Date — Not applicable
Duration — 3 hours

Total marks — 90
Attempt ONE Section only

Write your answers clearly in the answer booklet provided. In the answer booklet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Use blue or black ink.

Before leaving the examination room you must give your answer booklet to the Invigilator; if you do not you may lose all the marks for this paper.
SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

SECTION 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and early 16th Centuries

SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707-1815

SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850-1865

SECTION 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840-1920

SECTION 7 — Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918-1939

SECTION 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902-1984

SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914-1945

SECTION 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938-1951
SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

1. To what extent did agriculture underpin all other elements of Iron Age society? 25

2. “Governor Agricola is no longer to be credited with the Flavian conquest of Northern Britain.”
   How valid is this view of Agricola’s role in the Flavian conquest? 25

3. How significant an impact did conversion to Christianity have on Northern Britons in the post-Roman period? 25

4. “Britain received a third tribe, namely the Irish (the Scotii).”
   How valid is this view of the origin of the Scots? 25

5. To what extent was the creation of Alba a result of cultural domination by the Scots over the Picts? 25
SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


New discoveries at Vindolanda fort on Hadrian’s Wall have reinforced the idea that the fort may have been used as a Roman POW (Prisoner of War) Camp in the 3rd century. Back-to-back rows of native-style circular stone huts have been found in the south-western corner of the fort... about 300 huts could have existed, housing up to 2,000 prisoners. According to the Director of the Vindolanda Trust, the huts probably date to the reign of Emperor Septimius Severus, who brought an imperial force to quell a native uprising in northern Britain. Severus pushed well into Scotland during the campaign and subsequently died at York in 211. Many hostages were sent as exhibits to Rome but it is suspected that others were kept at Vindolanda. The hut rows are unparalleled at any fort elsewhere in the Empire. Many contain hearths, but they are otherwise devoid of finds as they were regularly swept clean in antiquity.


The imperial expedition into Scotland and the heartlands of the insurgent was to be primarily focused on the east coast. The fort at South Shields, at the mouth of the Tyne, was converted into a massive supply dump with no less than twenty-three granaries built to store food... there was enough for an army of 40,000 men for three months in the field... The intended target was Tayside, the territory of the Maeatae... in any event no pitched battles or decisive victories were recorded for the great army... it seems that the Maeatae and Caledonii would not be drawn into a set piece and they probably scorched their earth. Instead of glory in battle, the emphasis [for Severus and Caracalla] may have to have been on great engineering projects—like a bridge across the Tay—how the Roman army could tame the landscape, and its inhabitants with technology.
One summer King Harald Finehair sailed west on a punitive expedition against the Vikings who were raiding the coasts of Norway from their winter-bases in Shetland or the Orkneys; for he had grown tired of their depredations. He subdued Shetland and the Orkneys and the Hebrides, and sailed all the way down to the Isle of Man and destroyed all the settlements there. He fought many battles there, and extended his dominion further west than any king of Norway has done since then. One of those killed in battle was Ívarr, the son of Earl Rögnvaldr of Möer; so when King Harald set sail for Norway, he gave Earl Rögnvaldr the Orkneys and Shetland as compensation for his son. Earl Rögnvaldr in turn transferred both countries to his brother Sigurðr, who was King Harald’s prow-man. When the king sailed back to Norway he bestowed on Sigurðr the title of Jarl and Sigurðr stayed behind on the islands.

... in Pictland we find evidence that kings were placing increasing emphasis on organising themselves for war. There was a shift from plundering, pillaging and extortion to pitched battles, which required far greater military organisation and resources. For example, enormous effort went into the breeding and stabling of horses, and the groom seen accompanying the female figure on the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab must have been an important member of the royal household...

Further resources must also have been required to free warriors for either permanent or temporary duty. Military aggression can be seen as a continual undercurrent throughout the period. It could be — indeed, frequently was — used to decide which particular person inherited or acquired authority over any given area; kings had to be strong. This was presumably how Bridei son of Beli consolidated Pictish kingship and we must assume that this was how Cinead mac Ailpin rose to power... So military might was used to obtain and assert power. Such instances of internecine and apparent political instability are recurrent themes throughout this period.

Attempt all of the following questions.

6. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of Severus’ methods of control of Northern Britain? 16

7. Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the extent of Viking control of the Northern and Western Isles. 12

8. How fully does Source D explain the war-like nature of Pictish society? 12
SECTION 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

9. “King Alexander III’s success in consolidating the authority of the Scottish monarchy has been greatly exaggerated.”
   How valid is this view? 25

10. “The Scottish resistance of 1297 was caused by resentment of English mismanagement of Scotland.”
    How justified is this view? 25

11. To what extent was the decision of John Comyn to submit in 1304 caused by the defection of Robert the Bruce? 25

12. How far does the support of the Scottish Church explain Robert the Bruce’s victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1309? 25

13. To what extent was the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton of 1328 made possible by the overthrow of Edward II in 1327? 25
SECTION 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


In late September 1286, the Guardian James Stewart met with Robert Bruce and his son, the Earl of Carrick, at the latter's castle at Turnberry . . . The gathering of the Bruces with Stewart and his uncle, Walter, Earl of Menteith, the Earl of Dunbar and Angus of Islay was a roll call of families, largely from the west, most of whom would later support the Bruce claim to the throne . . . While the Guardians could maintain the routine of royal administration, raising rents, paying fees and auditing sheriff's accounts, they lacked the stature of a king in the vital job of managing flashpoints and rivalries within the nobility. Instead, they were often drawn into these incidents . . . The way out of these internal tensions lay outside the kingdom. It is likely that the Guardians actively sought Edward's support. Like his father in the 1250s, Edward was approached as a means of guaranteeing political stability in a Scottish realm which lacked a royal head.


