the attitudes towards Highland culture amongst Lowland Scots.

Question 3

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C** and **D** about the state of Scottish agriculture in the eighteenth century and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

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

- Farming practices are generally outdated and inefficient producing sub-standard agricultural produce.
- Though it's possible to rear good quality horses suitable for farm work they are often poorly bred.
- Traditional ploughing techniques failed to utilise the full depth of land under cultivation.
- Innovations such as the use of fertiliser are often misused resulting in further inefficiency especially in not getting rid of weeds

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Traditional techniques such as liming, rotation and manuring had steadily increased yields from the mid-17th century
- Spread of new practices such as selective breeding up to 1750 was slow and regionalised. Improving tenants and landlords remained in the minority.
- Traditional methodologies such as the infield-outfield system and common grazing remained in widespread use.
- New farming techniques, such as the introduction in the 1760s of James Small's smaller plough were gradually adopted. Small's plough required two horses instead of a team of oxen required to move the cumbersome old Scots plough.

Source D

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

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

- Emerging role of the improvers increasing pace of change and social dislocation
- By the 1790s enclosure was widespread transforming the physical landscape
- Introduction of long term leases compelling tenants to implement various forms of improvement
- Increasing rates of eviction for tenants in arrears

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Improvers were fundamental to introducing agricultural change. Almost all were landowners. Often interested in cultural as well as economic considerations of agriculture, they disseminated, adopted and often paid for the introduction of new technologies many of which were imported from England and Europe.
- Long term written leases formalised tenancy agreements fundamentally altering rural social structures, providing improving landlords with the means to push through new techniques and action physical change.
- The impact of increasing market penetration resulted in the disappearance of rent in kind which was replaced by cash rents that increased steadily from the 1760s.

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

- Commercialisation of rural society steadily replaced customary practices and traditions with market forces and monetary transactions
- By the end of the 18th century the traditional and for centuries unchanging systems of husbandry had been largely transformed to a rural society based upon capitalist landowners and landless agricultural workers.
- Highly regionalised and even localised patterns of development and speed of change. Specialisation of regions such as grain in East Lothian and dairy in Galloway.
- Emergence of planned villages
- Changes in land use in the Highlands as early clearance replaced people with sheep

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

- **Handley** and **Caird** provide a traditional interpretation of Scottish agricultural development in the 18th century. This orthodox view emphasises revolutionary change, as Caird states – "Scotland's rural landscape is in fact a landscape of revolution rather than slow evolution".
- **Whittington** has provided a revised interpretation of the pattern of development, stressing varying but continuous evolution throughout the period.
- **Smout** cautions against the use of generalisations, emphasising the differing patterns of agricultural change which occurred at differing times within the 18th century.

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

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

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the issue of territorial expansion in the prelude to Civil War and to analyse the decisions of the politicians as one of the factors which led to the tensions created by territorial expansion.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

The Politicians:

- The consequences of the 1850 compromise eg Fugitive Slave Law, popular sovereignty etc
- Franklin Pierce; Cuba/Filibustering and the Gadsden Purchase as evidence of slave-power conspiracy.
- Stephen Douglas and the Kansas Nebraska Act
- The issue of whether slavery should be allowed to expand into these areas despite the 1787 North-west Ordinance/1820 Compromise/1850 Compromise.
- The decision to repeal the 1820 Compromise and the organisation of Kansas and Nebraska into states of the Union.
- James Buchanan; Topeka versus Lecompton legislatures and the Dred Scott decision of 1857.

The Changing Political System:

- The political implications of territorial expansion in the Senate and the House of Representatives.
- The imbalance of representation in Congress
- Southern fear of becoming a permanent minority within the Federal Union.
- The perception by both sections that their opposite number did not represent the American dream.
- The collapse of the Whig Party and the rise of the Republican Party.
- Ideological differences between northern Republicans and supporters of Southern nationalism.

Slavery and sectionalism:

- Pre-existing socio-economic differences.
- Importance of slavery to the south
- Debate over tariffs
- Impact of abolitionism.

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

- **Beard:** North driven by economic motives to serve the needs of business.
- **Randall:** blundering generation of politicians.
- **Potter:** slavery was main cause of tension.
- **Donald:** politicians responded without policies or principles.
- **Holt:** alienation of many northern voters from both of the political parties in the early 1850s.
- **Holden Reid:** slavery was central to the sense of cultural divergence between the North and the South. Rise of sectional northern party dedicated to restriction of slavery signalled an end to a desire for compromise.
- **Parish:** rivalry between North and South exacerbated by imbalance in political power brought about by territorial expansion.

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the impact of the 1860 Presidential Election result on North and South and the events of the secession crisis 1860 – 1861. The focus of the analysis should be on the events immediately after Lincoln's election up to the outbreak of war. The candidate may choose to make reference to the events of the 1850s; however the essay is not intended to be an assessment of the long term causes of the Civil War and should be marked accordingly.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support Lincoln was mainly responsible

- Nashville Convention 1850 had declared that a Republican victory in the election would result in Southern secession
- In 1860, Lincoln had run on a platform of non-extension of slavery, many in the South interpreted this as anti-slavery for example the Southern Press depicted Lincoln as a "Black Republican."
- Lincoln and the Republican Party; sectional, northern party and candidate
- Republican Party very much pro Northern with little reference to Southern interests/issues, particularly in the 1860 campaign
- Lincoln did not win any of the southern states; therefore he would have been a sectional president. The South would find this hard to accept him as President.
- The movement for secession gained momentum after Lincoln's election – as far as secessionists were concerned, Lincoln was capable of anything!
- Criticisms of Lincoln in this period as he appeared to delay; indecision between election and inauguration
- Lincoln/Douglas debates; Lincoln's theme was not just slavery's immorality but the danger of a malignant conspiracy against the North
- "House-Divided" speech widened the gap between the sections and the parties. Lincoln needed to be more decisive in this period to reassure the South
- Lincoln's declaration that slavery was a "monstrous injustice" that should be "placed in the course of ultimate extinction." This was a serious threat to the South and southern honour
- Confederacy had taken control of Federal property, but some including Fort Sumter, remained in Federal control. Lincoln declared that he would retain control of the forts and informed the Confederate government that he intended to resupply the fort. This decision may have provoked the South or may even have been intended to provoke them.

Factors which suggest Lincoln was not mainly responsible

- Although seven lower southern states seceded, eight upper south states did not secede immediately.
- Compromise possible. It had been achieved in 1820, 1850 and to an extent in 1854.
- Buchanan, the outgoing President, regarded secession as illegal.
- Lincoln's declaration in his inaugural speech that he was determined to retain the Union
- The Crittenden Proposals offered the potential for a compromise which Lincoln was blocking.
- In 1860 Lincoln denounced John Brown's raid of 1859
- Lincoln's election was the culmination of decades of sectional tension; this was outwith Lincoln's control.
- Fall-out from Kansas and the 1858 Congressional elections meant that there was little Lincoln could have done.
- Dred Scott decision re-emphasised the "slave power conspiracy" concerns therefore enhanced the Democrat/Republican division with little Lincoln could do.
- Extremists in the South had hastened the split in the Democrat Party, hastening the southern emphasis in the party which advocated secession regardless of Lincoln's election
- Secessionists insisted that the only protection of southern rights was withdrawal from the Union before Lincoln's inauguration.
- South Carolina ordinances consisted of a list of the ways in which the non-slave holding states had violated the rights of slave-holders. This was regardless of Lincoln's election.

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

- **Reid:** argues that most of the major decisions had been taken before Lincoln came into office by the "lame-duck" president, Buchanan. Mishaps, miscalculations and misfortunes characterised the manoeuvres that prefaced the Civil War. Conciliation could not work when it was treated by one party with contempt.
- **Stampp:** believed that Lincoln's chief concern was the maintenance of the Union. He was acting to re-assert and vindicate federal authority in the South. By March 1861, it was clear his policy was one of the preservation of the Union through a defensive strategy.
- **Farmer:** is critical of the passive position adopted by Buchanan, the lame-duck president, whom he accuses of doing little to stem the tide of division. The House Committee of 33 was too big to be effective. The Senate Committee of 13 was more effective but its proposals were unacceptable to most in both the North and the South.
- **Potter:** believed that compromise was unlikely from the outset, given the momentum of secession and the fundamental philosophy of the Republican Party.
- **McPherson:** saw Sumter as an affront to the Confederate government which it could not tolerate if it wished to have its independence recognised. Buchanan's relief expedition was a bungled effort that only alienated the South further. Scott's politically motivated recommendation to evacuate Forts Sumter and Pickens rendered suspect his initial opinion that reinforcement was impossible.

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the motives that soldiers on both sides had for fighting for their respective sides and to assess the similarities and the differences among and between them, thus reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the importance of popular patriotism as a reason for enlisting during the Civil War.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support

Popular Patriotism

- Patriotism: The strong belief that Southern society was distinctly different to the rest of the Union as noted in the letters of many Southern soldiers.
- Ideological motives eg State's Right or to protect the right of slaveholders. To defend Southern liberty.
- Southerners view of a war of independence
- Northerners fighting to save the Union and the 'Great Experiment'.

Factors which may contradict

Common motivations

- Comradeship
- Community
- Masculine identity ie a desire not to let your family down
- Ethnicity
- Conscription: After 1862 in the South and 1863 in the North, men were forced to fight
- Use of bounties to encourage recruitment .

Northern motivations

- Desire for revenge as war continued
- Punish treason
- Motives of blacks (and immigrants).

Southern motivations

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

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

- **McPherson:** abolition of slavery became linked to preservation of the Union. Few fought to achieve racial equality. Confederate soldiers tacitly supported defence of southern institutions. Northern soldiers supported emancipation as this hurt the enemy.
- **Reid Mitchell:** northern soldiers were imbued with ideology. Men enlisted due to youthful high spirits, community pressure and overpowering enthusiasm. As war continued anti-slavery sentiment grew among Union soldiers. Soldiers' ideology motivated them through the hellish second half of the war. Loyalties to fellow soldiers were important.
- **A Haughton:** men filled with thoughts of excitement and the drama of war. Hope and expectation of demonstrating courage and ability on the battlefield. In the North, patriotic sentiment was based on pride of democratic system. In the South, many fought for independence and defence of their own institutions and laws. Real affinity towards their community and section. Immediate stimulus to fight was group loyalty to men on either side of the soldier.
- **Bell Wiley:** men attracted by rates of pay and prospect of promotion. Escape mundane existence. Devotion of the masses to the Union, coupled with the leadership of Lincoln, whom they regarded as their representative and champion, sustained the Northern cause during the bloody reverses of 1861-62. Southerners volunteered due to deep-seated hatred of the North, northern hostility to local institutions, a desire for adventure and a sense of it being the right thing to do.
- **Katcher:** above all, the Confederate soldier was loyal to the South, saw the Northerner as an invader and feared for home and family.
- **Parish:** combined forces of nationalism and democracy produced a massive increase in commitment to the cause of one side or the other, which made this a people's war. Huge response of 1861 was the product of individual enthusiasm, state action and local initiative. Men joined due to encouragement of family and friends, motivated by a mixture of patriotism, fear of being thought a coward and anxiety that it would all be over before they could get involved.
- **Susan-Mary Grant:** political and ideological factors played a large part in sustaining the Civil War soldiers' will to fight.

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the level of the impact that war had on the role of women on both sides during the conflict. It will be necessary to consider the impact of the Civil War on women in both the South and the North thus reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support

Women in the South

- Women kept plantations going
- Had to deal with shortages
- Need to control slaves
- Led civil unrest eg Richmond bread riots in mid-summer 1862
- Played role in undermining morale of Confederate army from autumn 1864 onwards with letters to soldiers pleading for the latter's return
- The severe hardships led to a sense of defeatism amongst women in the South.

Women in the North

- Role in US Sanitary Commission
- Role of Clara Barton
- Increased role in industry and farming
- Replaced men, who had volunteered, in many professions
- Increased role in food/factory output.

Common factors

- Volunteered to be nurses despite social opprobrium
- Helped raise funds by sale of bonds etc
- Some acted as spies eg Union spy Elizabeth van Lew or Confederate spy Rose Greenhow
- Kept the home fires burning
- Set up relief organisations
- Kept up morale: by letter writing, tending to the sick or sending additional supplies to men in camp.

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

- **Farmer:** has argued for the importance of women in helping sustain the war effort. Women had to provide food for themselves and their families. Planters' wives had to run the plantations and control the slaves whilst women in towns took over many male jobs.
- **Faust:** commented that women faced severe hardship on the home front and this led to the growth of defeatism as seen in the content of letters sent to the fighting men of the South.
- **McPherson:** argued that the war led to a great increase in the employment of women. Volunteer nurses gave valuable service that overcame military and medical prejudice.
- **Massey:** believed the Civil War compelled women to become more active, self-reliant and resourceful.
- **Eaton:** noted that at the beginning of the war, Southern women were great supporters of the rebellion and that it gave them opportunities to enter new occupations.
- **Roland:** on the other hand, has argued that in spite of fierce patriotism of most Southern women, their morale collapsed under the burden of war and their demoralisation did much to wreck the Confederacy.
- **Reid Mitchell:** has noted that historical judgements on Confederate women have ranged from them as more devoted to the Cause than their men folk, to arguing that their withdrawal of support doomed the Confederacy.
- **Dawson:** argued that the war required or offered opportunities for women to work in ways that were out of the ordinary for many of them.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the importance of Northern industrial strength as one of several potential reasons for Union victory in the Civil War. The candidate may choose to focus on the factors that delivered Northern victory but also might include the factors which focus more on the failings within the Confederacy. Regardless, the candidate should assess Northern industrial capacity as one of a range of different factors in order to reach a balanced conclusion regarding the reasons for Northern victory.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support

Northern Industrial Capacity

- Superiority of Union industrial base
- Three times the railway capacity
- Nine times industrial capacity
- Ability to produce superior naval strength; allowing the naval blockade to be imposed
- Superior management of military supplies by Stanton, Gideon Welles etc ensured this advantage.

Political Leadership

- Lincoln's abilities as a war leader
- Strength of Northern political system to manage crises
- Superior diplomacy on the part of Union politicians
- Criticisms of Jefferson Davis.

Military Leadership

- Role of Grant and Sherman
- Total war strategy
- Exploitation of manpower and resources of the Union
- Strategy aimed at destroying the South's will to continue the war
- Refusal of Grant to retreat after reverses, eg Cold Harbour and the Wilderness
- Excessive Confederate military focus in the Virginian theatre
- Confederate generals too attack-minded.

Divisions/Difficulties within the Confederacy

- Weaknesses within the Confederate government
- Issues of states' rights
- Failure of King Cotton diplomacy to win foreign recognition
- Collapse of Confederate morale
- Increasing desertion from Confederate armies
- South as being too democratic
- Bankrupt treasury
- Escaped slaves
- Lack of will within Confederate ranks.

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

- **Current:** In assessing the statistics of Northern strength (population, railroad capacity, industrial production, naval supremacy) he concluded that 'surely in view of the disparity of resources, it would have taken a miracle.....to enable the South to win. As usual, God was on the side of the heaviest battalions.'
- **Foote:** "The North fought the war with one hand behind its back....if necessary; the North simply would have brought that other arm from behind its back. I don't think the South ever had a chance to win that war."
- **Grant:** Victory was not pre-determined by resource superiority.
- **Owsley:** On the tombstone of the Confederacy, the epitaph should read "Died of States Rights." The role of Governors Brown of Georgia and Vance of North Carolina in particular should take the blame for fatally crippling Davis and the Confederacy in their attempts to wage war.
- **Merton Coulter:** The Confederacy lost because "its people did not will hard enough and long enough to win.
- **Beringer, Hattaway, Jones and Still:** "We contend that lack of will constituted the decisive deficiency in the Confederate arsenal."
- **Donald:** The Confederacy "died of democracy." The constant criticism of the opposition within the Confederate Government sapped their will to fight, which filtered through to the army and recruitment.
- **Stampp:** South felt guilt over Negro slavery and this reduced her commitment to the struggle for independence.
- **McWhiney and Jamieson:** The Confederacy bled itself to death in the first three years of the war by making costly attacks and losing their bravest men. Guerrilla warfare would have been a more successful strategy for the South.
- **Ramsdell:** Collapse of civilian morale in the South led to defeat.
- **Glatthaar:** The role of Blacks toward the end of the war was critical in eventual Union victory.

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

Part 2

Question 1

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence for the debate over slave conditions in ante-bellum Southern Society?

Provenance:

- Taken from defence of slavery
- Published at the time of increasing tension over extension of slavery eg Dred Scott
- Virginian lawyer who would be representative of views in his own state
- Leading pro slavery intellect and representative of southern plantation owners' views in the 1850s
- Published three books, all attacking Northern capitalism and defending Southern Slavery
- Worked in the Treasury Department of the Confederacy from 1862
- His infamous work “Cannibals All” published at the same time as the Dred Scott decision which added to the outrage in the North.

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

- Slaves are freest and happiest in the world
- Free workers working longer and harder than slaves – 9 hour working day for male slaves
- Regular days off from work: Sundays and holidays
- Children, elderly and infirm do not work and are provided for by the slave owner.

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

- Southerners argued that slaves did not work harder than most 19th Century free Americans. There was little work on Sunday, half days on Saturday and regular holidays
- Evidence provided by Fogel and Engermann support these statements in their influential work but this was not always the case as slave testaments suggest
- Evidence of health care for slaves in some southern plantations
- Paternalism
- Southerners argued that slaves were reasonably well fed, housed and clothed.

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

- No major slave revolt, suggesting that slave conditions were not particularly bad.
- Only a few hundred slaves tried to escape each year out of a population of approx. 4 million
- Some slaves were granted their freedom on the death of their owner.
- Use of carrot rather than stick to motivate slaves, eg hard working slaves received additional holidays, more food and clothing.
- Floggings were rare. Few brutal owners. Most whites were constrained by Christian morality and own standards of decency.
- Slave population showing natural increase in mortality rates.

However....

- Slaves could be sold, punished, sexually exploited and even killed by their owners.
- Firm discipline was the norm. Disobedient slaves were flogged or branded.
- Slaves usually worked longer hours than free Americans
- Slave family could be broken through sale. Up to 25% of slave family units broken by forced separation.
- Lack of slave revolt shows the reality of the situation. Impossible to organise; slaves not allowed to meet or to own weapons.
- Extremely limited potential for successful escape, therefore severe punishment to escapees.

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

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

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful as evidence for investigating the debate over slave conditions in ante-bellum Southern society.

Question 2

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** about the differing interpretations of the challenges facing Lincoln between 1861 and 1863 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign.
- The need to address the applications for patronage (appointments to Cabinet etc)
- Change the focus of Union war aims and make this public ie from a war about slavery to a war about the Union
- The need to prevent European Intervention; Seward suggest that this should be done by emphasising the spirit of independence through diplomatic links.

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

- Debate over Union war aims at the outset of war: war for the Union or war for the abolition of slavery?
- Difficulties of appointing a cabinet to reflect diverse Northern political opinion ie Republicans, Whigs, Abolitionists, Northern Democrats etc
- International recognition of the Confederacy critical to the outcome of the war.

Source C

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

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

- Lincoln had difficulty balancing the diverse political views within the Republican Party.
- Lincoln was aware that he had to draw his former rivals into “his official household.”
- Issue of appointments tricky in order to ensure a unified Union Cabinet taking into account party loyalty, ability, geographical location
- Leading politicians believed the cabinet should be dominated by former Whigs given that nearly two thirds of Lincoln’s total vote had come from Whigs.

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

- Lincoln was a “consummate politician” spending considerable time ensuring party loyalty
- Cabinet was made up of four former Democrats, three former Whigs some of whom had challenged Lincoln for the leadership in 1860
- Cabinet represented all factions of the Republican Party as well as a balance of easterners and westerners
- Seward, with 12 years’ experience, was a bold appointment as Secretary of State given Lincoln’s relative inexperience within politics.

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

- Lincoln’s personal attributes have been praised – he demonstrated honesty, diligence, tenacity with an unassuming style in a period of immense criticism.
- Lincoln was articulate and effectively presented Union war aims through his eloquent speeches.
- Lincoln established and effectively led a cabinet of politicians that had considerably more experience than him. Lincoln’s man-management skills were crucial in this respect.
- Lincoln’s approach was crucial in maintaining the war effort.
- Demonstrated great skill in 1861 in ensuring the loyalty of the Border States eg Kentucky’s slave status would arguably have made siding with the Confederacy a logical step. Lincoln stated “to lose Kentucky is to lose the whole game.”
- The challenges to his leadership during the political crisis of December 1862 demonstrates Lincoln’s range of abilities. Lincoln invited the critical politicians to a meeting without the ring leader, Seward. Lincoln isolated them, challenged their views and forced them to back down. This ensured that Lincoln’s authority remained intact during a difficult period of the war.
- Lincoln’s decision to suspend the writ of habeas corpus has been argued as an abuse of the constitution. Lincoln has been accused of using excessive executive power in suppressing civil liberties. This challenge remains a significant criticism of Lincoln; however it was important in his drive to win the war.
- The Trent Affair and serious risk of war with Britain threatened the whole war effort. Lincoln successfully played for time and was rewarded with a gold medal for his diplomacy which ensured Britain’s neutrality and therefore Union success.
- Limited recruitment after 1863 forced Lincoln into conscription to maintain the war effort.
- Lincoln had to work hard to maintain Union morale following successive defeat on the Battlefield in the early part of the war. He showed strong leadership, excellent timing and great oratory in retaining morale.
- International diplomacy
- Lincoln struggled to find a Union General in Chief who reflected his views on military strategy, hence the large number of appointments.
- The pressure for emancipation and the timing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

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

- **McKittrick:** Lincoln had to work hard to combat the challenges from within his own government; however the unity of Lincoln's Cabinet during the Civil War was critical
- **Potter:** The continued operation of two-party democratic politics in the North helped rather than hindered the war effort. This is credit to Lincoln and his ability to handle opposition if the North and South had exchanged Presidents, the South might have gained their independence.
- **Neely:** A two-party system was at best inconvenient. Lincoln was criticized by many at the time for this approach to government during the civil war.
- **T. Harry Williams:** Lincoln was a brilliant strategist.
- **James Ford Rhodes:** "Lacking him (Lincoln) in the North would have abandoned the contest. His love of country and abnegation of self, make him a worthy leader."
- **Tulloch:** Lincoln had been fighting for the Union but was forced to change his mind on the issue of emancipation due to the exigencies of war.
- **Randell:** There were significant divisions in the Republican ranks between moderates and radicals.
- **Donald:** Has argued that these divisions have been exaggerated because Lincoln successfully balanced the views of moderates and radicals.
- **Tulloch:** Believes that Republicans were united by their dedication to racial equality and opposition to the Democrats rather than the result of Lincoln's leadership.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B and C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the challenges facing Lincoln between 1861 and 1863.

Question 3

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the contribution of Blacks to both sides during the Civil War in terms of:

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

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

- Three coloured regiments led six assaults on the Confederate entrenchments at Port Hudson on May 27, 1863 demonstrating contribution on the battlefield
- Confederate generals recognised the black contribution to the Union forces on the battlefield
- There is a fiery energy about them beyond anything of which I have ever seen or read
- Black contribution changed white opinion as whites and black soldiers charged together and fell together on the battlefields.

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

- contribution on the battlefield best demonstrated by the famous 54th Mass as characterised in the film *Glory*
- black contribution on the battlefield came at a crucial time during the war when arguably the confederacy held the upper hand
- the Emancipation Proclamation arguably had an impact on black recruitment and contribution; notion of fighting for their own freedom
- black involvement helped alter Northern opinion towards blacks by seeing their contribution and sacrifices for the Union cause.

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

- numbers of blacks involved in Union war effort – 10% of Union total in 1865
- use of these regiments as support for white fighting forces
- issue of discrimination in terms of rates of pay, blacks excluded from officer corps
- contradictory policy of Federal government in refusing to enlist blacks into army yet welcoming them into Federal navy
- use of blacks crossing into Union lines and providing Northern commanders with valuable strategic information
- impact of Southern atrocities eg Fort Pillow massacre
- contribution of blacks was limited in that of 30,000 killed, only 3,000 died in combat
- majority of blacks worked behind the lines digging trenches and carrying out manual work rather than bearing arms
- blacks did release more white manpower for the front
- reference to evidence from generals eg Grant and Sherman
- reference to opinion of Northern leaders, like Lincoln, on contribution of blacks
- whether to recruit black soldiers in the South
- black contribution to the war effort in the South.

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

- **Quarles:** blacks entered Union forces at time of serious depletion and made up 10% of Union total by end of conflict.
- **McPherson:** enlistment of Negro troops in Union army was one of the most significant events of the Civil War.
- **S-M Grant:** decision to raise black regiments was viewed as a necessary war measure.
- **Glatthaar:** leadership on neither side saw the varied and dramatic contribution that blacks would make to Confederate defeat.
- **Batty:** black contribution, though seldom spectacular, was still notable and caused many Northern whites to revise opinion of blacks.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the contribution of Blacks to both sides during the American Civil War.

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

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the extent to which Japanese religious belief was dominated by Shintoism before 1860. Candidates might begin by presenting evidence which illustrates the importance of Shintoism, whilst then going on to highlight the important role also played by Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism. Candidates might highlight the shift in emphasis towards the end of the late Tokugawa period. Candidates will thus reach a balanced conclusion regarding the view that Shintoism was the most important religion in Tokugawa society.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest Shintoism was an important religious belief in Tokugawa society

- Shintoism was Japan's only indigenous religion.
- Central tenet – that the emperor was a living god – was utilised by the Tokugawa regime to justify the caste structure they had enforced.
- The indigenous spiritual beliefs of Shinto date back to nature worship of pre-historic period.
- It was a loose collection of beliefs and practices associated with the worship of Kami or spirits.
- The emperor was the high priest – represented as living Kami by virtue of his descent from the sun goddess.
- Most families had a Shinto shrine in their home to remember their ancestors.
- In almost every community life was organised around two Shinto shrines, one representing the ancestor of the most important family in the community and the other the creator or early owner of the land itself.
- There were also shrines at scenic spots in almost every region.
- The late Tokugawa period witnessed an intellectual revival in Shintoism, associated with an intellectual movement critical of the Shogun, who they felt was usurping the power of the emperor.
- The Tokugawa ban on Christianity also helped to maintain the importance of Shintoism.

Factors which may contradict

- The Shinto religion lacked canonical texts.
- A unique feature of Japanese religious life was that it was possible for individuals to follow the beliefs and practices of more than one religion – which prevented one religion becoming dominant.
- Shintoism was heavily suppressed during the Tokugawa rule, as it was perceived as a threat to the position of the Shogun, who held the real power in Japan.
- Rather, Neo-Confucianism was promoted by the state as the most important religious belief in Japan.
- Neo-Confucianism underpinned the caste structure, which was a pivotal social control mechanism for the Tokugawa regime.
- Neo-Confucianism advocated filial piety, respect and loyalty and had originated from China.
- Candidates might differentiate between the different emphasis of the Tokugawa state and their emerging critics by the late Tokugawa period – the former continuing to try to enforce Neo-Confucianist principles and the latter turning increasingly to Shinto ideology.
- The existence of Buddhism can be used as further evidence to highlight that one religion alone was important.
- Buddhism formally entered Japan by the 6th century through the influx of Chinese scholarship.
- It provided rituals and practices for specific aspects of life and death.
- Most families also had a Buddhist shrine in their homes.
- Samurai followed the moral code of Bushido, which was considered to be like a form of spiritual religion to them.

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

- **Tsunoda, De Bary and Keene:** Contends that "True, during the long centuries of Buddhist and Confucian dominance Shinto had shown little intellectual vitality, and even its most ardent defenders, in contending with these more highly articulated systems of thought, had been forced to draw heavily on them for ideas. Nevertheless, on a more basic level the native cult continued to make itself felt in the lives of the people".
- **Waswo:** suggests that 'neo-confucianism stressed the ethical nature of the government, stressing obedience to one's superiors'.
- **Duus:** Contends that "In their Confucian vision of society, all people could be divided into four classes – officials, peasants, artisans and merchants".
- **Jansen:** believes that "Buddhism was also intimately related to the power structure. At the higher reaches of society court nobles were closely intertwined with the priestly hierarchy."

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the extent to which the collapse of the Tokugawa occurred because of pressures from America, especially the arrival of Perry in 1853.

Candidates should highlight the internationalist context of this pressure, before highlighting that it is too simplistic to attribute the collapse of Tokugawa rule to this alone. There are complex socio-economic and political factors emanating from within Japan itself that also need to be considered.

Candidates will thus reach a balanced conclusion regarding the extent to which the downfall of the Tokugawa can be attributed to pressure from America.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may support the view that the pressure from America was responsible for the collapse of Tokugawa rule

- Pressure from the America had been growing. They were heavily involved in whaling industry in seas around Japan and desperately wanted access to Japanese ports for refuelling and protection for shipwrecked soldiers.
- Commodore Biddle had approached Japan in 1846 but had been sent away without receiving any concessions.
- Perry arrived in 1853 with a third of the American navy – left the Tokugawa feeling threatened.
- Delivered a letter from President Fillmore demanding Japan open its ports to American ships – Japan given a year to respond but there was the implication of military action if their response was not favourable.
- Pressure from America to open its ports left the Tokugawa Bakufu in a genuine state of uncertainty – approached Imperial Court for their opinion – marked a huge turning point in their control as they had never before consulted the Emperor on issues to do with the state.
- Agreed to the signing of the first Unequal Treaty in 1868.
- This led to outrage amongst the men of Shishi and those associated with the new nationalist school of thought.
- With regards its dealings with America, the Bakufu had disregarded Imperial opinion – further fuelled their demands for some form of restoration of the Emperor – who was still the theoretical head of the Bakufu's control system. Tokugawa regime was accused of usurping imperial power.
- Enemies of the regime took up the cry of "Sonno Joi".
- The signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa with America opened the doors for further Unequal Treaties with Britain, France, Russia and the Dutch, which in turn weakened the control of the Tokugawa.
- Bakufu's members became divided over how far to adhere to traditional policies and how far to adapt to the changing environment – the threat from America made them seem incapable of decisive action.

Other factors which contributed to the collapse of the Tokugawa

- Pressure was internationalist in nature – not simply from America. Russia and Britain had also been pressurising Japan to open up its ports and abandon policy of isolation.
- Inherent weakness of decentralised government already apparent before pressure from America – as illustrated by the failure of the Tempo Reforms.
- Socio-economic changes were weakening important forms of social control – especially the caste structure.
- Daimyo and Samurai were falling into debt to the merchants because of their lavish and decadent lifestyles.
- Increasing burden of taxation upon peasants led to an increase in their discontent and incidents of riots.
- Control mechanism was based upon rice as the staple currency – which was being replaced by money by 19th century.
- Tokugawa Bakufu was suffering from a sense of inertia in responding to these changes – and only had direct control over 25% of the land.
- 1866 – important alliance between two leading opponents.
- The fact that the Emperor had always been the theoretical head of the caste structure meant that he was always open to manipulation by the opponents of the Tokugawa – connection with the new national school of thought and Shinto revivalism from late 18th onwards.

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

- **Huber:** Contends that “it was Perry’s arrival which finally made it possible for serious reformers in Choshu and elsewhere to convert their theoretical understanding into an urgent public demand for change”.
- **Wall:** Takes the view that the “arrival of Perry in July 1853 brought the whole complicated debate to a head”.
- **Kornicki:** suggests that “it is more appropriate to see the pressures upon Japan as internationalist in nature”.
- **Hunter:** Suggests that “the dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity which sought to avoid change”.

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to reflect upon the western influence on the educational reforms implemented after 1868. Reference to the ideas of the Charter Oath and the influence of the Iwakura Mission are relevant, along with the perceived backlash against this process in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Reference can be made to any layer of the educational system. Candidates will thus reach a reasoned conclusion regarding the contribution of foreigners to the transformation of Japan's educational system.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest/support that the contribution of foreigners was crucial to the transformation of Japan's educational system

- First official document written by the new regime was the Charter Oath, which publicly stated that Japanese officials wished to seek knowledge throughout the world to bring back to Japan.
- Immediately after the Restoration and the Iwakura Mission there had been a degree of westernisation of the education system in Japan.
- Mori Arinori was highly influenced by the American model of education during his visit there from 1871-73.
- Mori was impressed how education had been used to try and unify America.
- A society based upon the western influenced idea of meritocracy demanded reforms to its education system to permit this social mobility.
- School system introduced in 1872 had followed a centralised French model, but had within it considerable diversity.
- Christian based schools were also established.
- Western-styled Universities established.
- Development of western influenced Commercial Institutes.

Factors which may contradict the view that the contribution of foreigners was not crucial to the transformation of Japan's educational system

- There was a backlash against the perceived westernisation of education.
- Mori Arinori, the minister of Education, was assassinated in 1889.
- More traditional Imperial Rescript introduced in 1889.
- Imperial Rescript highly influenced by Neo-Confucianist principles and ideas. Notions of loyalty and filial piety apparent.
- Rescript firmly rooted in the desire to use education as a means of developing a sense of Japanese identity.
- Moral education based upon a combination of traditional cultural values and modern nationalism which became the core of the school curriculum.
- The divine position of the Emperor was very much exploited within the Imperial Rescript to enforce a compliant attitude and unquestioning sense of responsibility towards the Japanese state.
- According to Rescript, Japanese people were defined as subjects of an absolute monarch rather than citizens in a democratic state.

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

- **Fisher:** "Mori saw in the American system a possible model for Japan which could weld together a nation of well-educated men and women dedicated to serving their country".
- **Grant:** Contends that "The government's attempt to define Japan and Japaneseness with the imperial institution at its core may be seen in the shift in education policy which took place in the late 1880s".
- **Wood:** Argues "Western activity was to be critically evaluated and shaped to suit Japan".
- **Fahs:** Suggests that "Japan's strong feeling of national identity was helpful in preventing blind acceptance of everything western. To its due Japan's succeeded in retaining her own rich traditions".

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to explore the extent to which concerns over Korea were the main cause of conflict with China. They also might explore other factors that may have contributed to conflict. Candidates will thus reach a balanced conclusion as the extent to which Korea was the main reason for the war with China.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the argument that Korea was the main reason for war with China

- Long standing concerns over the strategic importance of Korea – it was the closest area of the Asian mainland to Japan and the main area from which an attack could be launched.
- Described as “dagger pointing into the heart of Japan”.
- Korea was a semi-autonomous kingdom over which China exercised a significant amount of influence, which made Japan uncomfortable.
- In early Meiji era there were imperialistic designs on Korea which were revealed in Saigo Takamori’s plans to launch a campaign against Korea.
- In 1876, Japan persuaded Korea to establish diplomatic relations and accept an unequal treaty providing equal rights for Japanese in Korea which in turn saw Korea asking China to intervene, thereafter both nations agreed to inform one another if they were to dispatch troops to Korea.
- Violation of this agreement led to the Sino-Japanese war.

Factors which may contradict

- The motivation for war was to try and gain an overseas empire, to become more like the west, and help overturn the Unequal Treaties.
- Observations from Iwakura Mission highlighted the fact the great world powers embarked upon imperialist actions and had overseas empires. There was a desire to emulate this.
- Lack of natural resources demanded Japan become aggressive in its foreign policy.
- Japan wanted access to overseas markets.
- Japan had an expanding population and wanted additional land overseas to accommodate them.
- Japan wanted to replace China as the leading Asian nation.
- The Formosa Incident of 1871 had highlighted the shifting balance of power away from China to Japan when the former agreed to pay compensation to Japan for 54 Ryukyuan fishermen shipped wrecked upon Taiwan – a formal acceptance from China that the Ryukyuan Islands were now a Japanese (as opposed to Chinese) sphere of influence.
- The Japanese army and navy were successfully deployed in the occupation of Taiwan, to exert the compensation from China, boosting military confidence.
- There was growing concern regarding expanding Russian influence in Asia. If Japan secured Korea, it would prevent this happening there.
- Increasing sense of nationalism, united behind the divine position of the Emperor, increased a sense of national identity and the desire to show Japanese strength.
- Process of political centralisation firmly embedded and the new regime secure, which meant politically Meiji leaders, began to feel more confident to engage in international affairs.
- By the 1890s, military reforms had been imbedded and conscription introduced, which meant that Japan could confidently begin to exert herself within an international context.

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

- **Beasley:** Argues "Japanese leaders of almost all shades wanted to draw Korea into the Japanese orbit".
- **Hunter:** Contends that "As Japan's strengths grew so did her ambitions on the Asian mainland and her ability to advance them".
- **Benson & Matsumura:** Suggest "The European powers" growing interest in Asia could scarcely be overlooked and this encouraged Japan's development of a more aggressive foreign policy'.
- **B Oh:** Argues "For Japan, imperialism was a means of attaining equality with the west".

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine Japan's role during the war, militarily, economically and socially, and the subsequent peace treaties. The candidate will thus reach a balanced conclusion regarding the extent to which Japan benefited from the First World War

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest that Japan did benefit from WW1

- Japan joined the conflict on the winning side, acquiring Germany's Chinese sphere of influence in Shantung, extending its control of Manchuria.
- Japan tried to further extend its influence over China during the First World War with the 21 Demands in 1915. If achieved, these demands would have essentially reduced China to a Japanese protectorate. Clear evidence of the increasing confidence of Japan.
- From 1915 the Japanese industry underwent considerable expansion because it was able to capture markets from European powers actively involved in the war, eg the Indian markets for textiles that had been dominated by Lancashire products before 1914.
- There was an expansion of other Japanese industries, such as shipbuilding and heavy industries, which had previously been flooded with European produced products.
- Japanese industry also responded to the insatiable demands of the Allies for war materials and other industrial goods. The resulting trade was valuable to the Allies and profitable to Japan.
- Exports quadrupled from 1913 to 1918.
- Japan lost only 5 naval vessels during the course of the war, out of a total of 150.
- Japan emerged on the winning side in 1918 virtually as a non-combatant and without having occurred any of the costs of war, unlike Britain and America.
- The war also confirmed Japan's position as a westernised nation when she participated in the Paris Peace Conference.
- Became a council member of the new League of Nations in 1920. .
- Japan took over trade routes in Asia that had been dominated by western powers prior to the war. The number of merchant ships dramatically increased over the period of the First World War, from 488 in 1900 to 2996 by 1920.

Factors which may suggest Japan did not unconditionally benefit from WW1

- The international economy was also very unstable after the war and Japan was forced to trade in a very uncertain political world.
- The growth that had taken place had only been possible because of the absence of competition and on the return to peace Japanese industry suffered severe dislocation.
- Not all workers benefited equally as wages had not risen as fast as prices and high food prices led to Rice Riots in 1918.
- Japan's desire for racial equality clause as part of League of Nations' Charter was not accepted.
- Although they maintained their control of the former German Mariana Islands, it was through a League Mandate rather than outright ownership.

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

- **Pyle:** Contends that “the outbreak of WW1 in Europe in the summer of 1914 provided extraordinary opportunities to advance the twin objective of empire and industry”.
- **Storry:** Highlights that during this period “it was not long before Japan became a creditor instead of a debtor among the nations”.
- **Ayira Iriye:** Argues “the Japanese were rewarded (for their involvement in the war) by being invited to the peace conference, the first time Japan attended a conference as a fully-fledged member”.
- **Hane:** Suggests that “the Anglo-Japanese Alliance provided them with the excuse to enter the war but the real motivation was to take over the German concessions in China”.

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

Part 2

Question 1

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** about differing views on the development of democracy after 1868 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

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

- Clearly highlights that the early Meiji period did witness the emergence of two political parties, who hoped to influence the new constitution within Meiji Japan.
- Jiyuto was founded in 1881 by Itagaki. This was heavily influenced by western ideas, especially French philosophers, and was clearly focused on issues connected to the popular rights movement, such as liberty, equality and happiness.
- The following year a less extreme liberal party developed, the Kaishinto, established by Okuma.
- The core membership comprised discontented intellectuals, ex-bureaucrats and personal followers of Okuma. The party retained throughout an urban basis.

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

- Both parties emerged as the Meiji regime began to prepare for a possible draft constitution.
- Itagaki was from the Tosa clan, who had initially been a member of, then left, the Meiji Government.
- Jiyuto party was the freedom or liberal party – clearly influenced by western thought and the language of the French Revolution – developed ideas surrounding the national rights of sovereignty.
- Kaishinto was strongly influenced by British Constitutional thought and practice.

Source B

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

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

- The Peace Preservation Ordinance gave the authorities the power to halt secret meetings at their discretion.
- The pressure on the government from political opponents in political newspapers and speech making, petitions, demonstrations and harassment of ministers
- 570 opposition politicians (mainly Liberals) were forced out of Tokyo
- Created a tranquil public domestic order

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

- The Peace Preservation Ordinance was followed up by the Peace Police Act (1900) which gave the government powers to prohibit any association which attempted to organise labour, which put a damper on left wing political activity.
- In May 1901, Japan's first left wing political party, the Social Democratic Party, was banned.
- In Japan 1906 another socialist party was established, but banned within a year.
- The government campaign against the left-wing movement culminated in the so-called High Treason Incident in 1911. A group of left wing socialists and anarchists were found guilty of plotting to assassinate the emperor. 12 were executed.

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

- Political party politics continued to be dominated by clan allegiance – especially the Satsuma-Choshu domination during the Tokugawa period.
- Political parties were not given a huge amount of influence within the new constitution. The elected Diet had some budgetary powers, but no say in the formation of cabinets and other important political affairs.
- The focal position of the Emperor as a living deity at the centre of Japanese politics also made it very difficult for any sustained political dissent.
- New constitution was designed to protect the imperial institution from popular radicalism. The Imperial House was removed from politics.
- From 1885-1900 all prime ministers came from the Satsuma-Choshu grouping in Ito Hirobumi's first cabinet of 1885.
- During the Taisho period political parties became more dominant within cabinets.
- Influenced by foreign developments (such as the Russian Revolution, establishment of the Labour Party) led to demands for more social justice and equality, advanced by the social movements of the period.
- Hara Kei – first 'commoner' Prime Minister – from the House of Representatives.
- Limited franchise.
- Constitution passed in 1889 – details.
- Blue Stocking women's rights movement.
- Details on the structure of parliament/diet: bicameral etc.
- Emperor as a figurehead only.
- Limitations of parliament/democratic deficit.
- Details of the Charter Oath.
- Political assassinations.
- Democracy a façade, designed to impress the West.

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

- **Pyle:** argues “the most noteworthy change in the political system was the growth in power and influence of the parties”.
- **Hane:** contends that “the diet became an institution which provided the people with a voice in government”.
- **Benson & Matsumura:** believes that “this was no western-style liberal democracy. As Article 3 of the Constitution implied, the basic aim of those drawing up the Meiji Constitution was to retain absolute (if symbolic) sovereign power in the hands of the emperor, and actual political power in the hands of the ruling elite who acted as his advisors”.
- **Buruma:** suggests that “Japanese democracy was a sickly child from the beginning”.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A and B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the development of democracy during the Meiji Period.

Question 2

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source C** as an adequate explanation of the impact of Meiji modernisation on living and working conditions

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

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

- Meiji industrial modernisation created many new jobs which in turn created new hardships with regards to living and working conditions.
- There was a change in the social dynamics and relationships within the workplace, especially between the employer and the employee, which lost the traditional emphasis on benevolence and loyalty.
- There was exploitation, which led to poor working conditions, especially in textile factories and mines.
- The living and working conditions of women were particularly badly affected as they formed the clear majority of workers within the Japanese textile industry.

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

- Abolition of the caste structure had opened up new employment opportunities that the previous caste structure had hitherto prevented.
- The scale of some of the new factories did alter the relationships between employer and employee, but Neo-Confucianist ideas of loyalty and obedience were still evident in the contracts for life that many workers received
- Many workers did have to work very long hours for low wages as a direct consequence of the modernisation process, and often lived in factory barracks.
- Women and girls were vital to the textile industry. Many contracted TB and pleurisy as a result of their living and working conditions.

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

- Trade union activity to improve living and working conditions was heavily suppressed through legislation.
- Young, unmarried women were often sold into contracts to factory owners.
- Impact of the introduction of conscription on living and working conditions.
- But there were some improvements. Some Zaibatsu concerned themselves with the welfare of their workers.
- Funds were set up to support some workers in times of sickness and retirement.
- 1911 – legislation introduced to control factory conditions which stopped the employment of children under 12 and established a 12 hour limit for boys and girls up to 15.
- Street lighting was provided for towns.
- Most employees stayed with the same firm until retirement.
- Family-like relationships did develop with some firms eg Kanebo Cotton Textile Company, who offered crèche, company houses for married couples, funeral expenses etc.
- Creation of agricultural co-operatives in 1900.
- Whole new areas of employment opened up for women – eg secretaries, telephonists, teachers, nurses, clerks – growing in number after 1890.
- Introduction of new technology eased working conditions.
- Abolition of Bakufu-han structure meant that peasants could theoretically own their own land.
- Different impact on different social classes. Samurai benefited from their large financial pay-off.
- Overcrowding in cities.

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

- **Hane:** argues "In general the living conditions of the working class, rural and urban, did not improve significantly".
- **Tsurumi:** Claims "Dormitories were intended to keep female workers from running away. The prison-like function is clear from their construction".
- **Waswo:** Believes "Many felt liberated by the Meiji Restoration and the lifting of restrictions on their personal and occupational mobility. Encountering new opportunities, they set about to improve their lives and the lives of their families".
- **Totman:** Highlights that "Industrialists continued to talk about Japan's beautiful custom of master-servant relations firmly based upon a spirit of sacrifice and compassion".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the impact of Meiji modernisation on living and working conditions.

Question 3

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence for Japan's defeat of Russia in 1904-5

Provenance:

- Admiral Togo had become the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy in 1903.
- He was termed by Western journalists "the Nelson of the East". He had been involved in fighting against the Tokugawa forces in the Boshin war, and was clearly committed to the Meiji Restoration.
- Report was written in the immediate aftermath of the battle, which took place on 27-28 May 1905, to feedback to Naval headquarters, the government and ultimately the country this unexpected and decisive victory over a great global power.

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

- Japan had the home advantage in the Battle of Tsushima, and lay in wait for the Russian fleet – a successful tactical move.
- The Japanese had a highly planned battle strategy, the first part of which was a deception.
- The Japanese armoured cruisers attacked the Russians from the rear.
- However, Togo highlights that the role of the Emperor was even more crucial than this in the eventually victory at Tsushima. He argues that the Emperor and the spirits of imperial ancestors protected the men.

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

- Togo engaged the Russian navy at Port Arthur and the Yellow Sea in 1904, and destroyed the Russian Baltic Fleet at the Battle of Tsushima in 1905.
- Admiral Togo's ships performed the vital role of winning and holding control of the seas, allowing time to organise a steady flow of troops to the mainland.
- The Japanese army had impressive discipline. Superior training techniques and logistical organisation adopted from Prussia.
- Emperor was a living deity and the head of the armed forces – armed forces were answerable only to him.
- Soldiers and sailors took an oath of loyalty to him – the Imperial Rescript to sailors and soldiers stressed their loyalty to Japan and aimed to create a truly national army loyal to the Emperor and his government.

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

- Japan had protected dockyards and dry docking facilities, which the Russians lacked.
- Japanese were not quite as decisive on land.
- Won a notable victory to possess Mukden, but at a high human cost.
- General Nogi controlled the Third Army and secured Port Arthur at a cost of 60 000 Japanese troops, including his two sons.
- Nogi imposed an extremely high standard of discipline upon his troops, especially towards civilian life or property.
- Japan had the assurance of the 1902 alliance with Britain.
- Japan was benefiting from her military reforms, including the introduction of conscription in 1873.
- Naval reforms were based upon Britain's development: army on French then Prussian.
- By 1894 Japan had 28 modern ships in the fleet which were proto-dreadnoughts.
- The humiliation of the Tripartite Intervention after their defeat of China left a profound anti-Russian sentiment within Japan, which had only heightened following the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway.
- In contrast, the Russian fleet was ill-equipped and badly led and lacked gunnery practice
- Russian general staff underestimated Japan's capability.
- Russian lines of communication were poor.