It was Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow and Guardian, who recovered himself sufficiently from the shock of Edward's demand of overlordship to respond on behalf of the startled Scots. He said it did not matter what they, as temporary custodians, might or might not concede: only a king of Scotland could answer such a momentous demand. The bishop took Edward to task over his reasoning: they were not obliged to prove him wrong; rather he should prove himself right. Wishart reminded the English king that he was supposed to be a crusader and observed that to threaten to unleash war on a defenceless people did him no credit. At this Edward was predictably enraged . . . the king, to be sure, had anticipated some opposition to his demands — hence the massive effort to prove his right by documentary means. But the scale and fervour of Scottish resistance had left him reeling, with no response other than angry threats of force. And force, as the bishop of St Andrews had discerned, was an inappropriate answer in present circumstances.
Macduff managed to get John, king of Scotland, summoned to the English king’s parliament held in London. John accordingly appeared in person, and, in spite of the English king and his supporters, he decided after consulting with his council that he would answer through a representative. When, therefore, the king was called and the representative appeared, the king of England, sitting in the judgement seat, would not in any way listen to the representative until the king of Scotland, who was sitting next to the king of England, should rise from his place and standing in court in front of him convey his answers to his representative with his own lips. John fulfilled these commands and, having experienced innumerable insults and slights from all, contrary to his kingly rank and dignity, he eventually conveyed his answers to his representative; and after taking his leave, returned home greatly downcast.

Bruce may have further antagonised his former enemies in Scotland by attempting to build up Sir James Douglas’s lands as the Crown agent in the south-west (where Soules and some of his confederates had their lands). Many Scots must also have been angered by another round of seal abuse and coercion by the royal government in demanding that nobles approve the Declaration of Arbroath to send to the Papacy about 6 April 1320 . . . Robert I, however, was understandably anxious to play down the Balliol dynastic threat which the Soules conspiracy posed. At the so-called “Black Parliament” in August 1320 in which the conspirators were tried, Robert made a cruel example of those involved. He jailed Soules, Umfraville and the Countess of Strathearn and executed Barclay of Brechin for being complicit with the plot but not warning the Crown. Robert also took great trouble to make it seem as if Soules alone had aimed at the throne, trivialising Balliol’s input: it was this propaganda version of the plot which reached later Scottish chroniclers.
SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

17. "The prosperity of the Italian city-states of the early 15th century was built upon trade." How valid is this view? 25

18. To what extent do links with Byzantium and the Levant explain why Venetian art of the 15th and early 16th centuries was so different from that of other Renaissance states? 25

19. To what extent were the Medici “princes of Florence” in all but name between 1434 and 1494? 25

20. “Giorgio Vasari’s ‘Lives of the Great Artists’ presents a distorted view of the development of art during the Italian Renaissance.”

How valid is this view? 25

21. To what extent was the concept of the “Renaissance Man” little more than an ideal? 25
SECTION 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


I should explain how painting is worthy of all our attention and study. Painting possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present, but it also represents the dead to the living many centuries later, so that they are recognised by spectators with pleasure and deep admiration for the artist. Through painting, the faces of the dead go on living for a very long time. We should also consider it a very great gift to men that painting has represented the gods they worship, for painting has contributed considerably to the piety which binds us to the gods, and to filling our minds with sound religious beliefs . . . Painting contributes to the honest pleasures of the mind, and to the beauty of things . . . The virtues of painting, therefore, are that its masters see their works admired and feel themselves almost like the Creator. Is it not true that painting is the mistress of all the arts or their principal ornament?

Source B: from *Patronage in Renaissance Italy* by Mary Hollingsworth (1994).

Julius II planned to make Rome a truly impressive centre, one that would clearly demonstrate his vision of the renewed power and prestige of the Pope as supreme head of the Church . . . Julius achieved much in the ten years of his pontificate. In the funeral oration on the death of the Pope, the speaker contrasted Rome as it had been in 1503 with the city in 1513. Julius II had inherited a rebellious, divided Italy and had reasserted control in the Papal States and expanded his temporal authority in Italy. He had found the papal coffers empty and left them full. Above all, the speaker stressed the concept of a Golden Age under Julius II and his impact on the appearance of Rome. He attributed its renewal to the projects of the Pope, and his uncle. For once, the Renaissance tradition of praising a patron for the transformation of a shabby city into a magnificent centre held more than a grain of truth.
Source C: St Peter refuses to allow Pope Julius II into Heaven from “Julius Exclusus” (“Julius Excluded from Heaven”) (1514) attributed to Erasmus.