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

- **Hunter:** Contends that "Japan had for several years been building up her armed forces in anticipation of conflict with Russia".
- **Benson & Matsumara:** highlight the important role played by the navy in victory. "It was a conflict in which the navy did spectacularly well".
- **Pyle:** highlights "those taxes were progressively raised as military expenditures more than tripled in the decade 1893-1903".
- **Hane:** argues "Japan was in a more favourable position to fight because it had a well-trained army close to the battle zone".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as evidence for investigating the reasons for Japan's defeat of Russia.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss how the threats to the new republic from the Left and the Right were effectively headed off by Ebert. Candidates may wish to argue that the republic was successfully defended or they may wish to suggest that in the short term it looked as though the republic had been secured but that in fact in the long term it had been seriously – even fatally – undermined.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that the threats to the republic from the Left and the Right were successfully dealt with in the short term

Threats from the Left

- Ebert-Groener Pact, Nov 10th 1918
- January 1919: The SPD–led government crushed the Spartacist uprising using the *Freikorps* and the army. Over 1200 Spartacists were killed including the Spartacists' leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Although the action seemed to have been effective over the next four years the government faced a series of threats from the extreme Left.
- Spring 1919: the industrial areas of Germany were swept by a wave of unrest expressed most seriously through strikes in the Ruhr mines, central Germany and Berlin. The strikers demanded shorter hours, the nationalisation of industry and government based on soviets. A mixture of government promises and the use of the *Freikorps* and the army quelled the unrest.
- Nov 1918-May 1919. The government faced a very serious problem in Bavaria. During this period a soviet republic was proclaimed in Bavaria. In May 1919 the government decided to put an end to this challenge to its authority. The Bavarian republic was suppressed, again using the *Freikorps*. Over 700 killed.
- March 1920: In response to the Kapp *putsch* the Communists formed the Ruhr Army, a force of 50 000 workers, to resist the *putsch*. This was the largest working class revolt of the period 1919-23. Ebert ordered the army to break up the Ruhr Army and in the ensuing action 100 workers and several hundred policemen and soldiers were killed.
- April 1920 to summer 1923: There were disturbances in Saxony and Thuringia throughout this period most seriously in summer 1923 when there was a wave of strikes. The hyperinflation crisis encouraged the KPD to try to organise a German Bolshevik-style revolution to be based on Saxony where there was an SPD-KPD led government. In October 1923 government troops overthrew the Saxon government and the restored order.

Threats from the Right

- Organisation Consul and murders of Erzberger and Rathenau
- Ebert's dealings with the Right wing within the army the civil service and the judiciary
- March 1920: The Kapp *putsch* almost succeeded but the government was saved by a general strike in Berlin and elsewhere organised by the trade unions and by the Communists. In this attempted *putsch* the Army refused to support the government when ordered to suppress the *putschists*.
- Nov 1923: The Munich *putsch* organised by Hitler and the Nazis. Although this was much less successful than the Kapp *putsch* had been and was easily suppressed Hitler and the Nazis gained a tremendous amount of publicity from it, publicity that benefited Hitler in the long-term.

Factors which support the view that threats to the republic from the Left and the Right seemed to have been dealt with effectively in the short-term, in fact these threats weakened the republic in the long-term

- The crushing of the Spartacists did not bring about an end to Communist activity and for much of the period 1919-23 left wing uprisings or actions against the republic were Communist-led.
- Ebert's actions against the extreme Left throughout the period ensured that the KPD and the SPD would never form a united front against the extreme Right and this had serious consequences for democracy and the republic not just in the period 1919-23 but thereafter.
- The fact that left wing uprisings continued even after the crushing of the Spartacists in 1919 ensured that the middle classes were never really convinced about the republic's ability to prevent a Communist revolution in Germany.
- The frequency of actions against the republic by the extreme Left meant that industrialists and businessmen had little faith in the republic.
- The Kapp *putsch* highlighted the fact that, in spite of the Ebert-Groener pact, the Army was as likely to undermine the republic as it was to support it, and certainly never really supported democracy.
- The Munich *putsch*, though a failure in the short-term, gave Hitler a platform from which he was able to present himself as a well-motivated German nationalist and he emerged from prison in much stronger position in the Nazi Party than before, and as a nationally-known figure around whom, later on, the forces of conservatism and extreme Right coalesced.

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

- **William Carr:** Ebert seemed to have been successful in actions against the extreme Left and Right, but little was done to deal with the paramilitary formations of either the Left or the Right. These paramilitary formations had certain characteristics in common; they hated the republic and democracy and were addicted to violence. Those on the Right were also ultra-nationalist and deeply anti-Semitic.
- **Hans Boldt:** The exercise of emergency powers by the democratic President Ebert turned out to be very successful. There is no doubt that the republic could not have been so successfully defended against its enemies without Ebert's willingness to use Article 48 when faced with attacks on the republic from the Left and the Right.
- **Stephen Lee:** Ebert concentrated on steering the republic towards parliamentary democracy and was not afraid to use military action against extremists to achieve this. He achieved what he wanted. He shaped the republic's particular form of democracy and enabled it to survive.
- **Ruth Henig:** The crushing of the Spartacists in January 1919 permanently split the Left in Germany. It could be argued that this split had disastrous consequences for the republic in later years. A Marxist revolution had been prevented but "the forces of reaction and strident nationalism made swift recovery and emerged by 1920 as the most potent enemies of the new republic."
- **Matthew Stibbe:** Perhaps Ebert's most serious failure in the years 1919-23 was his failure to deal with the *Reichswehr*. The *Reichswehr's* political interventions were almost entirely against the Left. Ebert's policy, as Reich President, was to back the army and the representatives of law and order in every instance even when their use of force was clearly excessive.
- **Heinrich A Winkler:** Ebert's actions against the extreme Left in particular alienated many social democrats from identifying with the new state. This weakened parliamentary democracy considerably and so gave extra impetus to the already strong anti-parliamentarian bourgeoisie.

Question 2

The aim of this question is to allow candidates to discuss what was happening in *domestic* politics in the so-called “Golden Years”. In particular candidates might be expected to examine evidence for and against the view that although the political system between 1924 and 1929 seemed to have become more stable (compared with the period 1919-23), that apparent stability disguised the fact that democratic politics was weakening not strengthening during these years.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that the republicanism and democracy were weakened, 1924-29

- Political violence did not disappear. Extremists parties did not gain mass support at elections but they made an impact on the streets. There were frequent fights between the KPD's Red Fighting League and the Nazis' SA. Over 50 people were killed and many more injured.
- The DDP, which had formed the basis for representing middle class interests in the parliamentary system lost ground. This was ominous because it reflected the fact that the middle classes were increasingly moving to the right.
- Politics may have seemed more stable but in fact between 1924 and 1929 there were six governments, each one a short-lived coalition. Most had no majority in the Reichstag and each was a product of the PR system.
- Politicians from different parties found it very difficult to cooperate and as a result no Chancellor was able to hold a government together for more than two years. The need for constant bargaining discredited parliamentary government.
- Voters were dissatisfied with the PR system because it meant candidates were chosen from party lists and thus by the party machines.
- There was growth of narrow sectional interests, encouraged by the PR system in which only 60 000 votes were needed to get representation in the Reichstag.
- Deep divisions were revealed in issues such as the colours of the flag for the Republic. The Republic lacked symbols that united everyone.
- Stresemann aside, there was a lack of charismatic political leadership.
- Hindenburg's election was ominous for the Republic because he was at heart an old-fashioned right wing monarchist rather than a keen supporter of the Republic.
- Industrialists resented the welfare state.
- Unemployment never fell below one million.
- The elites and opinion shapers in society – teachers, doctors, clergymen, newspaper editors, judges, and civil servants – did not champion republican and democratic values but on the contrary tended to be rather conservative.

Factors which support the view that the republicanism and democracy were strengthened, 1924-29

- After 1923 politics became more peaceful. There were no attempted coups from the right or the left and no major political figures were assassinated.
- Elections also gave encouraging signs to republicans and democrats. As the economy stabilised voters switched back to voting for the democratic parties.
- Pro-Weimar parties gained over half the votes in the Reichstag elections of May 1924 and over three-quarters of the vote in the Reichstag elections of May 1928.
- Welfare reforms strengthened support for the Republic among ordinary Germans. Considerable advances were made in the provision of social services.
- State governments improved schools, hospitals, roads and electricity supplies.
- In 1927 the state social insurance scheme was extended to protect over 17 million workers in the event of unemployment.
- The election of Hindenburg as President following the death of Ebert in 1925 reassured republicans that the years of political turmoil were over and the Republic was stable and permanent.
- Effects of economic improvement helped to underpin renewed political stability.

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

- **Richard Bessel:** From 1924 until the end of the decade, the Weimar Republic enjoyed a measure of political stability. The extremist parties of the left and right appeared to be losing ground while the pro-republican parties saw their representation in the Reichstag increase. Hindenburg's election to the presidency appeared to reconcile many conservatives to the Republic. In May 1928 the Nazis only managed to win 2.8% of the vote.
- **Paul Bookbinder:** The schools were not geared towards creating critically thinking citizens and the newspapers did little to clarify issues, so citizenship development did not progress very quickly. Real progress towards the creation of republicans and a republican and democratic political culture could have been made in this middle period, but the opportunity was lost.
- **Richard J Evans:** The idea that democracy was on the way to establishing itself at this time is an illusion created by hindsight. The fact that two major bourgeois parties, the Centre party and the Nationalists, soon fell into the hands of avowed enemies of democracy boded ill... Not even in the relatively favourable circumstances of 1928 had the parties of the 'Weimar coalition' succeeded in gaining a majority in the Reichstag.
- **Ruth Henig:** It could be argued that Hindenburg's election helped to stabilise the Republic. Sections of the population who had hitherto placed little confidence in Weimar governments saw Hindenburg as providing continuity and as the man who could be relied upon to safeguard national interests.
- **Detlev Peukert:** There was an illusion of domestic stability, 1924-29. These years seem stable only by contrast with the periods of crisis that preceded and followed them. The two liberal parties, the DDP and the DVP, steadily lost votes. This liberal bloc was crucial in the parliamentary system and its electoral decline was the decisive event of Weimar politics because it undermined the pro-republican centre from within.

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the importance of propaganda in securing the Nazi rise to power. Discussion might be expected to include detail on propaganda itself-assessing the strengths and weaknesses of different aspects of the Nazi propaganda campaign and weighing these against one another. Candidates might also consider its role against other factors in explanations of the Nazis' rise to power such as party organisation, sponsorship and leadership, economic collapse, the failure of other parties to present significant opposition, and the inherent failures of Weimar with its association with Versailles.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which suggest that propaganda was crucial in the Nazis rise to power

- The Nazis had a highly centralised propaganda machine under the direction of Josef Goebbels who was himself a superb propagandist.
- Close attention was paid to local propaganda. Key individuals in local communities were targeted and won over, the idea being that these influential local people would then go out and spread the word.
- Nazi organisations – for youth, for women, for workers – were also used as vehicles for propaganda.
- Perhaps most important, the entire SA, for all their violence and thuggery, were also deployed in the propaganda campaigns. They projected an image of strength, order and youthful dynamism, and of tough anti-communism, and at the same time assisted at soup kitchens and other welfare projects run by the Nazis. Propaganda by deed
- Propaganda was crucial and in particular the projection of the image of Adolf Hitler as the “strong man” the country needed proved to be highly successful.
- Hitler’s speeches were also propaganda and he used these very effectively to target Germans’ specific grievances and tailored his message to whichever audience he was addressing.
- Other Nazi speakers were effective too. They were always trained speakers (over 6 000 by 1933).
- Rallies, torchlight parades, leaflets and posters were also used to get the message out.
- The swastika banner was effective in giving the Nazis a clear, striking visual symbol that everyone recognised.
- Technology was used effectively to create the image of Hitler as the man of the hour especially during the 1932 presidential election campaign when Hitler was flown around by plane so that he could reach lots of places quickly but also to convey the idea of him as a messianic figure descending to earth from heaven.
- Role of and use of the press and media: relationship with Hugenberg and the DNVP.

Factors which suggest that propaganda was not the only or even main element in the Nazis' rise to power

- Hitler's leadership – as distinct from his propaganda image – was crucial. He provided charismatic leadership. He was indeed an excellent orator who was especially good at identifying his audiences' emotions and expectations, and aligning himself with them. His insistence on the *Fuhrerprinzip* meant that his authority could not be challenged.
- Nazi party organisation was also important. The party was organised into a series of *Gaue* (Districts/regions) each headed up by a *Gauleiter*.
- Nazi organisations were set up for lots of different groups in society from youth to lawyers to factory workers and agricultural workers.
- The Nazi party were highly effective as a campaigning organisation with a powerful message.
- The Nazis were also helped by the economic collapse of 1929-32.
- The Nazis were helped too by hatred of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The Nazis were helped by the fact that the Weimar Republic seemed to be completely incapable of keeping Germany free of economic and political crises.
- Division on the left – the inability of the KPD and the SPD to work together – ensured that the Nazis were never seriously opposed in the Reichstag even as their representation in it increased.
- The miscalculations of the political elite – notably Hindenburg, von Papen and Schleicher – led to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.
- Although the Nazi Party was close to bankruptcy by November 1932, Hitler had the backing of some leading industrialists including Fritz Thyssen. Thyssen along with Bosch, Krupp and Hjalmar Schacht petitioned the President to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. This gave Hindenburg the impression of a far wider base of support among businessmen than Hitler actually had.
- Propaganda mobilised those already inclined to support the Nazis more than it affected those who were committed politically to another party.

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

- **Richard J Evans:** By 1932 the Nazis were “a catch all party of social protest” with particularly strong middle class support and relatively weak working class backing at the polls. The Nazis successfully projected an image of dynamism and salvation of the national community.
- **Ian Kershaw:** The NSDAP came to function increasingly as a “super-interest” party. In thus projecting himself and the Nazi movement, Hitler tapped into the burgeoning ‘national mood’ far more effectively than his rivals.
- **Stephen Lee:** The Nazis' success depended on the vulnerability of the republic caused by the economic crisis from 1929. Hitler succeeded in collecting much of the electorate that had become disillusioned with the republic.
- **Frank McDonough:** A key factor that greatly contributed to the Nazis' rise to power was effective propaganda. Nazi propaganda was centrally controlled and organised by Josef Goebbels. It is no coincidence that the great surge in Nazi electoral support took place in the period after Goebbels took control of Nazi Party propaganda.
- **Roderick Stackelberg:** The depression led to the breakdown of the SPD and DVP governing coalition in March 1930. Moreover, the Nazis left-wing opposition was divided by the feud between the SPD and the KPD, which had its main source in the repression of the Communists revolution by the SPD-led government shortly after the end of the First World War.
- **Jill Stephenson:** Nazi propaganda was a powerful weapon, particularly when it was deployed utterly unscrupulously, with mutually irreconcilable promises made to different social or regional groups at the same time but in different locations. But what enabled the NSDAP to disseminate its propaganda was the growing strength of its organisation.

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the extent to which Nazi economic policies achieved Hitler's aims: tackling the depression and restoring of Germany to full employment, building up Germany's military might, making Germany self-sufficient and winning public support for the Nazi regime.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which suggest Nazi economic policy achieved Hitler main aims

- Within the first year of taking office laws and initiatives were introduced which dealt effectively with the number of Germans out of work. Work schemes introduced by Brüning, Papen and Schleicher were continued through the *Law to Reduce Unemployment*, June 1933.
- Work schemes included the building of new roads – the *Autobahnen*.
- The so-called “Battle for Work” also included the government lending money to private companies so they could create jobs.
- The Labour Service and Emergency Relief Schemes put thousands into work and were labour intensive.
- The regime's attempts to reduce unemployment were successful. In 1933 the percentage of those unemployed was 26. By 1936 this had fallen to 7.4.
- The agricultural depression, which pre-dated the Great Depression, was dealt with by the Reich Food Estate (Sept 1933) which took control of the planning and organisation of agriculture, and in the same month the *Reich Entailed Farm Law* attempted to improve the security of ownership of land for the small farmers.
- In summer 1934 Hjalmar Schacht, who was appointed President of the *Reichsbank* in May 1933, launched his New Plan the aim of which was to make the German economy independent of the world economic system.
- In 1934 Schacht negotiated a series of trade agreements between Germany and countries in South America and south-eastern Europe aimed at preventing Germany running up a foreign currency deficit while still being able to acquire raw materials.
- Schacht also introduced Mefo Bills, bills issued by the government as payment for goods.
- By 1936 the economy had recovered sufficiently to allow Hitler to pursue rearmament, but Schacht expressed doubts that Germany could afford this. He was replaced by Goering, who set about making Germany more self-sufficient.
- Goering's Four Year Plans were launched to increase production of oil, rubber and steel,
- In 1937-38 the money spent on the military rose to 10 billion RM. By 1938-39 this had risen to 17 billion.

Factors which suggest Nazi economic policy was not successful in achieving Hitler's aims

- The reduction of unemployment was in part the result of an upturn in world trade rather than Nazi policies as such although Nazi policies that encouraged women to leave the workplace, forced Jews out of their jobs and the introduction of conscription did help.
- Some of the credit might be given to the coming to fruition of pre-1933 measures taken by Brüning.
- The "Battle for Production", which had aimed to increase the production of foodstuffs, did not succeed. There was also a growing lack of consumer goods.
- Agriculture continued to be in difficulties. In particular, it suffered from a lack of machinery and manpower.
- Germany continued to import key raw materials such as copper to sustain rearmament and by 1936 had used up its reserves of raw materials and so was forced to buy raw materials, such as oil, on the open market.
- Schacht's "New Plan" never solved the problem of Germany's ability to afford to import large quantities of food and of raw materials for rearmament.
- Goering's attempt to make Germany self-sufficient (autarky) via the Four Year Plans was not a success. For example, by 1938 Germany was running a trade deficit of 432 million RM.
- Considerable sums were spent on the manufacture of synthetic goods.

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

- **Tim Kirk:** By the late 1930s Germany perhaps faced something of an economic crisis. Labour shortages contributed to this, as did competition between firms for raw materials and foreign exchange a problem that persisted and intensified. Furthermore, the army, the airforce and the navy competed with each other within arms enterprises.
- **Stephen Lee:** Although there is a case for saying that by 1939 the Germany economy was in crisis perhaps this argument has been taken too far.
- **Geoff Layton:** By mid-1936 unemployment had fallen to 1.5 million; industrial production had increased by 60% since 1933; GNP had grown over the same period in real terms by 40%. However, such successes masked fundamental structural weaknesses, which came to a head in the second half of 1936. Although by 1939 the German economy was a long way short of being fully mobilised, it was certainly on more of a war-footing than the economies of either Britain or France.
- **Richard Overy:** By 1938-39 Germany's external debt was stabilised, interest rates were falling, the capital market was closely controlled by the state and the bulk of government expenditure was covered by taxation. Only in 1939 was there a substantial increase in the cumulative government deficit. This is not to deny that the German economy faced some financial strain.
- **Roderick Stackelberg:** A major source of Hitler's popularity was the improvement of the German economy. While it is true that the Great Depression had bottomed-out in 1932, the Nazis could nevertheless take credit for introducing deficit-spending earlier than other European countries.
- **Adam Tooze:** No one in Germany starved in order to sustain rearmament, but the restriction of consumer opportunities was very real; in the late 1930s, "as rearmament expenditure reached new heights, the trade-offs became very severe indeed." At the same time, of course, 'rearmament brought new opportunities for Germans of all social classes'.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the key ideological aim of the *Volksgemeinschaft* – to create a racially pure Germany – and to assess the extent to which this aim was met via the policies the Nazis implemented. Candidates might look specifically at impact of Nazi racial policy (the heart of the *Volksgemeinschaft*) additionally they might look at the range of *Volksgemeinschaft* policies and the extent to which these did or did not succeed in contributing to the creation of a racial state.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the view that the Nazis succeeded in creating a racial state

- The Nazis wanted to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* of healthy “Aryans” committed to the state.
- This vision was accompanied by hostility to “alien elements” that threatened the supremacy of the German people. These “aliens” were defined in racial-genetic, ideological and social/behavioural terms, but it was the racial-genetic that was by far the most important.
- This led to the persecution of gypsies, homosexuals, religious sects, the mentally ill and “asocials” such as habitual criminals or alcoholics, and, above all, Jews.
- Measures taken against outsiders included job discrimination, imprisonment, and compulsory sterilisation.
- Measures against the Jews were escalated in a series of ever more radical policies.
- In 1933 a boycott of Jewish shops was organised. Also in 1933 the *Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service* banned all Jews from government employment. In 1935 the Nuremberg Laws deprived Jews of citizenship. In November 1938 a pogrom was organised (*Reichskristallnacht*) and Jews were deprived of their businesses by the *Law for the Exclusion of Jews from Economic Life*.
- By 1939 Jews had been completely excluded from German society.
- Policies on youth and women and for the workers, the *mittelstand* and the peasants were often explicitly designed along racial lines. Thus, for instance, policies on women were designed to ensure that women saw their first duty as the production of healthy “Aryan” children for the Reich.
- Youth and education policies did lead to the creation of a hard core of Nazi fanatics especially in the SS. These became the ‘racial warriors’ of the *Reich* determined to “cleanse” Germany of all racially unfit elements.

Factors which suggest that the Nazis were not completely successful in creating a racial state

- Although the Nazis successfully excluded Jews completely from political, economic social and cultural life, other policies designed to create a racial state were less successful
- The boycott of 1 April 1933 was stopped quickly when it became clear that people were in fact extremely uncomfortable by its violent edge.
- By 1936 there were increasing signs that workers were becoming indifferent to the regime.
- Nazi policies on women did not dramatically increase the birth rate, which the Nazis had hoped their policies would.
- Initial enthusiasm for the youth organisations gave way to increasing disillusion with Nazi ideology.
- Nazi policies did not undermine traditional class loyalties. Common ethnicity did not overcome the deep social division caused by class.

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

- **Richard J Evans:** Hitler considered that Germany and the Germans could only become strong again if the state applied to German society the basic principles of “racial hygiene” and “racial engineering.” Race was meant to supplant class as the primary organising principle in society. The realisation of this racially determined cleavage self-evidently received priority over whatever changes the Nazis attempted during their rule. The millions of victims are a reminder of the purposiveness with which the regime went about realising the most crucial part of its desolate agenda; namely, the creation of a functioning racial state.
- **Evans and Jenkins:** Hitler’s determination to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* of Aryans of a healthy physical and mental condition “proved to be the most consistent, coherent and revolutionary aspect of Nazism.”
- **Mary Fulbrook:** “To ignore the sheer extent of Nazi racism is to miss what was arguably the most fundamental aspect of any conceivable Nazi social revolution.”
- **Ian Kershaw:** One aspect of the attempt to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* was the removal of the Jews from participation in German society. In this the Nazis were completely successful. Otherwise the attempt to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* was not successful.
- **Tim Kirk:** Despite “the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda” the Nazi regime did not bring about the *Volksgemeinschaft*.
- **Jill Stephenson:** The creation of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was an aspiration of the Nazi leadership that remained at best only partially fulfilled. As an ideal it had considerable appeal in the early 1930s, but ultimately the kind of commitment the theorists of the *Volksgemeinschaft* required was lacking.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 2

Question 1

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the democratic strengths and weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution.

Provenance:

- These are articles from the actual Weimar Constitution that was drawn up in 1919 and accepted by the Reichstag (formed following the January elections) in August of that year, bringing to an end the revolutionary turmoil of 1918-19 and ensuring that Germany would be a parliamentary democracy.
- Although it was the work of a Reichstag committee, the constitution was in fact mainly drafted by Hugo Preuss, a liberal and Professor of Public Law at Berlin University, who favoured the parliamentary model of democracy. He had been appointed to carry out this task as early as November 1918 by the provisional government (The Council of People's Commissars). The Constitution strongly reflected Preuss's political ideology.
- The purpose of these key Articles from the constitution was to establish the democratic principles behind, and the democratic methods for, the government of the new Republic.

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

- Art. 1 guaranteed that the new Germany would be a republic with all power coming from the people.
- Art. 22, by guaranteeing "... direct, equal, universal and secret suffrage", ensured that the new Republic was going to be democratically elected.
- Art. 41 further enshrined democracy by ensuring that the Head of State would also be picked by the German people [in a separate election from picking the parliamentary delegates].
- Art. 48 was believed to give democratic strength to the new Republic because it said that if "public order and security" were "seriously disturbed or endangered", then the President – who after all had been democratically elected – could "take the measures necessary" for the restoration of democracy, using the army if need be. It could also be seen as a weakness.

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

- The Weimar Constitution, even at the time, was viewed as one of the most democratic in the world. [eg all women got the vote of UK and France].
- It was informed by the American, French, Swiss and British models of democracy and tried to put together the best from these models.
- The constitution did indeed empower the people at least in the sense that it enabled them to participate in elections. And the people did participate. Turnout at elections never fell below 75% throughout the period of the Republic.
- The republic's voting system was Proportional Representation and this did indeed ensure that a wide range of parties and interests was represented in the Reichstag. [Candidate may give specific details of how this operated – pool system for votes in each electoral district, no wasted votes etc].
- Article 48 was used several times by Ebert in his time as President of the Republic (1919-25), and he used it exactly as it was meant to be used – to restore public order and security when these were disturbed – deliberately – by extremist groups intent on destroying the Republic and democracy.

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

- The democratic nature of the constitution was also illustrated in and reinforced by the Articles in Part 2, which set out a list of basic human rights which are regarded as people's democratic rights, as well as people's responsibilities. [eg candidate may give details on articles on freedom from arbitrary arrest, unlawful imprisonment, privacy of mail and telephone, legality of trade unions, banning of para-military groups etc].
- The democratic nature of the constitution was also illustrated by the fact that it did indeed provide the backing for all governments of the Republic until 1930, after which year it was sidelined by the prolonged use of Article 48 – government by presidential decree (clearly not democratic).
- It could also be argued that, along with Article 48, some of the other articles in fact had the potential to be undemocratic. A PR system in which lots of parties participated and got seats [because the threshold for gaining a seat was only 60,000 votes] meant that governments were always coalitions because no one party ever managed to win a majority. This meant that governments frequently collapsed and, more importantly, that setting up of governments involved horse-trading among the parties therefore completely leaving the voters out of the process and so in fact alienating the voters from democracy.
- It could also be argued that the constitution had the potential to lead to the undermining of democracy because it did not get the balance of powers right; it gave too much weight to the power of the President and thus much depended on the character of the President.

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

- **K D Bracher:** The constitution did not preclude the erosion and abrogation of its substance by constitutional means. It allowed for the possibility of presidential government without and even against the will of parliament and democratic public opinion.
- **Richard J Evans:** The constitution was full of far-reaching declarations of principle... On the basis of such principles, a whole raft of legislation was steered through the Reichstag.
- **Evans and Jenkins:** The constitution was far from revolutionary, but it did represent a major break with the former imperial regime, which had always been more authoritarian than democratic.
- **Ruth Henig:** The constitution was an ambitious and complex document; It sought to lay the basis for a modern parliamentary democracy, in which people would enjoy far-reaching political, social and economic rights.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful as evidence for investigating the democratic strengths and weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution.

Question 2

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source B** as an adequate explanation of the reasons for Stresemann's policy of *erfüllungspolitik* (fulfilment) in terms of:

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

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

- "... occupation of the Ruhr convinced..." Stresemann that he had to have good relations with the Western powers; this meant showing he was prepared to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Versailles.
- He wanted to win the confidence of the Western powers so that they would cooperate with Germany and bring Germany back into the circle of nations over such things as the League and then Locarno.
- Stresemann wanted to convince the German people to follow him in this course; if there was consensus inside Germany it would better support and justify his efforts on the international stage.
- He wanted through his foreign policy to bring about a German recovery and this meant dismantling more of the terms of the treaty.

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

- Stresemann had not initiated the policy of fulfilment. Fulfilment was in fact initiated by his predecessors at the Foreign Ministry, Rathenau, Wirth and even Erzberger; so Stresemann was building on already well-established policy.
- The Ruhr occupation, by the French and Belgians following Germany's default on reparations payments due in Jan 1923, convinced Stresemann that Germany had to cooperate with the Allies over the terms of Versailles or face future hostile action from France, possibly even war.
- Stresemann knew Germany did not have the military capacity to fight another war (because of the military restrictions placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles) and so he realised that negotiation was the only realistic way of revising the Treaty of Versailles to Germany's benefit.
- Stresemann benefited from the change in international conditions following the Ruhr Crisis. French actions had backfired and the British were now willing to take a lead over Dawes and Locarno.
- The Dawes Plan (1924) did not lead to a reduction in the total amount of reparations Germany had to pay, but it did lead to a longer period of time for the repayments to be made. In other words, Dawes revised the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in Germany's favour.
- The Locarno Pact (1925) also benefited Germany because it agreed to accept Germany's western borders as laid down by Versailles so securing Germany from French attack while at the same time securing France from German attack.
- Given that Stresemann aimed to restore German power, he understood that German entry to the League of Nations was vital and that entry to the League must include Germany having a permanent seat on the Council and a veto.

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

- Restoration of German power also had to mean an end to allied occupation of the Rhineland. Fulfilment was a way of securing this and it succeeded. Stresemann secured agreement on the Allies withdrawal from the Rhineland (Zone 1: Around Cologne) following the Locarno Pact. Then, as part of the Young Plan negotiations, the Allies agreed to leave Zone 2 (which they did in November 1929), and the final zone was evacuated in June 1930.
- That revision of Versailles in Germany's favour was one of Stresemann's key reasons for pursuing fulfilment was also evident in the Young Plan (1929), which resulted in the Allies agreeing to reduce the total amount of reparations.
- Stresemann understood that fulfilment by itself would not be sufficient to achieve the restoration of German power he sought. For this reason he also pursued diplomatic agreements with Soviet Russia notably in the Treaty of Berlin (1926). He knew that this would put pressure on the Allies because they did not want Germany and Soviet Russia to become too close.

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

- **Richard J Evans:** Stresemann was the Republic's most skilled, most subtle and most realistic politician. On one level he pursued *erfüllungspolitik*, including the payment of reparations, while behind the scenes he lobbied for them to be changed. Stresemann was a political realist who understood that though German soldiers were secretly training in the Soviet Union, there was little chance of the German army being able to defeat the allies in the event of a war.
- **Eberhard Kolb:** The central objective of Stresemann's foreign policy was the restoration of Germany as a sovereign "great power" with equal rights... If only because of lack of military power, he firmly rejected war as a means to political ends and regarded the path of negotiation and understanding as the only possible one. He realised that only by satisfying France's demand for security could the way be opened for the co-operative solution of European problems.
- **Stephen Lee:** The source of Germany's main difficulties was the West. Stresemann realised that it was there that the most immediate resolutions were needed. To secure these he realised Germany would have to make concessions. His main aim was to secure direct access to the economic strength of the USA. He gave up the option to resist reparations so he could gain concessions on them from the Allies. He understood that to remove the threat to Germany from France he had to remove any German threat to France. Stresemann was thinking in terms of revision of Versailles through diplomacy, not war.
- **Sally Marks:** Stresemann was a superlative liar, dispensing total untruths to the Entente, the German people and his diary... The left distrusted him and the right thought he was conceding too much to the Allies. Stresemann made the most of these to gain concessions from the Allies. The Allies' leaders, anxious to keep in office this "good European" (who was in fact a great German nationalist) gave way.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is helpful in offering an explanation of Stresemann's reasons for pursuing *erfüllungspolitik* in his foreign policy.

Question 3

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C** and **D** about the significance of the Enabling Act in the Nazi consolidation of power in 1933-34 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

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

- Hitler said that the aim of the Enabling Act was to make government more efficient through bypassing the Reichstag and not having to ask its permission for every measure the government took.
- By claiming that the Enabling Act would only be required "to carry out vitally necessary measures" Hitler gives the impression that it would only be used in exceptional circumstances.
- Hitler told the Reichstag that neither the Reichstag nor the Reichsrat would be 'menaced' thereby giving the impression that normal parliamentary rights and procedures would continue; democracy would not be destroyed.
- Hitler claimed that Enabling Act would not threaten the position and rights of the churches inside Germany; they would still have the same relationship with the state, and Hitler hoped there would still be sincere cooperation.

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

- Hitler deliberately made no mention of the fact that the Enabling Act gave emergency powers to the government for four years, and although he had claimed it would only be used exceptionally, it in fact it became the basis on which the Nazis ruled Germany from this point on.
- Hitler did not mention the fact that the Cabinet could now pass decrees without the President's involvement. Hitler had claimed that the Enabling Act would not affect the workings of the Presidency: in fact even before the death of Hindenburg (2 August 1934) Hitler had prepared a merger of the offices of President and Chancellor so he would become Fuhrer. On Hindenburg's death, he was able to do this because of the Enabling Act. So the Presidency as had operated under the Weimar Constitution disappeared.
- Hitler had claimed that the Enabling Act would not affect the workings of the parliamentary system, but in fact the parliamentary system was made redundant by the Act. He also claimed that the separate existence of the federal states would not disappear but in fact from January 1934 the state governments were overthrown by SA violence allowing the Nazi central government to appoint commissioners. Elected state assemblies were then dissolved and Nazi Reich governors were appointed to run the states.
- Hitler did not mention that the Enabling Act would become the virtual constitution of the Third Reich. The Weimar Constitution was completely by-passed.
- Hitler did not mention that the Enabling Act would be used to destroy all other parties.
- Hitler did not mention that the Enabling Act in effect turned Article 48 on its head by making emergency powers permanent thereby establishing rule by decree.
- Hitler had said that the "churches position and rights would not be threatened" but in fact via the Concordat (July 1933), for example, he sought to control the Catholic Church and to neutralise any potential opposition from that quarter.

Source D

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

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

- Hitler "...made it absolutely clear that if the Reichstag did not give him the necessary majority he was prepared to go ahead in the face of that refusal..." showing he was prepared to bully the Reichstag in order to get his way, and to get rid of it.
- His skillful use of "false promises" and "going out of his way to stress that the act would not impair the Reichstag or the Presidency" helped to give an appearance of legality, and helped to get the two thirds majority he needed.
- By referring to the "apparent legality" the source is commenting on the way Hitler's deceptive presentation of his views had convinced important groups like the Civil Service and Judiciary that they should not have doubts about this transfer of power.
- Hitler was able to rapidly complete the process of co-ordination.

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

- The intimidation of Hitler's opponents on the day of the vote on the Enabling Act resulted in the act being passed by 441 votes to 94 with only the SPD voting against (the 81 Communist deputies had already been locked up so could not vote in the debate). The deciding factor in the vote was the decision of Centre Party to support the Enabling Act.
- It was passed by the Reichstag after the delegates going into the session to vote on the act were jeered, booed, hissed and often physically assaulted by the SA. The confusion that the act caused among Hitler's opponents allowed the Nazis to pick their opponents off and to do so highly effectively.
- The Enabling Act was a foundation of the Nazi dictatorship because it led to the concentration of powers in Hitler's hands.

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

- Although the Enabling Act was a foundation stone of the Nazi dictatorship, by itself it was insufficient to allow the Nazis to consolidate their power.
- The Enabling Act came hard on the heels of the February Decrees (28 February 1933), issued in the immediate aftermath of the Reichstag fire (27 February 1933). These decrees suspended human rights and gave the secret police more powers to hold people in "protective custody". Hindenburg allowed these decrees to be passed.
- As the Nazis behaviour on the day of the vote on the Enabling Act showed, violence and intimidation became widely used by the Nazis from this point on.
- The agency dishing out violence – the SA – was developing as a separate centre of power and radical influence so much so that it came to be viewed as a threat to the regime.
- The army hated the SA and wanted the power of the SA broken.
- The SA's power was then destroyed in the "Night of the Long Knives" (30 June 1934) during which the SS murdered leading members of the SA including Ernst Rohm.
- The Enabling Act was thus a key step in the consolidation of power that culminated in the army oath of personal loyalty to Hitler immediately following Hindenburg's death.

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

- **Richard J Evans:** The so-called Enabling Act passed by the Reichstag gave the cabinet the right to rule by decree without reference either to the Reichstag or the President. Together with the Reichstag Fire Decree it provided the legal pretext for the creation of a dictatorship.
- **Peter Fritzsche:** The brilliantly choreographed "Day of Potsdam" on March 21 1933 [when Hitler and Hindenburg opened the new Reichstag] set the stage for the Enabling Act when all parties except for the SPD (and the banned Communists) voted to provide Hitler with emergency powers and suspended the constitution for four years...The political establishment voted for dictatorship.
- **Jeremy Noakes:** The Enabling Act emasculated the Reichstag and freed the Reich ministries from parliamentary control.
- **Roderick Stackelberg:** The Centre Party provided the crucial margin for the two-thirds majority needed to change the constitution. On 23 March the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act (the *Law for the Removal of the Distress of the German People and the Reich*) by a vote of 444 to 94. The Enabling Act furnished the legal basis for Hitler's dictatorship by conferring full legislative powers upon the chancellor for four years...The Reichstag now became a rubber stamp.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about how much a consideration of **Sources C** and **D** reveals about differing views on the role of the Enabling Act in the Nazi consolidation of power, 1933-34.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the extent to which Smuts and Hertzog shared common political goals as evinced by their ability to form the United Party in 1934. The candidate should make an assessment as to how far the similarities of their policies have been exaggerated. The candidate might be expected to consider a range of policies from areas such as Native policy, relations with the British Empire and with capitalism as well as the reactions of both men to the Depression.

The candidates might be expected to use evidence such as:

Common Ground

- Fusion and subsequent formation of the UP was a consequence of the Great Depression
- NP/SAP coalition won overwhelming victory in May 1933 (75 NP seats, 61 SAP and 14 for other parties) resulting in the Fusion government
- Hertzog and Smuts both favoured merger between NP and SAP
- Both men had been in the government and party of Botha (SAP) after union until Hertzog left to establish the NP
- United Party formed in Dec 1934 based on shared "Programme of Principles" written by Hertzog including independence from Britain, equal language rights, "civilised labour policy" native policy, based on "separate development"
- Economic crisis of the Depression highlighted common ground between Smuts and Hertzog: both believed in white supremacy, creation of white nation based on both cultures
- Hertzog no longer feared British domination after the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster
- Smuts/Hertzog differences of 1920s perhaps exaggerated
- Economic changes, such as greater state intervention since 1924, would be safeguarded
- Historians who see an economic explanation for segregation see considerable continuity between Smuts and Hertzog
- Hertzog did not favour an exclusive form of nationalism espoused by Malan's GNP and was therefore more similar to Smuts
- Hertzog had moved away from capitalist mine-owners to focus on workers. Smuts had been moving that way to prioritise cheap labour (Wolpe)
- Both men had operated in coalitions before therefore used to compromise
- Hertzog still viewed Smuts as "the handy-man of the Empire"
- Pressure from many SAP and NP members led by Tielman Roos, for Smuts and Hertzog to put aside differences to deal with devaluation crisis

Case for exaggeration

- 1929 election had been bitterly contested between Smuts and Hertzog, with Hertzog campaigning on the claim that white civilisation was endangered by the SAP, which made Fusion and union surprising
- United Party operating with continuing ambiguity about the relationship with the Commonwealth
- Most historians see the creation of the UP as a “tactical victory” for Smuts having been disadvantaged during Fusion by having to accept much of NP programme
- **CFJ Muller** – quotes Hertzog as saying “We will suffer defeat and it will be the end of Afrikanerdom”
- Imperial concerns and the onset of World War Two exposed the differences over links to Empire again

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

- Most historians see the creation of the UP as a “tactical victory” for Smuts
- **Davenport** argues that Fusion and the formation of the UP was intended to settle imperial, economic and native issues which had previously divided the white community.
- **Barber** claims the 1933/4 crisis underlined the common ground between Smuts and Hertzog. The main difference between Smuts and Hertzog appeared to be “of emphasis rather than direction, of means rather than ends”
- **Giliomee** – points out Fusion was a way of safeguarding interests of English voters. Demographic problems militated in favour of Fusion. Rough ratio 55:45 between Afrikaner & English voters and electoral system favoured Afrikaners
- **Beinart**: had it not been for war, the compromises hammered out by Smuts and Hertzog might have lasted. “Despite their rhetoric, Smuts and Hertzog had a good deal in common”

Question 2

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the significance of South African involvement in the Second World War in leading to the defeat of the United Party in the 1948 election. Candidates should consider the socio-economic impact of the war on South African society and politics. They might also consider the reputation of Smuts as war and domestic leader as well as other factors such as the rise of the National Party and the intricacies of the electoral system.

Candidates might be expected to use evidence to support such as:

Factors which suggest the Second World War was the main reason for the United Party's electoral defeat in 1948

- Split in the United Party between Smuts and Hertzog over entry into War on side of Britain in September 1939 weakens UP
- Reunion of Malan and Hertzogite Nationalists as the HNP in 1940 strengthens opposition to the war and the UP
- Formation of breakaway Afrikaner Party and the OB, partly due to their support for the German war effort, further splits Afrikaner vote
- Increased urbanisation of blacks increased fear of "black swamping" amongst whites as black workers were used to fill vacancies of whites mobilised for war and to support the growing war industry
- Relaxation of colour bar in a range of industries including engineering and manufacturing in order to secure sufficient workers to meet production targets for the war seen to threaten white jobs
- Squatter camps and squatter action in Johannesburg as a result of the relaxation of pass laws to allow sufficient workers in war time industries increased opposition to UP economic policy
- Greater bargaining power for Africans due to labour shortage as a result of the impact of war on industry and agriculture
- Consequences of urbanisation during the war for South African farmers led to criticism of UP agricultural policy
- Government run by Hofmeyer and Eiselen, therefore Smuts seen increasingly as distant while he focussed on the international demands of war
- Housing shortages and demobbed soldiers led to increasing resentment of Smuts' "out of touch" government

Other Factors

- UP actually won 1943 election
- NP Sauer Report
- NP – leadership of Malan, organisation and propaganda as well as increased position in Afrikanerdom
- Rent strikes and bus boycotts during war led to criticism of UP handling of situation
- Emergence of black trade unionism and strike action among black workers concerned white workers
- Smuts post war increasingly saw himself as "trustee" of government over blacks
- Fagan Commission concludes migration could not be stopped "might as well try to sweep the ocean back with a broom" (Smuts)
- Post War immigration Scheme (1946)
- Smuts discussing liberty and democracy while abroad post war but not in South Africa
- Development of a more robust African opposition through the 1940s increased fear amongst those wanting to maintain white supremacy
- Demographics – birth rate amongst Afrikaners higher
- Electoral System arguably lent advantage to NP

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

- **Grundlingh** argues the solidarity engendered by common wartime experiences was not translated into a common post war consciousness. Once out of uniform, old differences and distinctions in political outlook emerged
- **Davenport** attributes UP defeat to inadequacies of their election campaign and the development of African resistance in leading to increased support for the NP's policies
- **Giliomee** argued that the messages of "putting the kaffir in his place" and "getting our country back" proved crucial in 1948
- **O'Meara** argues that the UP was in difficulties on all the major political issues of the day in 1948. In *Volkskapitalisme*, he identifies the political mobilisation and unity of Afrikaners as key to UP defeat. This is attributed to the socio-economic concerns of the white workers after the war. "Nationalists were able to waste fewer votes than their opponents"

Question 3

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the reasons for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa in order to determine whether they were driven by the desire to maintain white political supremacy against a growing black majority and the relaxation of pass laws. Candidates might be expected to consider this in comparison to other factors such as the demands of the economy and practical reasons for the implementation of apartheid legislation.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

To maintain White political supremacy

- 1946 blacks made up 79% of the population. By 1970 it was 89% resulting in an increased fear of “*die swart gevaar*” (“black menace”)
- White/Afrikaner fear that equality of the races would lead to the eventual disappearance of the white nation in South Africa
- Apartheid was a policy of self-preservation
- NP justified policy as not only being to safeguard the whites; it would also protect the Bantu by allowing them to develop as separate people
- Views of Afrikaner academics such as Cronje, who advocated complete racial separation in *A Home for Posterity* (1945) in order to ensure long term survival of the Afrikaner people
- Details of relevant 1950s legislation, such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act, Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities Act
- Early legislation closely identified with Afrikaner intellectuals and ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church, - Key individuals include Eiselen, Malan and Verwoerd
- Afrikaner beliefs of ethnic and racial exclusivity vital to evolution of apartheid ideology before 1948
- Establishment of SABRA (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs)

Other factors contributing to the origins of apartheid

- Apartheid as a means of extending the benefits of the migrant labour system to growing manufacturing industry
- Influx control legislation would restrict process of black urbanisation, which had grown rapidly in the 1940s and threatened to create an urban proletariat
- Decentralisation of industry would enable manufacturers to exploit cheap labour from the reserves
- Commercial farmers would also be guaranteed a ready supply of labour from the reserves
- 1952 Urban Areas Act, especially Section 10
- Gradual relocation of industry to the fringes of the reserves – a policy pursued with greater vigour after 1959
- Reserves no longer able to support bulk of Africans therefore other methods discussed such as tighter influx controls and decentralised industry
- Influx control not rigorously implemented (although it was officially central to government policy)

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

- **Traditional view** that apartheid was designed to maintain the purity of the white race and also ensure control of state remained in white hands
- **Omer-Cooper** identifies 1950s as a period of “baaskap apartheid” designed to ensure white supremacy but there was no overall agreement as to how this should be achieved
- **Posel** argues that the primary aim of early apartheid was the preservation of white racial political supremacy. Firstly of whites, then of Afrikaners. Influx control of the 1950s suggests apartheid was a more flexible policy than once believed
- **Giliomee** describes apartheid as a “radical survival plan” with roots in the Dutch Reformed Church which held significant influence on political thinking
- **Wolpe** rather sees apartheid as a way of justifying the extension of cheap labour into the manufacturing industry
- **Marxist historians** interpreted apartheid in terms of the changing economic needs of white South Africa
- Revisionists determine that class rather than race drove early apartheid

Question 4

This question invites candidates to assess the importance of the Defiance Campaign in the development of African resistance in the 1950s. Candidates might be expected to compare the successes and failures of the campaign with other factors including the development of the Freedom Charter, Congress of the People, reorganisation of the ANC after the 1940s, rise of the PAC and rural resistance.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

The Defiance Campaign was important

- First time ANC planned and executed national campaign – National Day of Protest (26th June 1950) and Defiance Campaign of 1952
- Directed against discriminatory legislation introduced by Malan's government – especially Bantu Authorities Act of 1951
- Defiance of Pass Laws, apartheid regulations at park benches, railway stations, post offices and other institutions ignored
- Plan was that by inviting arrest and imposing intolerable burdens on capacity of state to police apartheid, the system would be rendered inoperable
- June-Dec 8,000 arrests.
- Results in increase in ANC membership – 100,000 by the end of 1952
- Congress able to confirm claim of being dominant in anti-apartheid movement
- Reaffirms commitment to mass mobilisation
- Precedent for future cooperation with sympathetic Indians, Coloureds and Whites
- UN commission set up to investigate South African racial situation.
- Defiance represented co-operation between the ANC and SAIC
- Campaign had overcome apathy and aroused spirit of militancy and determination
- Luthuli replaces Moroka as ANC President

Defiance Campaign was less important

- Most arrests and action in Eastern Cape, fewer than 200 in Natal and Orange Free State. Relative quiescence of key areas of the country
- Campaign falters at end as violence breaks out – ANC condemn this
- Organisational difficulties highlighted and political inexperience by Dubow
- Security of the apartheid state not seriously threatened – not one "unjust" law repealed
- New measures introduced to contain protests including whipping as a punishment for political dissent
- Predominantly an urban movement
- Government reasserted control by banning leaders and newspapers
- Mandela's banning extended until 1961