St Peter: When I look you over, I see many a sign of ungodliness and none of holiness. You have almost 20,000 men at your back, yet I cannot find one single individual who has the face of a Christian. I see nothing but a horrifying mob of ruffians, reeking of brothels, booze shops, and gunpowder. The more I look at you the fewer traces I see of any apostolic character. You wear the robes of a priest of God, yet under them you are dressed in the bloody armour of a warrior. What a savage pair of eyes you have, what woeful features, what an arrogant expression!
There’s no part of your body not marked with traces of outrageous and abominable lust. I see you threatening me with your lofty expression; but my feelings won’t be suppressed. I suspect you may be that most pestilent pagan of all, Julius Caesar, returned from hell to make a mockery of our system . . . You say you are a great builder: build yourself a new paradise!


The lady who married a Renaissance prince became a patron. She commissioned works of art and gave gifts for literary works dedicated to her; she drew to her artists and literati (learned men). But the court they came to ornament was her husband’s, and the culture they represented magnified his princely being . . . The sons of the Renaissance nobility still pursued their military and diplomatic training in the service of some great lord, but as youths, they transferred their non-military training from the lady to the humanistic tutor or boarding school. Humanism brought Latin literacy and classical learning to daughters as well as sons of the nobility. But this very development, usually seen as evidence of the equality of Renaissance noblewomen with men, spelled a further decline in the lady’s influence over courtly society. It placed her under male cultural authority. Her male tutors shaped her outlook, and, as humanists, they suppressed romance and chivalry to advance classical culture, with all its male-dominated and anti-female bias.

Attempt all of the following questions.

22. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the role of the artist in the Italian Renaissance.

23. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the exercise of power by the Popes of the High Renaissance?

24. How fully does Source D explain the experience of women during the Italian Renaissance?
Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

25. How far does the poor leadership of James VIII explain why the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 achieved no more than “stalemate, retreat and ultimate fiasco”? 25

26. How important were the methods of the tobacco lords in establishing Glasgow as the “tobacco metropolis of Western Europe”? 25

27. “Urban areas had become the dominant presence in the society and economy of Scotland by 1800.” How valid is this assessment of the growth of Scottish towns and cities during the 18th century? 25

28. How important was the French Revolution in explaining political unrest in Scotland in the 1790s? 25

29. To what extent does John Cockburn of Ormiston deserve to be considered the most significant contributor to Scotland’s agricultural revolution? 25
SECTION 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


Even in earlier decades there had been private fee-paying or “adventure” schools outside the statutory system, because parishes were often too large for one master to satisfy demand. The system came under acute pressure after 1750 with the rising population and a significant increase in migration. The veritable explosion in the number of private schools was, however, confirmation that there was a widespread popular demand for basic literacy.

The most dynamic feature of schooling in the large burghs was a response to the new needs of the expanding business and professional classes. As early as 1695, Glasgow appointed a teacher of navigation and book-keeping, and Edinburgh in 1705 hired a former merchant as “Professor of book-keeping to the city”.

The other side of this coin was greater pressure on the living standards of schoolmasters. These very financial problems encouraged some rural schoolmasters to broaden their teaching to include “new” subjects such as geography, French and book-keeping since they were permitted to charge a higher fee on these.


Prestonpans illustrated the Gaels’ tactical superiority over an opponent not sufficiently trained or led and unfamiliar with the Highland way of war. The performance of his troops so impressed Charles that thereafter he “entertained a mighty notion of the Highlanders, and imagined they would beat four times their number of regular troops”. Charles, however, deceived himself in equating Cope’s rabble with the best regular troops in the British army.

Though the clansmen executed a near perfect Highland charge, their victory was not based on tactical acumen. The cheap victory definitely left Charles overconfident, and gave him unrealistic expectations of their capabilities. Charles’s strategy at Culloden placed the clan regiments on an ill-chosen field that greatly favoured conventional British tactics and weaponry, but the performance of the individual Highlanders might have made up for this disadvantage if they had been effectively commanded during the battle. Charles simply turned loose his seemingly invincible Highlanders to win the day.
Source C: from a letter sent by George Murray to Charles Edward Stuart on 17th April, 1746, Ruthven Barracks.

Sir, you will I hope pardon me if I mention a few truths. It was wrong to have raised your royal standard without having a positive assurance from the French that they would support you with all force. I'm also convinced that Mr O'Sullivan, whom you trusted with most essential things, was exceedingly unfit and committed terrible blunders. I never saw him in time of action, neither at Gladsmuir, Falkirk or at the last and his orders were completely confused.

They (government forces) with their front fire and flanking us when we went upon the attack destroyed us without any possibility of our breaking them. The lack of provisions also had fatal consequences. You trusted Mr Hay to order provisions, yet he served you very poorly. He told me provisions were ordered, but he neglected his duty. In the three days before battle your army was starved.

Source D: from Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland by Samuel Johnson (1773).

We were now to cross the Highlands towards the western coast. The journey was not formidable, for it took only two days. We had gained the favour of our host so that when we left his house in the morning he walked with us a great way and entertained us with conversation on the condition of the Highlands. From him we first heard of the general dissatisfaction amongst the Highlanders.

The clan chiefs have turned their thoughts to the improvements of their finances and expect more rent. However, the tenant does not see why his industry is to be taxed more heavily than before. He refuses to pay the demand, and is ejected. The land is then let to a stranger, not of the clan.

It seems to be the general opinion amongst Highlanders that rents have been raised too much. The willingness to seek another country is clear from the behaviour of the Highlanders. The numbers which have already gone are very great.

Attempt all of the following questions.

30. How fully does Source A explain the reasons for the changes in Scottish schooling in the 18th century?

31. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1745?

32. Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of social change in the Highlands in the late 18th century.
SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850—1865

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

33. To what extent was the Kansas-Nebraska Act the most significant reason for the emergence of the Republican Party by 1856? 25

34. “The role of the Western Theatre in the Civil War has been underestimated.” How valid is this view? 25

35. To what extent have criticisms of Jefferson Davis as a wartime leader been exaggerated? 25

36. “It seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected.” How valid is this view of the difficulties Lincoln faced during the 1864 presidential campaign? 25

37. How justified is the view that the Civil War’s greatest impact was on women in the South? 25
SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850—1865

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A: from the book *The Blessings of Slavery* by George Fitzhugh, a Virginian lawyer (1857).

The negro slaves of the South are the happiest and freest people in the world. The free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the negro, because he works longer and harder for less allowance than the slave, and has no holiday, because the cares of life with him begin when his labors end. He has no liberty and not a single right. The negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, no more than nine hours a day and they have their Sabbaths and holidays. The negro children, the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessaries of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care or labor. Our negroes are confessedly better off than any free laboring population in the world.

Source B: from the *South Carolina Declaration of Causes of Secession*, 24th December 1860.

For 25 years this agitation (against slavery) has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government, subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that “Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free”, and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction. On the 4th March next this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.
The two sections, North and South, had joined together under the Constitution fully conscious that they united as two divergent economic and social systems. The two sections were evenly balanced in population and in the number of states, so that at the time there was no danger of either section encroaching upon the interests of the other. This balance was clearly understood.

But equilibrium was impossible under expansion and growth. One section would at one time or another become dominant and control the national government. Therein lies the irrepressible conflict; the eternal struggle between the agrarian South and the industrial North to control the government. The irrepressible conflict, then, was not between slavery and freedom, but between the industrial and commercial civilisation of the North and the agrarian civilisation of the South. The economic systems and interests of the sections clashed. Their social systems were hostile. Their political philosophies growing out of their economic and social systems were impossible to reconcile. What was food for one was poison for the other.

The Emancipation Proclamation . . . encouraged slaves in the Confederate states to flee their masters. The heightened possibility of slave insurrection distracted Confederate officials and lowered morale in the rebel armies. Once Lincoln publicly defined the war as a conflict between freedom and slavery, any chance of European aid to the Confederacy vanished.

However, by emancipating the Confederacy’s slaves as a war measure — and not as an act of justice toward the Negro — Lincoln subordinated the ideal of freedom to the preservation of the Union. Emancipation became the means to an end, a by-product of the war. The Proclamation consisted of legalistic language designed to stifle any challenges to the abolition of slavery, the sort of language one expected from a generation that devoted enormous time and energy to debates over the constitutional and legal rights of slave-owners. Lincoln left no noble words about liberty for Negroes, no eloquent phrases that could inspire subsequent generations to work toward equality.

Attempt all of the following questions.

38. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the debate over slave conditions in antebellum Southern society.

39. How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the causes of the Civil War?

40. How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation?
SECTION 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840—1920

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

41. How far was the elimination of the Shoguns between 1868 and 1869 the decisive step toward achieving a centralised state? 25

42. How successful were the educational reforms of the Meiji era? 25

43. “Recent historians have drawn attention to the indispensable part played by the Zaibatsu in Japan’s economic advance”.
   How valid is this view? 25

44. To what extent do the military reforms explain why Japan successfully defeated China in 1895? 25

45. How significant was the impact of the First World War on Japan? 25
Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


For 250 years during the strict, stable rule of the Tokugawa shoguns there was little change in the outward appearance of Japan. Until the mid-19th century the Japanese continued to live and work in structures as predictable and carefully defined as their social rank: the samurai’s mansion, the peasant’s farm, the craftsman’s workplace, and the merchant’s shop. Manufacturing consisted mainly of weaving, pottery and metalwork, performed skilfully but on a modest scale, using simple machinery powered sometimes by oxen or a waterwheel, but mainly by human muscle. People and their freight travelled by small sailing ships between coastal towns, or moved by palanquin, packhorse, or foot along the traditional highways. This was all in stark contrast with the late 19th century when social mobility became much more of a theoretical reality when the formal caste structure was abolished.

Source B: from a memo sent by Iwakura Tomomi to Sanjo Sanetomi, a leading government statesman (1869).

When the Tokugawa opened relations with foreign countries, it was not addressed whether this was good for the country or bad; after all, three of four Great and Senior Councillors concluded the treaties based on their fear of the foreign threat. They gained a day’s peace, but among their numerous failings were deceiving the Imperial Court and lying to the people. We must defend our imperial country’s independence by revising the unfair trade treaties we recently concluded with Great Britain, France, Holland, America, and other countries. Currently, foreign countries’ troops have landed in our ports and they show no sign of leaving and these treaties are a mere cover for the use of imperialist force. It can be said that this is our country’s greatest shame.
Article IV. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

The sovereign power of reigning over and of governing the state, is inherited by the Emperor from his Ancestors, and by him bequeathed to his posterity. All the different legislative as well as executive powers of state, by means of which he reigns over the country and governs the people, are united in this Most Exalted Personage. His Imperial Majesty has determined a Constitution, and has made it a fundamental law to be observed both by the Sovereign and by the People.

Article V. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet. The legislative power belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor, but this power shall always be exercised with the consent of the Diet.