Other important factors

- 1955 Congress of the People (3,000 delegates) showed popular strength of co-operative approach despite police presence
- Powerful 10 point Freedom Charter set tone and aims of future opposition
- Arguments that Charter manipulated by small group of white Marxists led by Lionel “Rusty” Bernstein
- Charterists versus Africanist faction in Congress results in formation of the PAC
- Alliance – ANC, Indian Congress, Coloured People’s Organisation, Congress of Democrats: “4 spokes of a wheel”
- Treason Trial – good publicity for the liberation movement but disrupts momentum and created power vacuum in ANC leadership
- Mandela’s M-Plan to tackle organisational difficulties of the ANC
- 1956 1000s of women march on Pretoria demanding end to Pass Laws
- Alexandria bus boycotts

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

- **Dubow:** “By the end of 1952 the momentum of the Defiance Campaign had largely been halted”
- Historical debate: ANC now a mass movement (**Pampallis, O’Meara**) or was it elitist and out of touch? (**Fine and Davis, Feit**)
- **Lodge:** argues that rural peasant protests were more successful in the 1950s
- **Barber:** Defiance gained widespread international attention. Failure demonstrated that there was no constitutional route to liberation
- **Dale McKinley:** “Little effort was made to organise the black working class . . .the ANC recoiled from mass mobilisation”
- **Bundy** also argues that the ANC and Defiance Campaign were too out of touch with rural protest

Question 5

This question invites candidates to assess the importance of the media in prompting white opposition to apartheid in comparison with other factors such as political opposition to the NP from the Progressives and United Party, the influence of the Congress of Democrats, whites' involvement in the South African Communist Party and the Christian Churches. Some candidates may also include international opposition.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

The Media

- Books censored and banned by Publications control board
- 1967 Editor of Rand Daily Mail tried for publishing false information: legal fees for newspaper very high
- Liberal publication *Contact* refused to publish Congress of Democrats advertisements
- Until 1976, most films on South Africa had been made by the Department of Information
- Helen Zille, an Afrikaner anti-apartheid activist, exposed a police cover-up regarding the death of Black Consciousness founder Steve Biko as a reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail*
- Cultural opposition to apartheid came from internationally known writers like Breyten Breytenbach, André Brink and Alan Paton (who founded the Liberal Party of South Africa) and clerics like Beyers Naudé
- Apartheid entrenched in much of the reporting. More obviously prevalent in 1976 – unequal status of blacks and whites in South African society was articulated within press coverage
- By 1980s saw the growth of the alternative press
- June 1976 state banning journalists from reporting unrest
- The Independent Newspapers submission to the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) argues very forcefully that the commercial press (from the Argus group anyway) tried hard to challenge and evade the restrictive laws
- The English press, with the exception of The Citizen, distanced themselves from the apartheid government
- Real achievements in media arguably were by the alternative press - with considerably less funding, greater restrictions, banning orders and harassment from the state these papers managed to provide news and information which the mainstream commercial press could not
- The English press was frequently at odds with the government over its racial policies, challenging them both editorially and in news reports

Other Factors

- The United Party's opposition during the 1950s focused on the way in which apartheid legislation was implemented since they too rejected the principle of racial equality
- The breakaway Progressives did not accept the principle of a non-racial franchise
- Communist Party initially exclusively white, remained largely so thus their ideological and potentially revolutionary opposition may have been less significant than they believed
- Communist Party did provide practical aid to the ANC (Slovo trained with MK)
- Liberal Party associated with Alan Paton was tiny and largely ineffective, never securing representation in Parliament
- Church crossed racial divide with Anglicans like Huddleston prominent in their dislike of the Bantu Education Act
- Eventually almost all Protestants except the Dutch Reformed Church (and even a wing of that under Naud after 1962) and the Catholics came to oppose apartheid
- 1950s Roman Catholic church successfully challenged the segregation of their churches
- MP Helen Suzman described by Mandela "Her participation in opposing the complete absence of democracy must be applauded"
- Ex-Para-military opposition was more effective with organisations such as the Torch Commando capable of mobilising large scale support – for short periods of time
- The Torch revealed internal contradictions as they failed to allow coloured members
- In the 1960s and 1970s white opponents of the regime were confronted by an increasingly hostile regime
- Congress of Democrats worked fairly effectively with the ANC and the SAIC prior to the Congress of the People but created alarm among Liberals because of the involvement of the SACP
- The Black Sash mobilised some middle class women over the issue of constitutional rights
- White opposition intensified after Soweto

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

- **Elaine Potter** describes the English language Press as "the real opposition in the South African political system"
- **Anthony King** argues that "The whites did bring many advantages to the anti-apartheid struggle" citing their greater education, affluence and access to logistics - also true in terms of the media
- **Trevor Huddleston** argues that the tragic mistake of the churches was the failure to work together
- **Robertson and Whitten** "White opposition remains essentially ineffective . . . potential opponents in general were too intimidated . . . only a small core of dedicated people keep the anti-government organisations alive"
- **Leonard Thomson** argues that international opposition always involved a wide diversity of political groups and government who gained a stronger voice with the subsequent support of the United Nations
- **Lazerson** identifies the collaboration with black organisations as establishing the Communist Party as the most significant forum of white opposition to apartheid, although **Dubow** is more sceptical of the tense relationship between the CPUSA and the ANC

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 2

Question 1

12 Marks

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the impact of government policy on the white labour force before 1924, in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit

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

- Impact of the Mines and Works Act 1911 in recognising Unions
- Establishment of the colour bar maintained racial divisions and higher wages for white workers
- Higher inflation after the First World War led to pressure on white jobs and wages
- Attempt to reduce white mine employment led to strikes

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

- Whites increasingly took skilled and supervisory roles following legislation including the Mines and Works Act and the 1918 Status Quo Act
- Legislation passed to restrict labour and secure position of white workers including closed compounds for black workers
- 1911 Mines and Works Act: certificates of competency secures posts for higher paid whites
- Imposition of an 8 hour day through the 1911 Mines and Works Act
- Whites able to assert pressure on mine owners through the ballot box arguably limits scope and therefore impact of government legislation
- Increasing state intervention over housing and provision of more government relief for white workers
- Although the 1911 Native Regulation Act banned strikes by African workers, this was not true for whites
- 1914 Riotous Assemblies Act introduced to limit violence of white worker protests
- 1918 Status Quo Act establishes colour bar
- 1922 Apprenticeship Act gave unionised white workers security by introducing qualifications for apprenticeships
- 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act legalised bargaining power of trade unions
- Strikes throughout period including 1914 general strike, 1919 Dock workers strike, 1920 Rand workers strike and 1922 Rand Revolt in response to the impact of legislation
- SAP legislation alienates many white workers as Botha and Smuts accused of working in collaboration with capitalism. After the Rand Revolt many former SAP supporters change allegiance to the NP or Labour Party resulting in defeat for the SAP in 1924
- Increase in number of urban poor partly as a result of legislation

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

- **Turrell** identifies the mobilisation of white workers as a means to unite and protect themselves from the impact of government legislation
- **Worden** argues that legislation passed was for commercial interests and as a result of the developing towns rather than in the interests of the white labour force
- Desire of white workers to maintain supremacy in the workplace and beyond and the fear of black workers provides the Ideological argument for segregation
Liberals argue policies were a direct result of Afrikaner nationalism overwhelming more flexible English-speaking views
- **Yudelman** argues that both government and the mine owners saw the need to subjugate the white worker "in the interest of both political and economic stability"

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the impact of government policy on white labour before 1924.

Question 2

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum of 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** as explanations of differing views of the extent of Afrikaner nationalism before 1939

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit

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

- Adoption of national symbols to define Afrikaner identity, such as Afrikaans becoming an official language
- The modification of the national flag
- Increasing Afrikaner majority of the white electorate
- Creation of nationalist trade unions

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

- The language movement made rapid progress
- The publisher Burger Boekhandel which published 1,100 Afrikaans books 1917-1940
- Die Huisgenoot reached 20% of all Afrikaner families by the 1930s
- Die Transvaaler edited by Verwoerd from 1937
- Formation of FAK (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associates, 1929) and the emphasis on Christian National Education, which stressed the need for volkseenheid (unity of the volk)
- The Eufees celebration of the centenary of the Great Trek, 1938
- Cultural nationalism embedded in Afrikaans poetry
- Gustav Preller writing in the 1930s as 'populariser of history'

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit

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

- Growing poor white problem increased basis of Afrikaner political movement
- half of the Afrikaner population lived in towns and cities
- Growth of extra-parliamentary organisations committed to enhancing position of Afrikaners
- The Broederbond was the most important Afrikaner organisation, becoming a major force in the Afrikaner community

Points which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The role of the Broederbond, formed in 1918, expanded to include white collar workers and professionals
- Findings of the Carnegie Commission on poor whites (1932) revealed extent of urban poverty. Growing awareness of the inequality of poor Afrikaners.
- Malan's commitment to the poor white problem
- Growing fear of loss of ethnic identity in the cities
- 50% of Afrikaners were urbanised by 1936
- Establishment of the Ossewa Brandweg
- Broederbond aimed to establish Afrikaner trade unions to win allegiance of Afrikaner workers

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

- After 1934 a conscious effort was made to mobilise Afrikaner nationalism politically, particularly appealing to poor whites and the white working class
- Specific appeal to Afrikaner women as guardians of Afrikaner values
- Afrikaner business and capital developed
- Close links between the Broederbond and SANLAM (Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Lewens Assuransie Maatskappij Beperk)
- The FAK organised the Volkskongres of 1939 as a result of the findings of a special commission established to investigate poverty among Afrikaners
- The Volkskongres established the machinery for Afrikaner mobilisation in the economic field
- Changes in the leadership of Afrikanerdom: the leaders of the new Purified National Party were young, urban intellectuals (unlike the older, rural Afrikaners who followed Hertzog into Fusion)
- Limited electoral appeal of Malan's Purified National Party: the majority of Afrikaners voted for Hertzog in 1938
- HNP (Herenigde Nasionale Party) founded on Christian-Nationalist principles (1933)

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

- **Giliomee's** emphasis on ethnic mobilisation: Afrikaners response to historical circumstances shaped a desire for collective security. Giliomee emphasises the language movement and growing interest in Afrikaner history "During the 1930s a new generation of Afrikaners sought to rediscover themselves through acknowledging both the heroism and the suffering of war"
- **Worden:** "The actions of Afrikaner nationalism had to be consciously forged". After Fusion Afrikaner nationalism extended rapidly from rural support into support from industrialised society.
- **Traditionalists including Dunbar Moodie** emphasise the mythologised interpretation of Afrikaner history and the development of a "civil religion" through the commemoration of national events
- **Marxists including O'Meara** attribute the rise of Afrikaner nationalism to a growth of working class interest. O'Meara argues that Fusion in 1933 seen as a turning point in the development of Afrikaner nationalism as Malan forms breakaway NP.
- **Lipton:** Afrikaner nationalism "an umbrella under which all Afrikaners could find shelter regardless of class"
- **Grundlingh** describes the construction of Afrikaner nationalism as "a slow process" which picks up speed as a result of the depression in the 1930s

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B and C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the extent of Afrikaner nationalism before 1939.

Question 3

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source D** as an explanation of the methods used by Africans in opposition to white rule after 1970.

Provenance:

- Written by a commander in MK, the armed wing of the ANC therefore he would be knowledgeable about strategic decisions made by the organisation
- Personal memoir written c. 20 years into the armed struggle
- Written at a time when apartheid policy was arguably in decline

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

- to enhance the confidence of the people
- to erase the doubts in their minds about the invincibility of the white man
- to overthrow oppression of the Boers
- the African opposition claimed that "we better die here rather than retreat"

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

- From the mid-1970s onwards there was a marked increase in black resistance to apartheid, including MK sabotage activities
- MK formed in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre when the ANC was banned
- ANC and PAC abandoned non-violence and founded militant resistance organisations: the ANC setting up Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK – Spear of the Nation) and the PAC creating POQO (We Alone)
- ANC in disarray and unable to operate within South Africa
- Mandela argued it was better to turn to violence with or without the ANC so it would be better to channel and control violent resistance
- Joe Slovo (Former Communist), member of High Command identified reasons for sabotage: moral responsibility for slide to civil war would remain with government; sabotage was a form of propaganda
- Targets included electricity pylons, Post Offices, Bantu Administration Offices and railway stations
- MK largely organised in townships
- "The MK campaign had only limited impact" (Barber)
- Armed struggle in South Africa was unsuccessful until after 1976. After Soweto many students forced to flee and joined ANC/MK training camps in Tanzania, Angola and elsewhere

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

- ANC and PAC headquarters set up abroad - Oliver Tambo given job of winning international support for the ANC
- Only in late 1970s did ANC change emphasis from armed struggle to political activism
- Poqo aimed to lay the foundations for a general rising
- Poqo's tactics included the murder of police officers and informants, murder of tribal chiefs who "collaborated", random attacks on whites
- Granite response of the state throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s
- Rise of Black Consciousness movement (BCM) led by Biko
- Biko argued that the African's struggle within South Africa necessitated both psychological liberation and then physical liberation. He did not condone the violence of MK and Poqo
- Biko helped establish Black Communities Programme in 1970, establishing self-help groups in black communities
- Influence of BCM in protests and strikes of 60,000 in 1972-3
- Connection between BCM and Soweto riots
- Azanian People's Organisation formed 1978, bringing together BPC, BCP and SASO (all banned after Soweto)
- Spread of Black Consciousness ideas among ANC in exile as large number of activists joined ANC training camps
- Despite BCM, black resistance was dominated by non-racialism of the ANC/SACP
- By late 1970s ANC focusing on urban areas and building mass organisations
- Liberation of Angola and Mozambique
- Growing popularity of the homelands policy of the NP

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

- **McKinley** writes from a Marxist perspective having been an activist in the SACP until his expulsion in 2000. He regards the ANC as being out of touch with popular resistance and therefore methods used were also criticised.
- **Other historians** attribute resistance in the 1970s to increased worker militancy so view methods of strikes and popular agitation as most significant.
- **Gerhart:** BCM was not sufficiently in touch with pressing political and economic problems and would therefore "outlive its usefulness"
- **Meli:** As an ANC historian is critical of the contradictions within the BCM and of their methods
- **Dubow:** Argues that after Soweto, the government would never again gain control over the black population, partly due to methods of widespread popular agitation and increased publicity.
- **O'Meara** describes the changing nature of African resistance. At Sharpeville he describes those who died as being regarded as apartheid's victims, while at Soweto, they were seen as heroes in the struggle against apartheid.
- **Worden and Dubow** recognise that the ANC played a minimal part in the Soweto uprising given their change in tactics after 1960 but that it was ideally placed to benefit from the events of 1976.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as evidence for investigating the methods of African opposition to white rule after 1970.

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to give an account and analysis of the main causes of the February Revolution – the events leading to the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. It invites the candidate to classify the information and ideas they have into causes for the social unrest as an important factor in the downfall of the regime. Candidates may consider the variety of influences which were brought to bear at this time – from the immediate war-time background to the existing power structure to outside and even revolutionary factors. This might lead to a discussion of the longer term factors against the reasons for the immediate downfall of the Tsar in February 1917.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the case that social unrest was the main cause of the February Revolution

Economic

- Economic change and its impact – the economic situation, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen at Putilov and elsewhere
- Workers were aggrieved by deteriorating conditions in the factories and by food shortages
- Details on strikes and lockouts; closure of factories due to shortages of raw materials, actions of shop stewards committees, breakdown of rail supply system
- Actions of government in area of taxation; vodka abolition

Social:

- Increasing problems by 1917, the demand for bread, food and fuel shortages, queuing and inflation: the cold weather of early 1917: the immediate events of 25th February and International Women's Day as evidence of discontent
- Breakdown of order in the countryside as agriculture disintegrated due to lack of men, fertilizers and draught animals; peasants taking land by force and killing landowners
- Failure to support Tsarism might have seemed spontaneous and the revolution uncoordinated but quickly changed in a few days to a more politicised protest, showing the underlying problems.
- War weariness
- The rising number of refugees flooding Petrograd, riser of typhus

Factors which argue against the view that social unrest was the main cause of the February Revolution:

Political

- February was evidence of the failure of autocracy – the nature of Tsarism by 1917 and actions of the Tsar, an evaluation of his strengths and weaknesses, including his role in the War, the effect of the Tsarina's rule and influence of Rasputin
- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, revolution from above: the role of the elites, the progressive bloc, Guchkov conspiring with Alexeyev, the alienated intelligentsia and the possible palace coup – Yusupov
- The development of opposition parties as evidence of discontent; detail on the role, policies and actions of Mensheviks and SRs
- Lenin and Trotsky – their writings and influence and noting that although the major leaders were abroad and no political party organised the revolution; political influence was part of the failure of many to support Tsarism

Military

- The role of the Army joining the rioters from 25 February onwards – the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty; soldiers deserting the Front
- Actions of Petrograd garrison and several previously loyal regiments such as Volhinsky and Preobrazhensky
- Impact on the Russian army from the outset to the crisis of 1916 highlighting withdrawal of support from Tsar by top commanders; detail on the role of the generals
- Revolution from below; soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers. Role of Bolsheviks undermining the army? Rise of Zemstvo and Zemgor groups as alternatives to existing power structures

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

- **Figs:** argues that the Revolution was “born in the bread queues”
- **Pipes:** “Rebellions happen, revolutions are made”
- **Kenez:** “there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population... which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime”
- **McKean:** “the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight”
- **Trotsky:** “Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only a giant empire, but also a revolution”
- **Wade** “The long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations”
- **Corin and Fiehn:** “The main push came from the workers in the cities”
- **Briggs:** the Tsarina “was unable to appease mounting discontent with the Imperial Government”

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to engage with the debate surrounding what sort of revolution October was. The candidate can develop their ideas on the classic debate: was it a popular revolution or a coup d'état?. They can also address the importance of policy, personnel and the demise of the Provisional Government, thus reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

The case **for** it being popular and democratic is largely built round figures for growing support for Bolsheviks and the attraction of their policies.

Popularity of Bolshevism

- Growth in support for Petrograd Soviet with a core committee making decisions alienated rank and file which Bolsheviks exploited after July
- Trade unions and factory committees – “Red Guards” a forum for Bolshevik propaganda
- Soldiers-perhaps there was still front-line patriotism, but not so in the garrisons, plus peasant soldier support
- The Soviet view as expressed by Lenin that the majority of working class were with them and that “half of the army immediately join” followed by “nine tenths of the peasants ...in a few weeks”
- By September there was greater evidence of popular impatience – army officers authority declined, peasants against private landownership, strikes increased especially amongst less skilled workers. This was what the people wanted
- Effect of the Kornilov Coup on Kerensky’s support and Lenin’s popularity
- November elections reflected limited Bolshevik popularity but in some areas of Petrograd they gained as much as 70% support hence reference to democratic

Policies

- April Theses, “Peace, bread and land”
- The Bolsheviks were taking control of soviets, popularity was increasing due to Trotsky as much as Lenin
- Forming the MRC, again Trotsky; gives more direct control over soldiers in the capital...and arms and ammunition more readily available
- October 22nd the Commissar for the Western front cabled Kerensky that “disintegration has attained its limits”; evidence of mutinies, pogroms-Kharkov, Tambov, Ostrog- a picture of murders and pillages of arson and theft

The case **against** it being popular and democratic is largely built round disputing the figures for support for Bolsheviks and a discussion of the nature of their takeover of power.

Coup d'état

- That the Bolsheviks were not that popular... Constituent Assembly elections show this, but they had key support in Moscow and Petrograd, the centres of power
- Most people unimpressed Sukhanov thought Bolshevik regime was short-lived
- That the Bolsheviks were not that prepared... July Days reflects this... "wait and see" policy of Lenin's and the moment was lost, arrests follow and Lenin in hiding... as a means of preparing
- Lenin drew up his new strategy (12th September) in a pamphlet... *Could the Bolsheviks keep state power?*... basically going for a coup, run from the Smolny
- Plotting the coup at Sukhanov's apartment on October 10th, 12 members took part
- Debates about "when" in the Central committee and fear that in a revolutionary war that soldiers would not support them (Zinoviev and Kamenev), hence delays until 26 October (Second Congress of All Russian Soviets) suggested by Trotsky to allow seizure in the name of the Soviets not the Bolsheviks
- Tactics to maximise popular support, focus on Petrograd Soviet. This gave the coup an appearance of greater legitimacy, hence Trotsky delays it to coincide with the All Russia Congress of Soviets
- Some would describe events as an amateur action of the MRC (which was dominated by Bolsheviks), Battleship Aurora, some sailors of the Baltic fleet and a handful of Red Guards; the storming of the Winter Palace, Trotsky's treatment of the ARCS delegates; all suggest elements of a coup
- The Petrograd proletariat and the city's military garrison remained over-whelmingly neutral
- Martov, leader of the Mensheviks declared it to be "...a military plot organised by one of the revolutionary Parties"
- This was no revolution from below, the working class of Petrograd was nearly absent during the "*ten days that shook the world*"

Other factors

- That the Provisional Government was weak by its nature – real power was held by the Soviet, it was temporary, internal divisions prevented clear policies, failed to call Constituent Assembly early enough
- That Kerensky handed over power to the Bolsheviks
- Bolsheviks only party that opposed continuing the war
- Role of Lenin was crucial; no October revolution without him... and Trotsky shows fluidity of Party
- There was significant independent action at local levels in the party and in the Soviets
- National disintegration. Structures of imperial Russia unravelling after February- army, industrial economy, social structure of the countryside, Great Russian provinces and nationalities areas... and open for others to take power
- The impact of WWI, Soviet Order No1, role of Kerensky, the July Days, Kornilov's attempted coup failed to restore Russia's fighting capacity by sweeping away Soviets

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

- **G Hosking** "...the Bolsheviks rode to power on the crest of a groundswell generated by the mass of people"
- **Robert Service** 'The conditions for a seizure of power with the sanction of exhausted workers, war-weary soldiers and angry peasants could hardly have been more favourable
- **Beryl Williams** notes that the people may have supported the Bolsheviks, but they hardly knew what Bolshevism stood for. There is significant evidence pointing to the fact that it was a coup
- **Richard Pipes** a "clandestine coup d'état"
- **Sheila Fitzpatrick** claims it was the workers, soldiers and peasants who created the circumstances for Bolshevik success
- **Christopher Read** claims that Lenin was a key figure, but there was also a lot of independent action at local level

Question 3

In trying to evaluate the degree of the success or failure of Bolshevik foreign policy, candidates will want to look at the 4 main areas where Bolshevik foreign policy operated and discuss their aims and intentions against the perceived consequences of their actions. The 4 areas were from the Peace Decree up to the making of peace in 1918, Bolshevik actions during the Civil War, the role of Comintern and possible international revolution, and Bolshevik attempts to establish better relations with the West.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Securing peace

- 1917 Peace Decree
- Brest – Litovsk with the hope that this would have triggered mass peace protests among the Allied and Central powers and it failed to do so. Details on Trotsky's tactics and behaviour [here](#)
- Lenin so determined to consolidate the revolution that no sacrifice would be too great, hence threatened resignation and peace compromise...not extension of the idea of international revolution
- Defaulting on foreign loans and attitudes of UK and France

Comintern

- March 1919 – Lenin founded Comintern with Soviet Communist Party as model for overthrow of capitalist regimes
- Difficulty of maintaining internationalism – Comintern became associated with USSR alone.
- Lenin's talk of the international revolution more to do with propaganda to maintain the party in power than the actuality of a worldwide revolution
- The period 1919-20 did see some attempt to export revolution through the Comintern but it was not wholehearted; detail here of the congresses and their actions and ideals
- Zinoviev: Spring 1920 "in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist"
- The capital moved from St Petersburg to Moscow is further evidence of the separation from the West

Civil War

- Hopes of international revolution put on hold, but Lenin still thought it would spread. Foreign governments pro-Whites so no international revolution, however Bolsheviks could brand them imperialists and encourage revolution
- Examples of how attitudes towards foreign interventionists affected foreign relations; viz Captain Cromie, Bruce-Lockhart and UK forces at Murmansk, Czech Legion and France, USA and Japan
- 1920 Polish War – the "red brigade in Europe" and then moving the international revolution to Germany. Failure here is a significant disappointment for Lenin
- Attitudes towards national minority movements... Ukraine, Finland etc
- Recovery and Peace

Cooperation

- Move by Lenin to more pragmatic policy of co-existence rather than international revolution – “We have entered a new period in which we have won the right to our international existence in the network of capitalist states”
- Soviet Union isolation policy changes to prevent emergence of a capitalist block-hence Treaty of Rapallo 1922, trade agreement with Britain 1921
- Failure of revolutionary attempts in Berlin and Munich and Bela Kun’s Soviet Revolution in Hungary showing success only via the Bolshevik model
- Second Congress of the Third International 1920: 41 countries set up 21 conditions following international principles: the central point was the security of the USSR not international revolution
- Difficulty always in separating Comintern from Soviet Government
- Their activities were damaging to diplomacy eg Curzon annoyed at Soviet agents in Persia, Afghanistan and India – threat v Anglo-soviet trade agreement 1921
- Chicherin’s policy of improving relations with the West. Diplomatic relations had been re-opened with most countries by 1924, but not with the USA
- Improved relations with the UK by 1924, when Ramsay MacDonald PM reopened full diplomatic relations

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

- **Kremer** on Comintern; “disinterested enthusiasm, courage and a burning faith in the justness of the cause. And this is not a fallacy; the history of Comintern from 1919-1920 is one of the brightest pages in the history of the world revolutionary movement”
- **Corin and Fiehn** “Attempts to stir up revolution in Europe were singularly unsuccessful”
- **Abramovich** on Comintern: in the 1920s, it became, “a veritable Mecca for revolutionaries, delegates, sympathisers and even Marxist Pilgrims”
- **Figes** on Lenin’s view of Brest-Litovsk “There is no doubt that it will be a shameful peace, but if we embark upon war our government will be swept away”
- **Figes**: the peace of Brest-Litovsk marked the completion of Lenin’s revolution; it was the culmination of October
- **R Pipes and N Davies**: both viewed invasion of Poland as a likely catalyst to revolution, not just in Poland but throughout Europe

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine Soviet economic policy and consider the range of factors that led Russia to embark on the great leap forward in its industrialisation programme. The candidate may start with a consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of NEP, politically, economically and socially, and consider the alternatives that were suggested in the great debate. The question's phrasing would let a candidate consider if there were additional motives pushing industrialisation *once it had started*, [ie did new motives appear as the 5 Year Plans progressed]?