Source D: from *Japan’s Modern Myths* by C. Gluck (1985).

After his gracious bestowal of the constitution, which marked his debut in his new role, the Emperor’s relation to politics was maintained in public on a strictly ceremonial level. He opened the Diet, met with his ministers to hear of political matters, and spoke, as it were, in infrequent rescripts that expressed his government’s will in lofty imperial terms . . . He was described as believing in the “principles of progress, for only this principle can make the Japanese one of the great peoples of the world”. Nonetheless, he did not decide anything by himself . . . and waited instead for the assistance of his ministers.

Attempt all of the following questions.

46. How fully does Source A explain the traditional nature of Japanese society in 1850?

47. Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the role played by foreign forces in the downfall of the Tokugawa in 1868.

48. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations regarding the role of the Emperor within the new Meiji Government?
SECTION 7 — Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918—1939

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

49. How valid is the view that there was nothing more than a revolutionary situation in Germany in 1918—1919?  

50. “The Treaty of Versailles lay at the root of the instability faced by the German government between 1919 and 1923.” How valid is this view?  

51. To what extent does Stresemann’s foreign policy show him to be little more than a traditional German nationalist?  

52. To what extent did industrialists gain most from Nazi economic policies, between 1933 and 1939?  

53. How far does Nazi oppression explain the ineffectiveness of opposition to the Nazi regime, 1933—1939?
Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

**Source A:** from a newspaper article by Berlin journalist Friedrich Kroner (August 1923).

There is not much to add. Inflation pounds daily on the nerves: the insanity of the numbers, the uncertain future. There is an epidemic of fear and of naked need. Lines of shoppers form in front of shops and no disease is as contagious as this one. The lines always send the same signal: the city will be shopped empty yet again. Rice 80,000 marks yesterday costs 160,000 marks today, and tomorrow perhaps twice as much again. Everyone is buying frantically. The piece of paper, the spanking brand new banknote still moist from the printing presses, paid out today as a weekly wage shrinks in value on the way to the grocer’s shop. The zeros, the multiplying zeros . . . The rising prices bring mockery and laughter. Someone shouts, “Cheaper butter!” Instead of 1,600,000 marks just 1,400,000 marks . . .

**Source B:** from Franz von Papen’s *Memoirs* (1952).

Historical developments are the product of diverse forces . . . I am entitled to ask that my own actions be judged in the light of this fact . . . I have been represented as naïve and incapable of grasping the true implications of the political situation at the end of 1932 . . . Yet not many people seem to realise the extent to which Hitler arose because of the harsh clauses of Versailles and the economic crisis caused by reparations. Hitler and his movement were in essence a reaction against hopelessness and for that sense of hopelessness the victorious powers must bear their full share of the blame. Hitler became Chancellor with the support of almost 40% of the German electorate. I have been accused of betraying the Weimar Republic and hoisting Hitler into the saddle as a way of taking revenge against Schleicher. But the correct narrative of events shows that this is not true.
**Source C:** from Ian Kershaw’s *Hitler* (1991).

The handover of power to Hitler on 30 January 1933 was the worst possible outcome to the irrecoverable crisis of Weimar democracy. It did not have to happen. It was at no stage a foregone conclusion. Electoral success alone could not bring it about. Under the Weimar constitution, there was no compulsion upon the President to appoint as head of government the leader of the party which had won most seats in a general election . . . Hindenburg had refused Hitler the chancellorship in August 1932 with the Nazis on the crest of a wave. Five months later he changed his mind with the Nazi Party in crisis following the electoral setback of November 1932 . . . Hitler’s appointment was technically constitutional. Few among the elite groups had Hitler down as their first choice, but by January 1933, with other options apparently exhausted, most were prepared to entertain a Hitler government. Had they opposed it, a Hitler government would have been inconceivable. Hitler needed the elites to attain power.

**Source D:** from *Guidelines for Teaching History in Secondary Schools* (1938) issued by the German Central Institute of Education.

The teaching of History is based on the natural bond of the child with his nation and has the particular task of educating young people to respect the great German past. The teaching of History must bring the past alive for the young German in such a way that it enables him to feel the responsibility of every individual for the nation as a whole . . . A new understanding of the German past has emerged from the faith of the National Socialist Movement in the future of the German people. The teaching of History must come from this vital faith . . . The certainty of a great national existence . . . is for us based . . . at the same time on the clear recognition of the basic racial forces of the German nation, which are always active and indestructibly enduring.

**Attempt all of the following questions.**

54. How fully does *Source A* explain the impact of hyperinflation on the lives of Germans in 1923? 12

55. How much do *Sources B* and *C* reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for Hitler’s appointment as Chancellor of Germany? 16

56. Evaluate the usefulness of *Source D* in explaining the goal of the Nazis’ *Volksgemeinschaft*. 12
Attempts BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

57. How important a part did the demand for cheap labour play in the development of segregationist policies in South Africa, 1910–1924? 25

58. How far was unique sense of Afrikaner identity the main reason for the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism between 1924 and 1948? 25

59. To what extent was disunity amongst resistance groups the main factor in undermining the effectiveness of opposition to segregation between 1910 and 1948? 25

60. “The policy of Separate Development after 1960 was apartheid by another name.” How valid is this view? 25

SECTION 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902—1984

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


Milner set out to use his position to reconstruct the economy and society and to reshape South Africa in an imperial mould. For him, reconstruction was not an end to itself — it was the mean to achieve a ‘British’ South Africa. His plans involved major social and economic engineering, with the intention of creating a loyal dominion of the crown.