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may support the claim that Stalin's policy was driven by ideology

- A truly socialist society could only be achieved by total and effective state control of all economic resources, especially producer goods
- Discussion of the industrialisation debate of the late 1920s is key to putting over the ideological under-pinning of any proposed industrialisation programme... But the "Permanent Revolution" versus "Socialism in One Country" debate also tied into what sort of Communist society was achievable
- Changes Stalin made in industry were indissolubly linked to those in agriculture; existing agricultural policy of NEP could not be allowed to continue; - frankly it was bourgeois.
- Industrialisation was a socialist offensive tied in with the forcible collectivisation of the Russian peasantry; Russian economy seemed at the mercy of the Russian peasantry and their willingness to supply grain, in the new socialist state that was an intolerable situation to the proletarians who ran the state, the industrialisation programme therefore a part of the intensification of the class struggle... completing a part of the revolution that had been left unfinished in 1917
- Industrialisation and modernisation were a means to an end for Russian Marxists; they wanted a socialist society which could only be achieved when most of the population were workers. Ideologically therefore, there had to be an attack on the peasantry. By enforced grain production in their new collective farms, they would effectively pay for the industrial advances and become more socialist at the same time
- Candidates may raise ideas of how the actual production techniques in the 5 Year Plans were done according to socialist aims [subbotniks, socialist competition between worker groups to build the dams first, gigantomania, role of Stakhanov etc

Factors which support the view that there were other “less-ideologically driven” reasons for the industrialisation programme

- Other states like USA had gone through huge industrial development. Russia was needing to catch up and do the same if it was to survive as a major international player. Any hopes that USA might collapse after 1929 Wall Street Crash now seemed dashed. Stalin’s view in 1931 that “We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries.” It would make Russia stronger if she were much more self-sufficient. Russia could not easily raise loans abroad but exporting grain supplies would generate foreign currency to buy the machine tools needed for industrial expansion
- Russian military strength was key; to strengthen Soviet Russia in case of a war. The war scare of the late 1920s raised Stalin’s nervousness and wars/skirmishes seemed regularly occurring on the eastern borders [v Japan] and appeared more likely on western borders against Germany after 1933
- Stalin’s rise to power very much hinged on discrediting his rivals; much of this was done over the industrialisation debate where Stalin skilfully changed his position to isolate his political opponents. Discussion of views of Bukharin and Preobrazensky
- At heart Stalin was a revolutionary; a reformer. Ideology may have been second place to his simple demand for change, in order to keep the revolutionary impetus going. This was the ‘great leap forward towards socialism; it would establish his credentials as a revolutionary leader equal to Lenin
- Russian Industrial output by 1926 had risen to just about what it had been in 1914. This had largely been achieved by repair and restoration of old plant. This strategy for growth had therefore now run its course; any future growth would have to come from more radical economic methods
- Was there a patriotic call underlying the industrialisation programme. R Service refers to Stalin’s 1931 speech; “In the past we didn’t have and couldn’t have a fatherland. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, the people have a fatherland and we will protect its independence.” Patriotism was making its way back on the list of official priorities
- How much did the programme of industrial development depend on convenience? Once the government had introduced planning and Gosplan had started drawing up its statistics and its projections, the idea of having a centralised system, a command economy, almost took off by itself. This was far from early Bolshevik views [ie Lenin’s on state capitalism] that the economy could be run within a banking/accounting framework
- Improving standards of living and lower unemployment must be considered as a motive force for the industrialisation programme, but did that affect Stalin’s views much? It was well argued by other Communists that Communism meant a good life, equal to/better than that in the West, and the rising number of proletarians in the growing towns needed to be properly fed, but that social sympathy probably passed Stalin by
- First 5 Year Plan centred on heavy industry, 2nd FYP claimed to be more on consumer goods but in reality became more military driven
- Foreign input of technicians and materials at Gorky, Dams, power stations etc; can hardly be seen as ideologically motivated. Was widespread use of prison labour to building Magnetogorsk and some of transport infrastructure ideological? What of the introduction of capitalist ideas of bonuses, abandonment of egalitarian wage systems etc after 1931... that hardly fits with socialist ideology

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

- **R Service:** "Stalin and his associates aimed to turn the USSR into an industrial and military megalith. They were militants. They wrestled to change society from top to bottom"
- **S Sebag Montefiore:** The 5 Year Plan would make Russia a great power, never again to be humiliated by the West, their war on the countryside would forever exterminate the internal enemy, the kulaks, and return to the values of 1917
- **Westwood:** "By 1927 there were additional reasons for industrialisation: there was a genuine fear of war following setbacks in foreign policy and the policy of maintaining low prices on goods in short supply was simply encouraging Nepmen to buy cheap and sell dear"
- **Daniels:** Stalin saw increased centralization as the means to make the industrialization drive successful. "It is time to put an end to the rotten policy of non-interference in production. It is time to adopt a new policy, a policy adopted to the present times – the policy of interfering in everything"

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to explore the range of factors that led to ultimate Soviet victory over Germany. Their evidence should be classified into broad cases for why that success was achieved, then the strengths of the different cases should be assessed against the claim that Stalin was the overall architect of victory. The phrasing of the question largely requires the candidate to organise their answer within the Russian context but they may have leeway to bring in exterior factors.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which support the role of Stalin in the overall victory

- Diplomatic context (Stalin setting up Nazi-Soviet Pact to buy time?)
- Pre-war Industrial development through 5 Year Plans - Stalin saw this coming?
- Stalin's involvement in Spanish Civil War led to good preparation for many Russian commanders
- Then the relocation of industries to beyond the Urals (evacuation of approx. 10 million people). 5 Year Plan had created the Urals/Kuznetsk steel combine, over 1000 miles from West European Russia. Gorky, [the Soviet Detroit] was 250 miles further than the German's furthest advance... while Kuibyshev was 500 miles further
- The role of Stalin in rallying the people. Refusal to leave Moscow, his later radio broadcasts; the "Not one step back" speech
- Stalin's building up of sense of patriotism;... eventual efficiency of War economy as a result of 1930s policies...and loyalty to the Motherland and to Stalin
- Role of propaganda and the new relationship with Orthodox Church, turning the negatives around of rationing, conscription, loss of homes
- Refusal to give way at Stalingrad; his better understanding of the type of fighting required; suiting the Russians; the use of snipers; manipulating the war zone. Stalingrad is seen at this level as "a matter of prestige between Hitler and Stalin", which alongside the "dogged, rugged, Siberian obstinacy" and "the stamina of Soviet soldiers was incredible" shows the determination involved. Stalin imposed a harsh discipline on Russian fighting forces
- Stalin had ability to appoint good generals and listen to them; got rid of Timoshenko from front line command then picked generals such as Zhukov and Chuikov, bringing back Rokossovsky even though he had been purged in 1930s
- Introduction of new ideas and technology in the military partly due to Stalin. [T34 tank, Katyusha rocket launchers, the scorched earth policy. Russian strengths might include the economic stability attained allowing the supply of the military with adequate materiel which totally out-matched Germany. The constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support; Kursk evidence of Russian military development enough to beat the Germans in tank battles
- Answers may include allusion to the role of Soviet propaganda in building up the view of Stalin as the *genial'nyi polkovodets*, [military commander of genius] and making it very difficult to get to the real truth

Factors which argue that other factors need to be taken into consideration in assessing the reasons for the overall victory of the Soviet Union

Stalin not as good as claimed

- Stalin caught by surprise by Barbarossa in June 1941; suggestion of nervous breakdown, let Molotov make first war broadcast to Russian people
- Stalin's dreadful military mistakes early on in the war... Smolensk etc
- Problems caused by the Red Army purge in the 1930s; able commanders like Tukhachevsky purged.. 30,000 'missing' officers from 1930s army

Other internal Russian factors

- Huge loss of life; the Russians' ability to absorb terrible losses [15 million civilian deaths over the war years]
- By 1941 the Red Army was the biggest in the world... 200 divisions, 20,000 tanks, Once Russia got the economy going, and by 1945 the Red Army had 5 million men on the front line... and 300 artillery pieces per kilometre
- Russian climate and land mass size meant that Russian armies could trade space for time and were better equipped for conditions

External factors

- German failure to capture the Caucasus oilfields since they diverted the 6th Army to try to capture Stalingrad
- Hitler's operational mistakes; Germans were overstretched and couldn't apply same tactics as in France
- Effects of Allied bombing of Germany; opening of Second front by Allied invasion in the West.
- Allied military assistance via Murmansk; details of quality and quantity

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

- **Overy:** notes the strengths and the weaknesses of the Soviet forces as reasons for the outcome
- **Medvedev:** criticises the Generalissimo as being "short-sighted and cruel, careless of losses"
- **Ward:** notes the economic, military and the political, but also points out the importance of the social factors – the people's ear; also notes Hitler's blunders
- **Sakwa:** notes that Stalin "appeal(ed) to Russian pride rather than Marxism or Leninism as inspiration for resistance"
- **Laver:** highlights the establishment of a command economy and authoritarian rule and the appeal to patriotism in order to galvanise support for "Mother Russia"
- **Hosking:** stresses that productivity was impressive in terms of military output
- **Laver:** Stalin "succeeded in galvanising the nation for total war"
- **Mawdsley:** "The resources lavished in the 1930s on technical education and military research and development paid off, with the development of equipment which was as good as that of the Germans, in some cases superior, and in all cases available in larger numbers"
- **Mawdsley:** "Stalin was not a great commander"

Soviet Russia 1917-1953

Part 2

Question 1

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** about reasons for Red Victory in the Civil War and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit

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

- Great credit given to the “colossal work” of the Red Army
- Following initial defeats at Kazan, huge territorial gains made by Red Army, both urban and rural
- Gained significant industrial areas to support the war effort
- Recognition that they wanted to make peace as quickly as possible, and even at a cost, to help alleviate the suffering of the people

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

- Red forces initially defeated by Czech Legion and the Komuch
- Red forces controlled the industrial heartland of Russia
- By capturing Kazan, Red forces were able to expand into the East
- Peasant rejection of White forces focused support on Red forces

Points from Source B

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

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

Source claims that the Bolsheviks had a better understanding of what needed to be done:

- They had the organisational skills to build up the Red Army but this was Trotsky's personal achievement
- They had the pragmatic approach that let them put aside principle and employ specialists, like Tsarist officers
- They realised how to control these specialists
- They used propaganda to build up their army size to 5 million

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

- Further detail on the building up of the Red Army, [military features, training, fighting powers]
- Trotsky's role in fighting the war with this army. This might include reference to Trotsky as Commissar for War, the changed command structure, more on the control of Tsarist officers etc
- More details on armoured train [distance travelled, its functions and importance], role of Trotsky as figurehead and use of propaganda posters

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

- Analysis of Whites losing because of leadership weaknesses: Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel and other White armies
- Geographical Factors: White forces scattered around edges of Central Russia
- Disunity of White forces; made up of monarchists, republicans, pro Constituent Assembly. Whites' support base was too politically divided
- Effect of Allied intervention and provision of supplies and weapons
- September 1919; Allies evacuate Archangel, 1920 Kolchak captured in January, executed by Bolsheviks
- Role of the Greens and the insurgents
- Officers of the White armies often lived in brothels and indulged in vodka and cocaine

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

- **Pipes:** claimed White Army better than Red Army, but lost because it faced huge disadvantages
- **Lynch:** Red Army better than White Army, Whites made bad mistakes
- **G Swain:** "...the Civil War became a war between Red Bolsheviks and the White Generals"
- **E Mawdsley:** "...foreign intervention was often half-hearted and militarily ineffective"
- **R Service:** outlining the brilliance of Trotsky

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the reasons for Red victory in the Russian Civil War.

Question 2

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source C** as evidence for the impact of collectivisation in the 1930s, in terms of:

Provenance:

- Written at an early stage of collectivisation when some of its excesses were becoming apparent. The Grain Procurement crisis 1928-29 had increased the speed of collectivisation
- Pravda – reliability of evidence in the Bolsheviks' newspaper
- Intentions of the article? Collectivisation was very much Stalin's "baby" and he was now backtracking on his own policy, trying to blame the bureaucrats: an article which Alan Wood called "... breath-taking in its hypocrisy"

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

- By 1930 half of all peasant households had been collectivised
- Turn of the countryside towards socialism
- We over-fulfilled the five-year plan by 20 February 1930 by double
- Success was marred by the spirit of self-importance and conceit

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

- Stalin was forced to call a halt to the programme as peasant resistance grew.
- However, by 1931 Stalin restarted the programme with as much violence as before
- In reality the programme was a disaster on a huge scale... details
- Removal of NEPmen
- Policy of De-kulakisation
- Details of the new agricultural structure, Kolkhozes, Sovkhoses, MTS etc
- Fear of being identified as a Kulak frightened many peasants into joining the kolkhozes
- Role of "Twenty-five Thousanders"

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

- Significant numbers of animals slaughtered, enterprising peasants had left the country, fled to city to seize opportunity of upward mobility
- Those left were in no mood to begin work, and passive resistance was the order of the day – referred to this as second serfdom
- Statistics in 1930s distorted to show alleged success
- Tractors were largely imaginary – 2,500 MTS in first three years, but this was a proletarian bastion in the countryside, staffed by workers and OGPU
- Famine 1932-34 because high targets at time of huge drop in grain production due to collectivisation
- 7 million died from a man-made famine
- Estimated 70% peasants households collectivised by 1934, and 90% by 1936; 120 million people, 600,000 villages, 25 million holdings consolidated into 240,000 state-controlled collective farms
- 90% of all farmland collectivised by 1937
- Stalin achieved greater political control over the Russian people

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

- **R. Conquest** states that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasant resistance
- **S. Cohen** states that the peasantry was seen as 'a vast inert and yet somehow threatening mass of people, barring Russia's path to industrialisation, modernity, socialism: a kingdom of darkness that must be conquered before the Soviet Union could become the Promised land'
- **R Conquest** states that the human toll was 'higher than the total deaths for all countries in WWI'
- **S Phillips:** "The elimination of 15 million kulaks represents a human tragedy of epic proportions"
- **TA Morris:** "Destruction by rebellious peasants, loss of kulak expertise and the inexperience of collective farm managers resulted in a sharp decline in many areas of production. Not until 1940 did figures for grain production reach those of 1914"
- **Alan Wood:** "The Russian countryside was once again turned into a battlefield as millions of peasant households, traditional communes, landholdings, livestock and equipment were commandeered at gunpoint and dragooned into the huge new party-controlled collective enterprises"

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence for investigating the impact of Collectivisation in the 1930s.

Question 3

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the social and cultural changes that Russian society was undergoing during the Stalinist period, in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit

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

- Role of women radically changed and they lost many freedoms
- New role of soviet women as wife and mother
- Growing numbers of women were being educated and entering professions.
- Wives of the Soviet elite mimicked the roles of upper class women in capitalist nations

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

- During the Leninist era women had been given greater freedoms in terms of divorce, maternity leave, legalisation of abortion
- Abortion was made illegal in 1936
- Divorce became more difficult
- Women were given financial incentives to have larger families
- Alexandra Kollontai was one high profile Bolshevik woman in a position of power in the 1930s as ambassador to Sweden

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

The source focuses on the role of the mother in the family during the new Soviet society: the candidate may develop greater detail still on family and children: *viz*

- Family Code, May 1936: fines for divorce increasing from 50 roubles for the first up to 300 for the third
- Illegitimate children were stigmatised, divorce and marriage rates declined
- Birth rate rose from under 25 per 1000 in 1933 to almost 31 per 1000 in 1940
- Creches and kindergartens were common in the workplace
- Growth of Youth Organisations: Komsomol and Pioneers

But should move on to develop greater detail on some of the other social and cultural developments occurring in Soviet Russia: *viz*

- **Culture:** socialist realism and Andrei Zhdanov, role of RAPP. Rise of cultural nationalism.... all things Russian became approved of, examples of great Russians from the past were re-written into History books, the pasts of non-Russians were re-written as if Russians had saved them, Russian traditions were restored in many walks of life, cultural diversity was down-played. Detail on works by some major cultural figures: Anna Akhmatova, Pasternak, Prokofiev and Shostakovich, Sholokov, Soviet cinema and Eisenstein, Maxim Gorky, Bolshoi ballet, etc
- **Education:** Great expansion of education... (partly prompted by desire to have home-grown experts instead of the bourgeois specialists as in the Shakhty trial 1928 and Metro-Vickers trial) In secondary schools, number of students rose by 12 times in 1930s. From December 1929, (Stalin's 50th birthday) the cult of Stalin gradually spread... it was dominant by the mid-1930s
- **Propaganda and censorship:** Control of press, posters, media
- **Employment:** Previously non socialist ideas (pay differentials, upward mobility in labour, material incentives (bonuses!) were now acceptable
- **Social life:** Socially, the "person" lost their identity in early Stalinist Russia. All people had to contribute towards achieving the socialist aims... the state represented the path to that aim... so all personal ambitions became subordinate to the state. Private life ceased to exist
- **Religion:**
- **Housing:** the rise of the ill-famed *kommunalka* ("communal apartment") A whole folklore exists about the humiliations, petty vindictiveness, fights and resentments associated with involuntary communal living. Kitchens and bathrooms were the sites of epic battles over property (saucepans, washbasins) and use of space

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

- **Williams:** "It was a macho world for all the talk of equality." "Women cared and supported. Men built socialism"
- **Figes:** Violence against women was commonplace in peasant communities
- **Lewin:** "Quicksand society"
- **Nove:** important to stress thousands (mostly young people) took part in "great construction of socialism", a "real sense of comradeship". Though, others such as prisoners, deportees and peasants not so enthusiastic
- **Figes:** "the children of the party elite had a well-developed sense of entitlement"

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the social and cultural changes that Russian society was undergoing during the Stalinist period.

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

Each question is worth 25 marks

Part 1

Question 1

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to discuss the factors which led to the fall of the monarchy in Spain in 1931. The question is specifically on factors up to 1931 and so is based on factors from the beginning of the examinable period, which led directly to the self-imposed exile of Alfonso XIII. The question posits the reason for this as being the personal unpopularity of the monarch. The alternative argument, that other factors made it impossible for Alfonso to remain, should also be considered. Thus a balanced conclusion can be reached regarding the reasons for the fall of the monarchy in Spain.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may support the view that the downfall was due to the personal unpopularity of Alfonso

- The Dictadura had become linked with the Monarchy in a way which discredited both. The removal of Primo de Rivero in 1930 lost further support from sections of the Army and others. Alfonso was seen as untrustworthy by all sides.
- The Monarchy had failed to act on fundamental problems in Spanish society, including agrarian reform, regional tension and the power of the church. Alfonso appeared increasingly aloof.
- The growing political unrest increasingly focused on the Alfonso and the Monarchy as a barrier to reform. Alfonso became the personification of the problems of Spain and his removal a necessity.
- The actions of Alfonso in his private life meant that he was perceived as being incompetent and unworthy as a leader and out of touch with his people.

Factors which may contradict the view that the downfall was due to the personal unpopularity of Alfonso

- Decline of the church and loss of faith in the clergy amongst many of the poor.
- Alfonso was “His Most Catholic Majesty” and had become linked to an increasingly anti-liberal institution, now dominated more than ever by the large land owners. Those who were anti-clerical were therefore anti-Monarchy.
- The army was a massively powerful force in Spain and could put down any rebellion, as happened in the failed coup of December 1930, but they failed to provide support to Alfonso in the end which meant he could not continue. The Monarchy could not continue because the Army had decided that it should not.
- Bad harvests had made a poor agrarian situation even worse and the economy was badly affected by the world economic crisis in 1930.
- There had been a growth of political ideologies in Spain which were pro-republican such as liberalism, socialism and anarchism. The Pact of San Sebastian in 1930 coalesced the Republican forces into a coherent force.

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

- **Carr:** "The Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch... The Socialists considered (it) reactionary... The anarchists rejected it. To the regionalists it... strangled local interests... "the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform..."
"(it was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy)."
"the conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy."
- **Brenan:** "Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another."
"...the corruption of all the upper layers of society."
"The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes... to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too."
"Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign."
"The Army had become increasingly sensitive to any criticisms..."
- **Esenwein and Shubert:** "Where rapid industrialisation and massive immigration (took place) traditional culture and identity were seen as seriously threatened."
- **Fraser:** "A state within a state, (the Army) came to see itself as the incarnation of national will."
- **Beevor:** "Alfonso treated the ruling of Spain as little more than a fascinating hobby."
"The Spanish Church was said to have owned up to one-third of the total wealth of Spain."
"(The Latifundias) subjects were treated almost as a subject race."
- **Preston:** "loss of Imperial power coincided with emergence of left wing movements." "(the monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power."
- **Thomas:** "(Primo) left behind him no basis for a regime."
Republicanism (was) the most explicit challenge to the establishment. A revolution of boredom with a monarch... who appeared an anachronism. The only dedicated monarchists in Spain were the Court aristocracy. For others it was conditional... on the benefits each group sought.

Question 2

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to discuss the reforms of Azana during the first Government of the Second Republic. The candidate might discuss the historical problems related to the Army, the church, agriculture and regionalism; and the intent and consequences of the reforms themselves. The candidate thus reaching a balanced conclusion regarding the degree of change and therefore the extent of and revolutionary nature of the reforms.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Army

Revolutionary

- Officer Corps and number of Academies reduced
- Beginnings of “Republicanisation” of the Army including reserved places for NCOs

Less revolutionary

- The Army responded to the Republican Government orders to put down unrest and rebellions of both left and right during this period
- The attempted coup of Sanjurjo in 1932 failed to gain support from the rest of the Army which remained loyal during this period

Church

Revolutionary

- Arguably, debate over the religious clause of the constitution led to even greater polarisation of Spanish society and loss of working class support from the “faithful”
- Restrictions on teaching and banning of orders

Less revolutionary

- Religion not “outlawed”
- Dominant position of Catholicism still “standing”
- There is clear evidence from Azaña’s upbringing that he bore resentment against Catholic schooling

Agriculture

Revolutionary

- Obligatory cultivation and confiscation of land
- Made eviction almost impossible and blocked rent rises

Less revolutionary

- Caballero’s eight laws were more radical/effective
- 1932 reforms accepted principle of ownership
- All owners except for “Grande” were compensated
- Caballero called the 1932 reforms, “An aspirin to cure appendicitis”

Regionalism

Revolutionary

- Catalan Statute was a massive change from the status quo

Less revolutionary

- Little for Basques, nothing for Galicia and other areas.

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

- **Shlomo Ben-Ami:** "...it was the style... rather than the content of the reforms which was revolutionary."
- **Esenwein and Shubert:** "The retirement law was undoubtedly a success." "All the governments of the Republic... used the military to retain public order." (law enforcement not 'civilianised') "Military men continued to dominate police posts." "...the army was in the forefront of internal and civil disputes."
- **Thomas:** "Azaña's reforms did not succeed... in cutting the military budget, training was not improved, and preparation for combat neglected."
- **Carr:** "... his reforms failed in their main purpose: the depoliticisation of the army." "(Army Generals) resented the reforms... because of the vindictive spirit with which they perceived those reforms to be inspired."
- **Beevor** (The Spanish Civil War): "The Church was detested by the workers and labourers for preaching acceptance of poverty while amassing vast riches."
- "Republican attitude was that...the stranglehold of the Church must be broken"
- "The Catholic press ...presented (the Constitution) as a blueprint for the persecution of religion."
- **Carr** (The Civil War in Spain): This attack (on the Church by Azana) was understandable, given the enormous emotional significance of the Church as a pillar of the ancient regime.
- **Preston:** "the statute (of Catalan autonomy) was regarded by the army and conservative classes as an attack on national unity"
Several issues caused friction between the government and the armed forces...none more so than the readiness to concede regional autonomy.
The response of big landowners...had been rapid ...Their press networks spouted prophecies of doom..." and further "...the law of obligatory cultivation was effectively ignored" and "...it did nothing to help the smallholders of the north."

Question 3

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to discuss the motivations behind Britain's policy of non-intervention. The First Lord of the Admiralty stated that Britain should not do anything to bolster up communism, but other factors such as the wider policy of Appeasement, the protection of trade and business interests and the pro-Nationalist leanings of many Conservative politicians. Thus candidates should reach a balanced conclusion regarding the reasons behind the British policy of non-intervention.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest that fear of Communism was the main reason for the policy of non-intervention

- British government suspicion of communist support for the Republic
- Attitude of British Chiefs of Staff; "the alternative to Franco is rule from Moscow"
- The British Consul in Barcelona asserted that, *"If the government are successful in suppressing the military rebellion Spain will be plunged into the chaos of some form of Bolshevism"*
- The Conservative Party contained many who feared Communism much more than Hitler and even some who admired the Nazis
- The Daily Mail praised Blackshirts and spoke for many on the British Right

Factors which may contradict the view that fear of Communism was the main reason for the policy of non-intervention

- British relationship with the French popular front led to Britain following this policy
- Justifications given by Anthony Eden British Foreign Secretary
- British business links with Spain meant that they could not afford to alienate either side
- Britain's policy of non-intervention can be viewed as part of the wider appeasement policy, which had more to do with avoiding war than the threat of Communism
- The protection of trade routes, Gibraltar and the Empire were the overriding concerns of British policy throughout the period, regardless of ideology
- Britain had no economic or military alternative to non-intervention in 1936 as the country was not prepared to fight in a war which could involve other countries in Europe eg Italy and Germany
- Belief still that the League of Nations should be the arbitrator in international disputes

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

- **Preston:** "Both sides were denied aid though the Republic had a legal right." "...a quiet glee that they may turn Hitler and Mussolini against the European left." "Inclined by their considerable commercial interests to be... anything but sympathetic to the Republic"
- **Thomas:** (Eden) "British interests would be best served by a stalemate." "Negrin talked... to Eden who said British public opinion did not want Franco to win"
- **Alpert:** Non-intervention was based on the wider aims of GB and France ie an alliance with Italy and appeasement of Hitler. "Britain was an insular society for who abroad was very far away"
- **Carr:** "The British stationed at Gibraltar were nationalist sympathisers to a man"
- **H. Thomas:** Non-intervention graduated from equivocation to hypocrisy
- **Moradiellos:** Great Britain wished Franco to win and did not wish to upset the Axis powers
- **Meneses:** Non-intervention was cynical detachment

Question 4

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the importance of the contribution of the International Brigades to the Republican war effort in the Spanish Civil War. The significance of the Brigades could be judged in terms of numerical strength; actions in battles; morale; and propaganda value. The candidate can then reach a balanced conclusion on the extent of the contribution of the International Brigades.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest that the contribution of the International Brigades has been exaggerated

- The numbers in the IBs was far fewer than the numbers of troops from Italy and Germany
- On the Republican side, the IBs made up no more than 10% of the army at any time and they were withdrawn in 1938
- Their importance and effectiveness was exaggerated, often by Moscow, for political purposes.
- Many men were there for a romantic adventure or because of political beliefs and were not necessarily good soldiers
- Lack of military training/experience

Factors which may contradict the view that the contribution of the International Brigades has been exaggerated

- The morale boost to the Republicans was immense when they realised that they were not fighting alone
- Played an important role in the defence of Madrid, where they succeeded in helping to halt the Nationalist attacks on the city while suffering heavy losses, especially in the University City. At the battle of Jarama, they stopped the Nationalist offensive and fought bravely, including the British Battalion at Suicide Hill and the Lincoln Battalion during the counter offensive. At the battle of Guadalajara Mussolini suffered a humiliating defeat, partly inflicted by his own countrymen in the Garibaldi Battalion
- Prominent individuals and others returned or wrote during the war to their own countries to raise awareness and funds for the Republican side
- Provided a focus for the European anti-fascist forces, many of whom had been displaced from their own countries and so were of international importance
- La Pasionaria's farewell speech to the Brigades said, "in the hardest days of the war, when the capital of the Spanish Republic was threatened, it was you, gallant comrades of the International Brigades, who helped save the city with your fighting enthusiasm, your heroism and your spirit of sacrifice"

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

- **Sheehan** – The International Brigades suffused the total effort with a moral value more precious than their lives.
- **Koestler** – Spain became the rendezvous of the international left: Leftist bohemia – Bloomsbury went on a revolutionary junket.
- **Browne** – they gave an impression of an international community, which favoured the Republic – an impression which was false.
- **Esenwein:** “For many, the foreign volunteers who had come to Spain embodied the international spirit of anti-fascism.”
- **Beevor** – So successful was Comintern propaganda that the British Ambassador was convinced that only foreigners defended Madrid
- **R Carr** – Guadalajara was a moral as much as a military triumph
- **Phillips and Phillips** – International Brigades bolstered the image of the Republic as a bastion of democratic freedom
- **Preston:** their part in the defence of Madrid should not be exaggerated; it was part of a heroic effort.

Question 5

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the extent to which Franco's skill was responsible for his success, and the role played by others making comparisons of events and actions. This may include the loss of other potential leaders of the Right, the role of Franco in securing German and Italian aid; Military successes and lack of damage from military failures; political manoeuvres which saw Franco as the leader of a unified Right. The candidate will thus reach a balanced conclusion regarding the reasons for Franco's control of the Right during the Spanish Civil War.

Candidates might use evidence such as:

Factors which may support the view that Franco's control of the Right was due to his political abilities:

- Carefully united disparate groups of the Right
- Franco skilfully managed to become leader of the Falange and adopt their ideology
- Franco's skill in negotiating with Hitler and Mussolini to deliver foreign aid
- There were many opportunities for the Nationalist Alliance to collapse but Franco held it together
- Franco and his minister of war showed themselves to be clever diplomats
- Franco was seen by the Catholic Church as a defender of the faith and he used this position to portray himself as a modern crusader

Factors which may support the view that Franco's control of the Right was not due to his political abilities:

- Deaths of Sotelo, Sanjurjo and Primo de Rivera
- Franco had resources at his disposal, including aid from Germany and Italy not available to anyone else
- Franco made mistakes including at Alcazar, Madrid and Brunette, which did not prove to be crucial
- The need of various groups on the Right to find a unifying leader
- Franco was said to have "questionable strategic wisdom"

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

- **Thomas:** "Franco's achievements in the Civil War were considerable." "There were almost as many potential fissures in the Nationalist side as there were in the Republican"
"As a Supreme Commander Franco showed none of the recklessness for which he had been known as a young man in Morocco"
"He established himself as the political leader of the most passionately concerned country in the world by contempt for political passions"
"...no doubt he was assisted...by Serrano Súñer"
"...Franco's calm, effortless, professional superiority first obtained him the leadership..."
- **Beevor:** "(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command"
- **Preston:** "With his major political rivals all dead, Franco was free to control... the political direction of the Nationalists"
- **Carr/Fusi:** "The secret of Franco's power lay in his manipulation of the political families (and for this purpose we must include the Falange, the Army and...the Church)"

The Spanish Civil War Causes, Conflict and Consequences 1923 – 45

Part 2

Question 1

12 Marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the role that regional identity played in creating tensions in Spain between 1931 and 1936.

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

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

- Catalan autonomy was high on the list of matters to be addressed
- Autonomy was a question that greatly concerned old-fashioned Castilian centralists who saw any concessions to the regions as a threat to the unity of Spain
- The April elections had proved a victory for the party of the Catalan left led by middle classes who wanted a Catalan Republic
- This was not exactly what had been negotiated in the pact of San Sebastian which caused tension

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

- Regional tension had been one of the issues which helped to remove Alfonso
- Those on the right, including many in the army, saw regionalism as a threat to Spain
- The elections of 1931 saw a great deal of support for regional parties, especially in Catalonia where the regionalists were also on the left
- The pact of San Sebastian was an agreement among various political groups and parties to bring about a Republic. One element of this was establishment of a Catalan regional authority

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

- There were regional issues in other parts of Spain including the Basque country
- Regionalism was only one of many issues causing tension, including the role of the church, the army and land reform
- Although regional identity was associated with the left in the 1930s in Catalonia, this was not necessarily the case elsewhere
- The statute of autonomy was repealed during the Bienio Negro, showing that this was a pivotal issue in Spanish politics
- Political tension in Spain within a region was far greater than the tension between regions

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

- **Preston:** “the statute (of Catalan autonomy) was regarded by the army and conservative classes as an attack on national unity” “little doubt that the Catalan crisis was manipulated by Robles to provoke the left.”
- **Carr:** “The Carlists, strong in Navarre, detested (PNVs) radical separatism; the Socialists, strong in Bilbao, denounced its reactionary Catholicism.”
- The destruction of the historic provinces and their replacement by “artificial entities”... was at the root of the regionalist movements.”
- **Beevor:** The conservative Basque nationalist party held most of the important positions
- **Thomas:** There was no unity at all amongst the Basques, Asturians and the Santanderinos, nor even the pretence of it.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the role that regional identity played in creating tensions in Spain between 1931 and 1936.

Question 2

16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** about the reasons for the failure of the attempted coup of 1936 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- Similar proclamations in the past, dating back to 1820, had succeeded almost immediately when the governments had caved in. Casares Quiroga was not willing to do that
- After prevarication, the Government armed the militia
- all over Spain militants and ordinary citizens alike took sides, as it had become a civil war
- the Republican government held Madrid and nearly all of central Spain

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

- The plotters had plans in place to take over almost all of Spain and did not expect more than token resistance from the Government
- The military believed in total victory, negotiations with politicians of the left were not going to take place
- The response of armed militias was far more formidable than first expected
- The left parties and unions were united, at least at first, against the rebels

Source C

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

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

- Large sections of the Army did not join the rebellion
- The Navy remained loyal to the Government, stranding the Army of Africa
- The air force was in Government hands
- The Government could control the Mediterranean

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

- Many older officers and rank and file soldiers did not join the rebellion
- The plans had been to transport the Army of Africa via the Navy, but those plans had to be amended
- The best Nationalist forces were in Africa and the Peninsular army could not advance without reinforcements
- The coup had not gone as planned due to the lack of support from significant sections of the armed forces

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

- The strength of the working class resistance across much of Spain was greater than had been envisaged. Workers militias were quickly set up and in many places the swiftness and degree of resistance meant that regular troops remained “loyal” to the Republic
- The expected leader of the rebels, Sanjurjo died before he could take command
- The initial tactics of the Nationalists were questionable, such as not advancing straight on Madrid, allowing Soviet aid to get through
- In the countryside, the government retained the support of many of the peasants
- General Goded’s broadcast from Barcelona and the subsequent failure of General Monje to declare Valencia for the rebellion were huge blows to the Nationalist side

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

- **Carr** “senior officers were, on the whole, loyal to the Republic”, “geographical loyalty”, “relatively weak (until Army of Africa transported)”. Republic held industrial resources in early stages
- **Salvado** “at no point had the conspirators anticipated massive popular resistance”.
- **Preston** “The plotters had not foreseen that their rising would turn into a long and bloody civil war”
- “...they had not counted on the strength of working-class resistance.” “Even those areas which had been won by the rebels had produced sufficient popular hostility to suggest...a major war of conquest” “In rural districts...supporters of the Republic were usually able to overpower small Civil Guard garrisons”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B and C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the reasons for the failure of the attempted coup in 1936

Question 3

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence for the motives of ordinary Spaniards who fought against the Nationalists

Provenance:

- Buenaventura Durruti was an anarchist an leader of the Durruti column
- He had supported the Popular Front and urged anarchists to vote for it in 1936
- His views are those of the anarchist tradition, centred around Barcelona
- He was disliked and not trusted by the Communists

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

- Not fighting for the Soviet Union and Stalin
- He wanted an immediate Spanish revolution
- Fighting against the spread of European fascism
- The journey to the better future may be achieved through the destruction of the present

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

- The anarchists were fighting for a revolution, not just to protect or against something
- Collectives had sprung up in the areas where the anarchists were prominent, giving people something to defend
- Lots of people, not just anarchists, would agree that they were part of something bigger – the fight against European fascism
- For some time the anarchist movement (FAI) and trade unions (such as the CNT) had grown in both membership and strength
- Others on the non-anarchist left also held revolutionary sentiments, including Largo Caballero

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

- Most of those fighting for the Republic were from the armed forces
- Many found themselves on the Republican side due to geography
- People were fighting for democracy and the ideal of the Republic
- Many Catalan, Basque nationalists and others were fighting in defence of their regional identities against a centralising Nationalist force
- The Socialists were split between revolutionaries and others. The Communists were the keenest on building a broad, non-revolutionary movement. Other Republicans were clearly fighting for mainstream democracy, including Radicalists and Liberals

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

- **Fraser:** The utopian elements of the experiment suffered from serious defects
- **Browne:** To most anarchists, the Republic without the revolution would be devoid of social content
- **Beevor:** The anarchists knew what was in store for them if the Nationalists took control and did not leave things to the politicians
- **R Carr:** Class divisions were to the fore in those supporting the Republic

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as evidence for investigating the motives of Spaniards fighting against the Nationalists

Britain at War and Peace (1939 – 1951)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks.

Question 1

The aim of this question is to enable the candidates to discuss the arguments relating to Britain's preparedness for war in 1939 in terms of its military, economic, civil defence measures and its foreign policy. An area of debate centres round the degree to which the British Government's determined pursuit of appeasement was responsible for hindering Britain's rearmament programme which could have proved disastrous. Candidates might also make an assessment of the effectiveness of the civilian defence measures put in place by the government to protect the population, especially from air attack. Furthermore candidates might consider Chamberlain's political ideology with regard to his failure to adequately prepare the economy for war and his attitude towards the labour movement in general.

The candidate will consider the following areas:

Civil Defence

- Evacuation in September 1939. Numbers of evacuees. Issues arising from evacuation, including treatment of evacuees and the varying attitudes towards them
- Voluntary and overseas evacuation
- 140,000 patients sent home from hospitals to make way for expected air raid casualties
- An analysis of the extent to which the ARP scheme provided effective protection for civilians and the response of the emergency services to the Blitz
- Blackout procedures and the role of the ARP wardens
- Women's Voluntary Service for Civil Defence. (February 1939) Did a variety of jobs including medical support and staffing public kitchens
- Shelter provision, Anderson and Morrison shelters. Affordability and effectiveness of these
- Use of the London Underground (the tube) for sheltering
- Anti-aircraft defences. Severe shortage of guns to defend cities
- Role of the Observer Corps
- Gas masks. Numbers distributed
- Rescue Services including Auxiliary Fire Service, medical services

Britain's armed forces

- Financial stringency of the 1930s. The government was fully aware of the exorbitant cost of rearmament.
- The Army was given the lowest priority of all three services.
- Detailed evidence of the preparedness of the armed forces for warfare and the conflicting ideas of the role likely to be played by the army in any future war. Defence of the Empire was the main priority for the Army during the 1930s.
- Size of the army, equipment, training of soldiers.
- The degree to which the Norway campaign and subsequent Dunkirk fiasco showed up exactly how unprepared the armed forces were.
- Introduction of conscription in May 1939 prior to war breaking out. Ages and numbers involved.
- The relative strength of Bomber and Fighter Command at the beginning of the war.
- Development and introduction of new RAF fighters (which replaced biplanes) Spitfires and Hurricanes, which were a match for the Luftwaffe.
- Development of radar (RDF) and its importance to the defence of Britain.
- The strength of the Royal Navy in 1939. Number of, and age of, surface ships and submarines.
- Strategic role of the Royal Navy, defending the Empire and protecting Britain's sea routes.
- Anti-submarine measures to combat the U-boats menace. However Coastal Command was not sufficiently prepared in 1939 to locate and destroy U-boats.

The state of the economy

- A discussion of what Chamberlain meant by "playing the long game" and how that impinged on economic policy. This was the belief that France would hold the Germans, and in the meantime Anglo – French strength would be built up to the point of overwhelming superiority and economic warfare would weaken the enemy's capacity and will to fight.
- If Britain was to field the promised 32 division army before the end of the first year of war, and at the same time reaches its targets of aero plane and ship production, a much more rapid and extensive imposition of economic controls was required.
- The government did move early on to take over the importation of raw materials, but allocations to industry allowed too many inessential goods to continue to be made. Inessential goods could be imported only under licence, but licences were not difficult to obtain.
- The extent to which Chamberlain's ideological opposition to government intervention in the economy led to failings in economic planning.
- Chamberlain's unwillingness to consult with the trade unions over mobilisation of labour and production targets.
- Attlee's comment that Chamberlain "treated us like dirt." Chamberlain had been Chancellor during the 1930s and was associated with the Means Test and mass unemployment
- One and a quarter million people were still unemployed by January 1940.
- Spare industrial capacity in the economy still existed into 1940.
- An export drive was promoted in the belief that a balance of payments surplus might provide the resources needed for the war.
- Shipping space was not rigorously rationed; inessential goods were still being imported.
- Ration books had been ready since 1938, were issued at the end of September but food rationing did not begin until January 1940

Britain's foreign policy/lack of allies prior to outbreak of war

- Government was repeatedly advised by its Chiefs of Staff during the 1930s that they could not fight against Germany, Italy and Japan simultaneously and therefore that Britain should not become involved in a three front war which she would never have the resources to fight.
- Chamberlain's adherence to the policy of appeasement and his desire to avoid war with Nazi Germany culminating in the Munich Agreement of September 1938 and which ultimately failed to prevent war.
- The debate over Churchill's assertion that Britain could have been instrumental in creating a Grand Alliance against Germany in the late 1930s and whether such an outcome was ever possible.
- Chamberlain's extreme reluctance to engage in any meaningful negotiations with the USSR over a possible alliance against Hitler and his distrust of the French as allies.
- Apparent reluctance of the Empire to become involved in another conflict the isolationist policy of the USA during the 1930s

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

- There is little debate over the degree to which the armed services were prepared for war with **CL Mowatt** and **Michael Howard** stressing different aspects of the topic but there is real disagreement amongst historians as to the civil defence preparations whilst **Andrew Roberts** maintains it was as effective as it could have been under the circumstances, others such as **Angus Calder, Stuart Hylton, Nick Tiratsoo** and **Clive Ponting** are much more critical of the lack of deep shelters (particularly in the East End of London). **Robert Mackay** takes a more sympathetic stance on the issue and questions the degree to which any democracy can effectively prepare for total war.
- **Paul Addison** is scathing about Chamberlain's economic complacency and his deep seated desire not to let the trade unions have any say in manpower distribution or production targets nor to upset the normal workings of market forces in the economy.

Question 2

The question invites the candidate to evaluate the ongoing debate between historians about the importance of Churchill's leadership during the Second World War. The question cannot be answered sufficiently with just a narrative of Churchill's success as Prime Minister. Candidates should make a balanced judgement from the evidence presented by Churchill's critics as well as his supporters.

The candidate will assess the validity of the view in terms of evidence such as:

The possible justifications for Churchill being indispensable and completely irreplaceable

- Argument that Churchill was the only feasible candidate to take over from Chamberlain. For different reasons Halifax, Eden and Lloyd George were unlikely to become the next PM.
- He had been a consistent opponent of appeasement and had recognised the threat which Hitler posed to the peace of Europe, making him the only credible political leader.
- Churchill provided strong and decisive leadership skills at a time of national crisis. Leading Britain when she was fighting Nazi Germany alone.(June 1940 to June 1941)
- A great orator with a charismatic personality: inspiring speeches which boosted the morale of the country.
- Churchill had no intention of negotiating with Nazi Germany which galvanised the country.
- Established an effective Coalition Government, especially with the inclusion of Attlee and Bevin.
- He had an experienced military background with a firm grasp of military matters and was therefore eminently suitable to be Minister of Defence.
- He was a very good diplomat who materially improved Britain's chances of success such as Lend Lease agreements and borrowing. Britain borrowed large sums of money as well as military equipment from the USA and other countries in the Empire. As a result \$4.3 billion (£2.2 billion) of funds were provided at a two per cent interest rate for British use, a triumph for Churchill who had exerted considerable diplomatic pressure in his efforts to win the loan from the Americans.
- He made friendships and alliances with countries that were decidedly more powerful than Britain; USA (more natural) and the USSR (overcoming his anti-communism).
- Churchill led Britain to victory over Nazi Germany in 1945, an outcome which seemed very unlikely when he became Prime Minister in May 1940.
- He visited bombed areas and was visibly moved by the scale of destruction he witnessed. His empathy was well received by the British public.
- Churchill's determination to win the war was demonstrated when he took the extremely difficult decision to attack the French navy at Oran/Mers El-Kebir, Algeria in July 1940. (Task force led by H.M.S. Hood) This action was said to have impressed Roosevelt as it demonstrated Churchill's and Britain's determination to continue the fight against Nazi Germany.

The possible arguments against the view of Churchill being irreplaceable

- He was so single-minded and stubborn it prevented him seeing the big picture of the war.
- Coming from a very privileged background he was out of touch with ordinary people.
- His military tactics were often suspect, Norway, Greece, Italy and especially in the Far East, Singapore. 130,000 Allied troops became prisoners of war. This defeat at the hands of the Japanese was the largest surrender in British military history.
- He frequently dismissed his military advisors if they did not agree with his military strategies, possibly prolonging the war?
- He was impulsive, so much so he had to be reined in by his closest advisors such as Sir Alan Brooke
- He had an excessive ego and believed in his own manifest destiny.
- He has been accused of having sold Britain out to the Americans
- Arguably his actions and alliances caused the decline of the British Empire.
- As a result of Britain's debt and colonial decline she became a bit-part player on the world political stage. Churchill has been blamed by some for this state of affairs.
- His diminishing influence in the end-of-war conferences in which Stalin and Roosevelt dominated.
- Churchill was party, with Stalin, to the so called "Naughty Document" (name given by Churchill) which decided the fate of several East European countries.
- Churchill was ultimately responsible for the actions of Bomber Command which laid waste many of Germany's cities even when it was clear that the Allies were close to victory, eg the controversial bombing of Dresden in February 1945 which caused huge loss of civilian life.
- He was often brusque. Churchill had a poor relationship with De Gaulle, leader of the Free French
- He had no desire to organise the Home Front, which he left to Labour and which helped Labour to victory in 1945.