Although his long term aim was a self-governing community Milner was in no hurry. He believed his job was to govern; that efficiency took precedent over representation. In practical terms, he believed that his aims could be achieved in three ways. The first was to increase the British population by a vigorous immigration policy. The second was to retain control in the hands of British officials while the changes were taking place.

Milner’s third route was through cultural imperialism; in particular the use of education to anglicise the Boers.


Africans in the former Boer republics had reason to expect that their lives would improve under British administration, since British propaganda had repeatedly criticised the republican governments for their treatment of Africans. These hopes quickly subsided. In the rural areas, where Africans had carried out a rebellion from below during the war, the Milner regime re-established Afrikaner landowners and made Africans lives harsher than before the war. In the towns, too, Africans’ conditions worsened, especially in the gold-mining industry. Milner tightened pass laws to restrict the mobility of African labourers, while the mining companies cut Africans’ wages and stopped competing for their labour by combining to form a Witwatersrand native labour association (WNLA). When Africans failed to come to the mines in the required numbers, the government arranged for labourers to be imported from China. In combination, the government, the WNLA and the Chinese labourers made the gold mining industry profitable to the investors and the state by undermining the bargaining power of Africans.
The Nationalists were a party animated by bitterness — bitterness towards the English, who treated them as inferiors for decades, and bitterness towards the African, who the Nationalists believed was threatening the prosperity and purity of Afrikaner culture. Africans had no loyalty to General Smuts, but we had even less for the National Party. Malan’s platform was known as apartheid. Apartheid was a new term but an old idea and it represented the codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries. The often haphazard segregation of the past 300 years was to be consolidated into a system that was inescapable in its reach and overwhelming in its power. The premise of apartheid was that whites were superior to Africans, Coloureds and Indians, and the function of it was to entrench white supremacy forever.

For black South African leaders, the massacre and the nationwide tumult it engendered, as well as the subsequent suppression of their organisation, made violent strategies directed at regime overthrow seem very compelling. It was true that before Sharpeville both within Africanists and among the ANC there were influential people who already believed that a violent confrontation with the authorities was inevitable and that they should prepare for it. But if the Pan Africanist Congress’s protests had not mobilised such a massive response, and if Robert Sobukwe’s protest had been confined to the small numbers who had accompanied him to Orlando police station, then guerrilla warfare might have remained a minority view. Sobukwe himself was ambivalent about the necessity for an armed insurgency and, within the ANC in 1960, Chief Luthuli’s principled objections to violence were still widely shared.

Attempt all of the following questions.

62. How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of British policy in South Africa between 1902 and 1910?

63. Evaluate the usefulness of Source C in explaining the origins of apartheid before 1959.

64. How fully does Source D explain the decision to adopt militant tactics by some resistance groups in the 1960s?
SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914—1945

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

65. To what extent did a one-party dictatorship emerge in Russia between October 1917 and March 1921? 25

66. To what extent has the role of Trotsky in bringing about Red victory in the Civil War been exaggerated? 25

67. “Stalin was very much in the right place at the right time, lucky – but the luck had to be used.”
How valid is this assessment of the reasons for Stalin’s emergence as leader? 25

68. To what extent did collectivisation achieve its aims? 25

69. How significant was the contribution of the Soviet generals to victory in the Great Patriotic War? 25
SECTION 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914—1945

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.


There was suspicion of treason in high places, and one of the main targets was Nicholas’s wife, Empress Alexandra, who was a German princess by birth. When Nicholas assumed the responsibilities of commander-in-chief of the Russian army, which took him away from the capital for long periods, Alexandra and Rasputin began to exercise a disastrous influence over ministerial appointments. The personalities of Nicholas and his wife, and the family tragedy of their young son’s haemophilia, emphasised the inadequacies of the Russian autocracy. Nicholas seemed less like an upholder of the autocratic tradition than an unwitting satirist of it. The “ministerial leapfrog” of incompetent favourites in the Cabinet, the illiterate peasant faith healer at court, the intrigues of the high nobility leading to Rasputin’s murder. The political and bureaucratic structure was fragile and overstrained. The regime was so vulnerable to any kind of jolt or setback that it is hard to imagine that it could have survived for long.

Source B: from a pamphlet called *The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power* by Lenin, 12th September 1917.

The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies of both capitals, can and must take state power into their own hands. They can because the active majority of revolutionary elements in the two chief cities are large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome our opponent’s resistance, to smash him, and gain and retain power. For the Bolsheviks, by immediately proposing a democratic peace, we will form a government which nobody will be able to overthrow.

The majority of people are on our side. This was proved by the long and painful course of events from 6 May to 12 September. The majority gained in the Soviets of the metropolitan cities resulted from the people coming over to our side. The wavering of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks prove the same thing. Why must the Bolsheviks assume power at this very moment? The people are tired of the waverings of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. It is only our victory in the metropolitan cities that will carry the peasants with us.

At four o’clock in the afternoon of 1st December 1934, the young communist Leonid Nikolaev walked into the Smolny building, the local party headquarters, and shot Kirov in the back. The following day a special decree on terrorist offences gave the recently reorganised NKVD wide-ranging powers of trial and execution. Within a few weeks, 13 members of a supposed “Leningrad centre” (including Nikolaev) and at least 98 others scattered across the country had been shot for preparing “terrorist attacks against officials of the Soviet regime”. When the Central Committee circulated a letter instructing local organisations to hunt down “Trotskyites” and “Zinovievites” thousands more were arrested — including, of course, Kamenev and Zinoviev. “I am guilty of nothing, nothing before the party, before the Central Committee and before you”, pleaded Zinoviev to Stalin.


But why did Stalin decide to Purge? It has been suggested that he sent the men of the old guard to their deaths as scapegoats for his economic failures. There is a grain of truth in this but no more. For one thing there was a very marked improvement in the economic conditions of the country in the years of the trials. He certainly had no need for so many scapegoats; and if he had needed them, penal servitude would have been enough — Stalin’s real and much wider motive was to destroy the men who represented the potentiality of alternative government. Considerations of domestic policy can hardly explain his timing. Widespread though popular dissatisfaction may have been, it was too amorphous [lacking focus] to constitute any immediate threat to his position. There was also danger from abroad; only a few months before the first of the great trials took place, Hitler’s army marched into the Rhineland; the last trial, that of Bukharin and Rykov, ended to the accompaniment of the trumpets that announced the Nazi occupation of Austria.

Attempt all of the following questions.

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

71. Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of growing support for the Bolsheviks after July 1917.

72. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons for the Purges?
SECTION 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

73. How far does the desire to protect the crown explain Miguel Primo de Rivera’s attempts at social and economic reform in the 1920s?

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

75. How far can the Asturias Rising of 1934 be described as the “first battle of the Civil War”?

76. To what extent was Franco’s rise the result of his ability to manage potential rivals?

77. To what extent did Soviet aid make a positive contribution to the defence of the Spanish Republic between 1936 and 1939?
SECTION 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A: from a speech made by Alfonso XIII of Spain in 1931.

The elections held on Sunday proved to me that I no longer hold the love and affection of my people. My conscience tells me this condition will not be permanent because I have always striven to serve Spain, and my people, with all my devotion.

A king may make mistakes. Without doubt I have done so on occasion, but I know our country has always shown herself generous towards the faults of others committed without malice . . . I could find ample means to maintain my royal prerogatives in effective resistance to those who assail them, but I prefer to stand resolutely aside rather than to provoke a conflict which might array my countrymen against one another in civil war and patricidal strife . . . I believe that I am fulfilling the duty which the love of my country dictates. I pray God that all other Spaniards may feel and fulfil their duty as sincerely as I do.

Source B: from The Spanish Civil War, Questions and Analysis in History by Andrew Forrest (2000).

As a reward for his role in the Asturias, Franco was made Commander-in-Chief of Spanish Armed Forces in Morocco . . . when Gil Robles became Minister for War in May 1935 he became Chief of General Staff. By the time the Popular Front came to power in February 1936, preparations for a military uprising had begun.

The new government seemed obsessively biased against the right [as shown when] Prime Minister Azaña pardoned those workers and left-wing soldiers involved in the Asturias and other risings — Franco and Mola were redeployed, with the aim of neutralising their potential as plotters. Right-wing newspapers were promoting an atmosphere of impending doom, encouraging the right-wing of the army in its plots, the conservative classes praying for their success . . . The month of May began with a general strike invoked by the anarchist CNT. Prime Minister Casares Quiroga seemed blind to rumours that such a threat [of an uprising] was imminent.
Early in May 1937, news reached the front of the fighting in the streets of Barcelona between supporters of the POUM aided by some Anarchists, on the one hand, and Government forces on the other. The POUM, who had always been hostile to unity, talked of “beginning the struggle for working-class power”.

The news of the fighting was greeted with incredulity, consternation and then extreme anger by the International Brigaders. No supporters of the Popular Front Government could conceive of raising the slogan of “socialist revolution” when that Government was fighting for its life against international fascism, the power of whose war-machine was a harsh reality a couple of hundred yards across no-man’s land.

The anger in the Brigade against those who fought the Republic in the rear was sharpened by reports of weapons, even tanks, being kept from the front and hidden for treacherous purposes.

The distance between the base and the leadership widened even further [for example] in May 1937 in Barcelona when the CNT and the FAI leadership ordered its own militants to lay down the arms they had taken up in the face of a campaign of provocation sustained by the PSUC and the Catalan Nationalists since early January. This proved the key event that brought down the government of Largo Caballero, the CNT-FAI leadership’s sole ally in a predominantly pro-Communist cabinet. It finally broke the tremendous moral influence of the CNT-FAI on its main stronghold — Catalonia. The way was now open for the pro-Russian government of Juan Negrin to destroy what was perhaps the most positive achievement of the revolution — the anarchist-dominated Council of Aragón. The overt hostility of the new Negrin administration to the FAI led to a major crisis for the anarchist organisation in June 1937.

Attempt all of the following questions.

78. Evaluate the usefulness of Source A in explaining the reasons for Alfonso’s “departure”.

79. How fully does Source B explain the motives of those who rebelled against the Republic in 1936?

80. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the role of the Barcelona rising in the growing disunity amongst Republican forces after 1937?
SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938–1951

Attempt BOTH Parts

Part A — HISTORICAL ISSUES — 50 marks

Attempt TWO questions.