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

- **Martin Gilbert:** Churchill's official biographer. Has researched Churchill's actions from the huge amount of the primary source materials.
The revisionist **John Charmley** is a severe critic of Churchill. Charmley believes that in winning the war Churchill betrayed his core values of British independence, Empire, and his anti-socialism. Charmley argues that this betrayal was also shown when Churchill made Britain subservient to America and Churchill's numerous failings led to the Conservatives being defeated at the 1945 General Election.
Left wing historian **Clive Ponting** is unsure of Churchill's motives whilst **John Strawson** rejects Charmley's more critical views.
- **Richard Lamb:** however, is less controversial. He does not attack Churchill's integrity but prefers to be critical about his strategic awareness. Lamb is not alone in his evaluation of Churchill's naivety in all matters military. His view is corroborated by **Stephen Roskill** who criticises Churchill's use of the Air force to primarily bomb Germany rather than support the Navy during the Battle of the Atlantic.
- **Andrew Roberts:** is credited for works about Churchill's diplomatic skills with our allies. He has also published work comparing the leadership styles of Churchill and Hitler. Furthermore, he identified the rocky relationship Churchill had with the Conservative Party during the war years. Nevertheless there are other eminent supporters of Churchill such as **Norman Rose** and **Geoffrey Best**.

This list is not exhaustive; there are many other historians with views about Churchill. However, candidates may wish to consider that Churchill provided the world with a prolific account of his own involvement in the War. The difficulty for the candidate therefore is in maintaining their objectivity. Candidates ought to realise that as they review his work it needs to be scrutinised in conjunction with other relevant historiography in order to put it in context.

Question 3

As Churchill said "...the only thing that ever really frightened me during the war was the U-boat peril." By that he meant that the threat to Britain's Atlantic lifeline posed by German U-boats was so great that it would in all probability have led to defeat in the war if the U-boats had won the Battle of the Atlantic. The candidate might be expected to reflect the importance of this conflict in their answer and to explore the relative merits of technological developments, naval strategies and tactical developments which led to the ultimate defeat of the wolf packs.

The candidate will offer an explanation for Britain's victory in the Battle of the Atlantic in terms of evidence such as:

Technological developments

- The use of High Frequency Direction Finding equipment (Huff-Duff) on escort ships further improved U-boat detection on the convoys.
- The capture of the enigma code machine in March 1941 was a vital breakthrough in intelligence and the resulting "Ultra" intelligence gave the British a priceless advantage. Code-breakers at Bletchley Park worked throughout the war to keep their information current. With advance notice of where the U-boats were operating, the British were able to divert convoys away from where the wolf packs were operating.
- Improved radio communication from ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore helped significantly in avoiding lurking U-boats.
- ASV (air to surface radar) radar helped detect surfaced U-boats at a far greater distance and aircraft could be directed towards them speedily.
- The deployment of VLR aircraft in the shape of Liberators with centimetric radar helped to close the mid-Atlantic air gap and helped immensely in the detection of U-boats.
- VLR aircraft forced U-boats to patrol in the mid Atlantic which reduced their time at sea.
- By January 1943 Coastal Command had effective LR and VLR aircraft including, Catalinas, Halifaxes, Liberators, Sunderlands and Wellingtons.
- Sunderland Flying Boats equipped with search lights. Leigh-light (powerful searchlight) was developed for Coastal Command.
- The role of long-range aircraft such as the American "Catalina" flying boat was also crucial for the battle in the mid-Atlantic.
- The development of the "hedgehog" multiple mortar system, fired from the front of escort vessels instead of the rear as depth charges were, was a big improvement in U-boat destruction.
- Depth – charge was an improvement on the earlier anti-submarine bomb

Other strategic/tactical factors

- The foundation of victory over the U-boats was laid at the Casablanca Conference when Churchill and Roosevelt decided that the defeat of the U-boat menace must become the Allies' top priority.
- Corvettes, small warships of less than 1000 tons, were added to the convoys to help plug the gaps in the Royal Navy's escort capability. Although these ships were slow and not very well armed they did have considerable success against the U-boats.
- In 1939 Admiralty believed that U-boats could be defeated by a combination of asdic and convoy. This faith proved to be unfounded.
- Coastal Command had limited success against the U-boats until 1942 onwards when it proved to be very successful.
- The Royal Canadian Navy grew enormously and played a crucial role in convoy protection.
- The US Navy took over convoy protection in the western Atlantic from 1942 and their naval strength eventually wore down the U-boats in this theatre.
- Bomber Harris was finally persuaded to release more long-range aircraft (Liberators) for the purpose of attacking U-boats, instead of bombing U-boat pens and production facilities as he favoured.
- Allied occupation of Iceland gave Britain valuable Atlantic bases.
- RAF Coastal Command increased air cover despite reluctance from Harris
- Increased use of aircraft carriers provided convoys with air cover in the vulnerable mid Atlantic Gap
- German mistakes. Initially the Germans put their efforts in to building large surface ships which would challenge the Royal Navy.
- Hitler overruled Admiral Karl Donitz and transferred U-boats to the Mediterranean in 1941
- Convoy system. Was improved throughout the war
- Destruction of U-boat bases by Bomber Command
- The Royal Navy received 50 old US warships in exchange for US access to British bases
- During the Battle of the Atlantic the Merchant Navy lost 30,000 men and approximately 3,000 ships.
- U-boat losses increased dramatically throughout the war – 86 in 1942, 243 in 1943 and 249 in 1944.
- Germans lost a total of 783 U boats and 28,000 sailors
- By the end of the war in Europe, air power had sunk more U-boats than surface vessels.

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

- **Richard Overy:** is reluctant to pinpoint any one factor over the other as a specific reason for victory but commends highly the energy, drive and invention of Admiral Horton as being significant.
- **Professor David Syrett:** stresses the huge importance of intelligence in winning the battle and in particular, the cracking of the Enigma code.
- Canadian historian **Jim Lotz:** praises the enormous contribution of the Canadian Navy to ultimate victory.
- **John Keegan:** stresses the importance of the revamped convoy system as an integral part of the success against the U-boats.

Question 4

The question invites candidates to discuss the impact which the Second World War had on Britain's industrial labour force for both men and women. Candidates might discuss industrial conscription and the complex trade union response to male and female workers. In addition candidates might discuss the scale of industrial unrest during the war, including workers' attitudes towards their employers and vice versa. The issue of state control and its impact might also be evaluated as well as the actual physical impact of the war. The candidate might be expected to evaluate the relative significance of each area of impact.

Impact on both men and women

Of conscription

- The reception industrial conscription workers received from the population which remained at home
- Exempted occupations such as mine workers, dock workers, farmers, policemen and scientists.
- Conscription in the coal mining industry, the Bevin Boys. To replace those who had enlisted before coal mining became a reserved occupation, 48000 men were conscripted into service. Half of those were selected by a ballot the other half chose to serve in the mines rather than be conscripted into the armed services.
- Allegations of the better-off being able to avoid hard manual labour when conscripted, an accusation particularly aimed at women workers but also in relation to Bevin's boys in mine working.
- Many better off women evaded conscription.

Of issues in labour relations

- Evidence of discord between workers and employers. Evidence of the increasing number of days lost to strike action during the war which increased as the war went on despite striking being made illegal.
- Specific reference to shipbuilding on the Clyde as a source of conflict and Jack Jones comments on the degree to which management attempted to continue to implement pre-war managerial practices.
- The role of the Trade Unions during the war years. Trades Unions whilst patriotic did not give up fighting for their members during the war. There were disputes with the government over pay and job protection and the role of women in the workforce. Trades Unions also played an active role in the education of the men who were being demobbed out of the armed services after the war.
- Some employers even went as far as to increase wages for women to the level of men's in similar non-skilled jobs and there was an increase in the female membership of trade unions.
- Trade union opposition to women members and to women in skilled occupations remained steadfast and whilst career opportunities for professional women expanded in the fifties, social norms still centred round a woman as a carer and housewife.
- Employers still seen as class enemies by workers
- Although equal pay was a long way off, the differentials had been eroded during the war and women were better paid for similar type work as men.
- The number of women remaining in full-time work after the war fell significantly thus contradicting the notion that war work was an emancipating experience.
- Mass Observation surveys tend to reinforce the point of view that war work was seen as a temporary phenomenon and that women expected to return to their more traditional roles in society once the conflict ended.

Of the issue of class conflict and the idea of equality of sacrifice

- Belief that employers were making excessive profits at a time of national crisis.
- However suggestion by employers that workers were exploiting the war as means of extending union rights but belief that press complaints about workers slacking was being used to cover up managerial inefficiency.
- Concept of hard working employees being dissuaded from greater effort by recalcitrant colleagues.
- The notion of inequality of sacrifice within rationing.
- The possibility of the rich being able to evacuate their children abroad.
- The extent to which the experience of the Blitz did indeed engender a blurring of class distinctions through commonality of purpose and experience.

Of state control

- The Emergency Powers Act. An attempt to have centralised control over the lives of citizens including where they worked, what they ate and wore and what they read, watched and heard in the media.
- Censorship and Propaganda. This was used by government to shield the population from the stark reality war. Used to protect, as well as to keep morale high. These controls gave government some command over the perception of the war in the general population. It allowed the illusion of a “united” experience of war which was important in a society that was entrenched in class division prior to the war.

Of the direct physical impact of war

- Living next to factories which were more heavily bombed eg East End of London
- Disruption due to Trekking eg South Hampton

Impact specifically on the position of women in society

- The marriage rate increased post (and during) war and the baby boom post war would seem to indicate a significant return to the pre-war notion of domesticity and motherhood as women’s primary preoccupation.
- The view that the impact of the war on women’s role in society was fundamental in changing their lives is central to Arthur Marwick’s theories. Marwick argued that war work was emancipating, drew women, traditionally housebound, into the world of work, giving them a financial independence and an enhanced sense of their status in society. Candidates may have a lot to say on the extent of change, during the war, that women saw in their everyday jobs and the range of jobs they were called upon to do eg work in shipbuilding, heavy engineering, and munitions and on the land.
- The contribution of women and volunteers. The contribution of women in munitions, shipbuilding, aircraft and armoured vehicle industries cannot be underestimated. Consequently in the post war period there was an abundance of skilled labour for light engineering as well as the technological industries that emerged from the war. Furthermore, volunteer organisations such as St. John’s Ambulance and the Red Cross joined together to form the Joint War Organisation which helped civilians involved in the home front.
- Psychologically, women may have developed an alternative view of their subordinate role within marriage after having coped with their enforced position as head of the household, main breadwinner, disciplinarian and family decision maker, in the absence of the male figure in the home. Spiralling divorce rates after the war tend to reinforce this notion.

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

- **Correlli Barnett** argues in the *Audit of War* that both workers and management were equally culpable in terms of fostering bad workplace relations.
- **Paul Addison** argues that the amount of illegal localised industrial actions in the four major industries of coal mining, shipbuilding, the metal trades and engineering as examples of industrial disarray
- **Penny Summerfield** and **Arthur Marwick** cite the importance of women's contribution to the war effort. **Stuart Hylton's** argument that crime and anti-social behaviour intensified during the war.
- Notion propagated by **Tiratsoo** and others that the war intensified class conflict rather than eliminating it.

Question 5

The candidate should review the main elements of British foreign policy in the immediate post-war period and analyse the extent to which Bevin was able to steer Britain to a successful position between the Superpowers and how he secured for Britain a more satisfactory outcome than at first appeared possible or appears to be the case. The candidate needs to recognise the extent to which Britain's financial position had changed for the worse due to the war and how her overseas commitments had been enlarged which led to austerity at home. Having done so, the candidate requires to debate the extent to which Ernest Bevin himself contributed to the formulation of foreign policy and whether his views and personality helped retain a post-war role for Britain as a world power.

Candidate's may use evidence such as:

Areas in which Bevin has been praised

- Britain's position relative to competing Superpowers of USA and USSR and whether Bevin himself was in any way responsible for the onset of the Cold War mentality by his attitude to the Soviet Union. Bevin was scathing about the USSR and arguably saw through Britain's former allies before the US did.
- The abandonment by Bevin of the Labour philosophy of "left speaking to left" in Britain's relationship with the USSR Bevin's stance angered many of his own left wing MPs, Keep Left Group, but was generally supported by the Conservatives
- Bevin was a firm supporter of the US in the early years of the Cold War and a leading advocate of British involvement in the Korean War. Was Bevin successful in maintaining a place for Britain at the top table of international affairs and if so, how was it done and at what cost to our economy and global standing?
- Bevin's prominent role in the foundation of NATO and enthusiastic supporter of the Marshall Plan and his success in tying the USA permanently to the preservation of European security rather than seeing the USA return to her traditional isolationist role in world affairs.
- Bevin worked closely with Attlee and Attlee relied on Bevin.
- Bevin understood that Britain's days of imperial greatness were over, something he did not regret, for, in his view, the working class had never benefited from the Empire.

Possible criticisms of Bevin

- Bevin has been accused of being a bully.
- Bevin has been accused by some of his critics as being anti-Semitic as he refused to remove limits on Jewish immigration to Palestine at the end of the war.
- Some discussion of the extent to which critics have suggested that British foreign policy became an extension of the USA's due to our financial dependency on America. A successful partner in a joint attempt to secure world peace and reshape the world geopolitically or merely "airstrip one" and an obedient junior, dominated by a significantly more powerful ally and forced to follow her lead in world affairs.
- The whole issue of decolonisation and retreat from overseas commitments in places like Palestine and Greece and Turkey. A shoddy example of abrogating responsibility for previous commitments or a realistic re-appraisal of our capabilities?
- Indian independence and the issue of further decolonisation. Successfully achieved and a noble foreign policy initiative or an abandonment of the Indian sub-continent to civil war with undue haste? How far the decision to decolonise was forced upon Britain by the Superpowers for different reasons and how far was it a rational decision taken for sound political and ethical reasons?
- Was the creation of a British unilateral nuclear deterrent a significant statement of British foreign policy independence given the refusal of the USA to engage in further nuclear co-operation, or a futile and costly example of Britain trying to retain world power status when it had already evaporated?

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

- The views of **John Saville** who feels that Bevin's anti-communism and strong belief in the intrinsic value of the British Empire were significant factors which shaped our foreign policy in this period.
- **Kenneth Morgan** who stresses the difficulties faced in determining a role for Britain in the changed post-war circumstances and credits Bevin with significant success in carving out such a role.
- **Alan Bullock's** seminal work on Bevin and his conviction that Bevin was a truly great Foreign Secretary and one who clearly preserved Britain's independent status as a world power.
- **Prof Michael Howard** placed Bevin with Palmerston as two of the greatest British Foreign Secretaries in defining Britain's global power.
- **Correlli Barnett's** familiar discourse on the roots of British post-war decline being traced to a pursuit of dreams and illusions which we could neither afford nor realise and the culpability of Bevin in setting this train of policy-making in motion.

Britain at War and Peace (1939 – 1951)

Part 2

Question 1

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the impact of evacuation in wartime Britain in terms of

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

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

- proved much more worthwhile on paper than in reality
- evacuation was not compulsory, those who wanted to go went
- problems allocating evacuees to available accommodation
- evacuees chosen by their "new parents" for their suitability to work on farms etc and families were split up

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

- With the uncertainties over registering for evacuation, the actual movement was also disjointed—evacuees were gathered into groups and put on the first available train, sometimes regardless of its destination.
- Some reception areas received more than the expected number of evacuees and others received groups that they were not expecting.
- Evacuees also came with little in the way of clothing and some rural hosts could not believe how their poverty was reflected in their clothing.
- There was evidence that some children were not treated as they ought to have been with regard to their physically or emotional wellbeing, however this was not a common occurrence.
- In Scotland initially 176,000 children were assembled. Within three days 120,000 were evacuated. Glaswegians typically went to Rothesay or Kintyre; some even went to rural Perthshire. If you were from Edinburgh you were likely to be billeted in the Borders or the Highlands. Around 500,000 Scots were eligible for the Government's evacuation scheme. Not only children, but those in the vulnerable categories such mothers with children under school age, invalids and the blind were also eligible. Nevertheless, the uptake of the scheme was less than 40%.
- The Scottish system was fundamentally different from the English system. In Scotland the children were placed in family groups rather than their counterparts in England who were placed in school class groups. This may have been due to the peculiarities of the Scottish education system. The consequence was Scottish children were less likely to be placed away from their siblings.

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

- When the evacuees arrived at their destinations it was apparent from the start that urban and rural experiences of life were indeed in polar opposition. Suddenly rural communities were faced with children from socially deprived urban areas and some brought with them the maladies of the urban poor, such as, lice, scabies, nits, rickets, tuberculosis and diphtheria.
- In many studies bed wetting is also used as an indicator of social deprivation. However, we need to be sceptical of this because hosts were paid extra if their evacuees soiled their bedclothes. It has been suggested that records about this were easily falsified to gain extra income.
- Goods as well as people were evacuated. Including the paintings from the National Gallery and the Bank of England.
- The education of many children was disrupted as rural schools could not cope with the influx of children from the cities.
- Those who found it most difficult were those who came to Britain as refugees from Eastern Europe. Not only did they have to deal with suspicion because of increased xenophobia at this time they were also unsure that they would ever see their parents or homeland ever again.
- Nevertheless for some it was a grand adventure and the experience has been described as the best of times.
- Overall evacuation was seen as a success of the highest order [candidate may exemplify its successes] and the impact of it is regarded as being long lasting.
- Many people evacuated themselves privately to friends and relatives, or hotels, in rural Britain.
- Space for roughly 4.8 million people was found, and the government also constructed camps which provided a few thousand additional spaces.
- Approximately fifteen thousand people went overseas organised privately or by the Children's Overseas Reception Board. This came to an end when the City of Benares was sunk by a U-boat in September 1940 and many children were killed.
- The movement of teachers also meant that almost a million children staying at home had no schooling.
- From September 1944, the evacuation process was officially halted and reversed for most areas except for London and the East coast. Returning to London was not officially approved until June 1945. In March 1946, the billeting scheme was ended, with 38,000 people still without homes.
- Many evacuees returned home during the "Phoney War" because the imminent bombing campaign by the Luftwaffe did not materialise.

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

- Modern historians such as **Macnicol** suggest that far from pricking middle-class conscience and promoting social welfare reform, evacuation served only to reinforce existing class prejudice about lazy mothers and generally poor parenting and what was required to solve the problems of verminous children was better parental education not a welfare system. Echoes of this argument certainly resounded round Whitehall.
- **Angus Calder** would look more to the impact of central government on people's lives, instilling the notion that what worked in wartime could certainly work in peace time.
- In Scotland **John Stewart** and **John Welshman**, however, have investigated a Scottish dimension to the attitude in which evacuees were received. In England they blamed the structure of society or the socio-economic status of the evacuee for their apparent poverty; absolving them of responsibility for their appearance or demeanour.
- However, **Stewart** and **Welshman** have indicated that in Scotland there was an element of blame laid at the door of the parents of evacuees who were poorly presented or who were perceived to have an attitude that was considered aggressive or anti-social.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the impact of evacuation wartime Britain.

Question 2

16 marks

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** about differing views on the effectiveness of the Allied bombing campaign of Germany and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

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

- Many German cities were severely damaged by Allied bombing
- German guns were needed to defend Germany which weakened their offensive capabilities
- War production was badly affected
- Germany hindered in the development of new weapons

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

- retaliation in kind was a morale booster for the British public.
- Area bombing diverted vital German resources away from the Eastern Front hence relieving the pressure on the Russians.
- Germany was forced to cut back on its production of bomber aircraft and produce more fighter aircraft instead to defend herself.
- Over two million Germans had to be deployed to man air defences or carry out structural repairs thus weakening her fighting and productive capacity.
- It drained the battle fronts of scarce German resources and undermined the morale and reliability of the German workforce.

Source C

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

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

- Area bombing did not harm German civilian morale, had the opposite effect, Germans encouraged to fight on
- RAF suffered high casualties especially during the Battle of Berlin
- Boys and older men manned guns not front line troops.
- Increase in German war production until the end of 1944.

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

- View that strategic bombing was ineffective and random.
- 55,000 RAF personnel died during the war in operations
- Argument that its cost in human and material resources far outweighed any strategic value gained.
- View that the resources used by the Allies could have been deployed more effectively in other theatres of war which may have hastened the end of the war.

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

- Many targeted towns or cities had little in the way of military or strategic value eg and bombing them was an act of terror.
- It was argued that Dresden was a city deliberately targeted because of its high refugee population and as warning to Germany against prolonging the war and to aid the advance of the Red Army.
- Many Allied lives may have been saved by sustaining the bombing campaign.
- Role of USAAF in daylight bombing.
- Candidates may evaluate the effectiveness of specific bombing raids by mentioning eg Lyons Gestapo Headquarters, Dambusters, Schweinfurt and thousand bomber raids.

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

- **Max Hastings:** whilst commending the bravery of the air crews questions the strategic value of the raids.
- The German historian **Detlef Siebert:** is equally sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production as is **Martin Kitchen.**
- **Richard Overy:** is convinced that area bombing was a valid and effective strategy and that it hastened the end of the war through paving the way for an effective Allied invasion of Normandy.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B and C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the effectiveness of the Allied bombing campaign against Germany.

Question 3

12 marks

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence for explaining why Labour lost the 1951 General Election, in terms of:

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

- Morrison was responsible for drafting the Labour Party's 1945 manifesto *Let Us Face the Future*. He was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Commons in Attlee's Government. Morrison was in a position to evaluate the situation first hand.
- May well be biased or exaggerated given his role as of the time and portrays Morrison in a very favourable light.
- Value of a memoir, given that it was relatively recent events.

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

- Rab Butler can be regarded as the architect of the policies which helped to produce victory in 1951
- He wanted to do for the Conservative Party "what Herbert Morrison had done for Labour"
- Learned the lessons of the Conservative's 1945 negative campaign, Gestapo speech, ruin under socialism, state control and changed from this approach
- Butler's consensus policies hindered the Labour Party at the General Election

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Butler's development of the Industrial Charter in 1947 was a significant ideological step forward for the Conservatives there was an acceptance by the Conservatives of the political consensus or post-war settlement based on an acknowledgement of the role played by the trade unions in economic life, support for the policy of full employment and an abandonment of the failed economic policies of the 1930s.
- In 1949 the "Right Road for Britain" policy document pledged to preserve the welfare state and to the continuation of a mixed economy, whilst also promising to build 300,000 new homes.
- The work done by Lord Woolton as Chairman of the party in reorganising the party at both local and national level, appointing full time agents, instigating a membership drive and founding the Young Conservatives movement. By 1950 the party membership has risen to 3 million and funding was vastly improved through local constituency efforts and donations from big business and from abroad.

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

- Britain's involvement in the Korean War was not universally popular and the split which it caused in the cabinet in April 1951 between the Bevanites and Gaitskellites split the party and presented the electorate with a picture of Labour as being a divided party.
- Where the heroic efforts of the Red Army during the war had increased support for the Labour party in 1945, the onset of the Cold War had the opposite effect by 1951. Where communism was seen as stifling individual freedom, comparisons could be made with the limitations of personal freedom in Britain under Labour.
- Labour polled more votes than the Conservatives in October 1951 and more than they had in 1945 yet lost more seats. The influence of the missing Liberal candidates helped the Conservatives and hindered Labour.
- The Liberal vote evaporated, leaving the party with just 2.5% support and six MPs.
- Labour's continued economic difficulties helped the Conservatives. By 1950 there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the electorate was sick of austerity, rationing, shortages and bureaucracy as witnessed by the creation of the Housewives League as a pressure group.
- Other critics would argue that Attlee had no need to go to the polls in October 1951 since the economic indicators for 1952 were reasonably healthy and that he made a tactical error in doing so.
- The Conservative vote in 1945 was still 8.7 million and that its support had held up reasonably well.

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

- **Paul Addison and Kevin Jefferys:** point to the rebirth of the Conservatives *a la* New Labour as a vital factor in explaining Labour's defeat.
- **Kenneth Morgan:** would agree that austerity was a significant factor in reducing labour popularity saying "It is not remarkable that Labour duly lost the October 1951 election. What is surprising is that the defeat was so narrow".
- **Murphy:** emphasises the disillusionment of the electorate with austerity and the impact of the Cold War on the popularity of socialism as such.
- **Robert Pearce:** looks at involvement in the Korean War as a significant factor which turned voters against Labour.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as evidence for investigating why Labour lost the 1951 General Election.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]