81. To what extent was Chamberlain’s resignation due to his inability to gear the economy effectively for “total war”? 25

82. How far can the Allied bombing campaign against Germany between 1939 and 1945 be judged a success? 25

83. “Only the Lend-Lease programme prevented the collapse of the British economy.” How valid is this view of the impact of the war on the British economy? 25

84. To what extent did the Labour Government of 1945-1951 deliver a “New Jerusalem” to the British people? 25

85. To what extent did the war hasten Britain’s imperial decline? 25
SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938—1951

Attempt BOTH Parts.

Part B — HISTORICAL SOURCES — 40 marks

Study the sources below and attempt the questions which follow.

Source A: from We Can Take It (Britain and the Memory of the Second World War) by Mark Connelly (2004).

The myth of the Blitz is vital to British national identity. According to this memory, it provided proof of the distinct qualities of the island race. It is remembered as the moment when “The Few” of Churchill’s island stood shoulder to shoulder, regardless of class or creed, and withstood the full terror and might of the enemy. Instead of buckling, the people laughed and joked their way through it full of wonderful British self-control. King and Queen came to know their people and their people them, as all did their bit without murmur. The visual images of the Blitz imparted messages of defiance, solidarity and togetherness, and improvisation in the face of a powerful enemy. By surviving this experience, Britain bought the freedom of the world. Like most events of 1940, the Blitz is something the British people can look upon with pride and the endurance and fortitude of the nation in the face of it is something the world should thank us for now and for ever more. In this way is the Blitz remembered and conceived.


When the Tories were defeated in 1945, Rab Butler was set to work in the research department of the Conservative Party, and he can be regarded as the architect of the policies which helped to produce victory in 1951. I was flattered to be told that Butler had carefully examined what I had done for the Labour Party prior to and during the 1945 election and told his staff that he wanted to do for the Conservative Party “what Herbert Morrison had done for Labour”. He had certainly learned the lessons of the 1945 defeat. In 1945, the Tories had fought on a negative line of prophesying ruin under socialism and denouncing all the types of control that war had created. Churchill’s “Gestapo” reference in the 1945 campaign was attacked by his own side after defeat. I can pay Butler the compliment of saying that his policy made Labour’s fight more difficult. His more progressive attitude softened the contrasts of black and white; conflicts of principle diminished. And that was not good for us.
Source C: from John Terraine’s *The Smoke and the Fire* (1980).

At the Arcadia Conference in Washington in December 1941, during the happy, beaming honeymoon of Anglo-American relations, the two groups of Joint Chiefs were fused into a Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee with a permanent apparatus. This body became the ultimate strategy-making institution for the two Western Allies; Supreme Commanders in their theatres of war received their orders through it and reported back formally to it. National differences [what often looked like the contest between American dogmatism and British pragmatism] inevitably caused disagreements. There were seemingly irresolvable conflicts between the American navy, chiefly interested in the war against Japan, and the American army, with its commitment to the European theatre. Above all, there were the personalities of the two great leaders, Roosevelt and Churchill, both of them liable, in the eyes of their military advisors, to take up far-fetched schemes and fly off at tangents. The organisation was sound, perhaps never sounder than at the very beginning when it took the bold decision to treat Germany as the main enemy, although it was Japan that had attacked America.


Until March 1943, Enigma decrypts were primarily used defensively, so that convoys could be diverted away from waiting wolf packs. By the end of March there were so many U-boats in the North Atlantic that, even when Enigma decrypts revealed their whereabouts, there were often other U-boats waiting on any diverted route. Admiral King of the US Navy, tried to convince the British to use Enigma offensively, particularly against German U-tankers, which extended the length of U-boat patrols by refuelling them at sea. King’s proposals were strongly opposed by Sir Dudley Pound, the First Sea Lord, on the grounds that aggressive use of Enigma would compromise its source. He cabled back to America saying “If our Enigma information failed us at the present time it would result in our shipping losses going up by anything from 50 to 100%”. The reason why Pound was anxious not to compromise the Naval Enigma was that it still had an important tactical role to play in giving information about improvements being made to U-boats and their torpedoes and it revealed their attacking strategies.

Attempt all of the following questions.

86. How fully does Source A explain the impact of the Blitz?  12

87. Evaluate the usefulness of Source B in explaining why the Labour Party lost the 1951 general election.  12

88. How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the challenges facing the leaders of Britain’s naval and land forces during World War Two?  16
Marking Instructions

These Marking Instructions have been provided to show how SQA would mark this Specimen Question Paper.

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General Marking Principles for Advanced Higher History

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 Detailed Marking Instructions, which identify the key features required in candidate responses.

(a) Marks for each candidate response must always be assigned in line with these General Marking Principles and the Detailed Marking Instructions for the relevant question.

(b) Marking should always be positive. This means that, for each candidate response, marks are accumulated for the demonstration of relevant skills, knowledge and understanding: they are not deducted from a maximum on the basis of errors or omissions.

(c) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of hand writing or a confused start.

(d) Use the full range of marks available for each question.

(e) The Detailed Marking Instructions give illustrative examples of points that would be relevant within a candidate response. They are neither an exhaustive list nor a model answer. Other relevant points and approaches should be credited.

(f) For credit to be given, points must relate to the question asked. However, where candidates give points of knowledge without specifying the context, these should be rewarded unless it is clear that they do not refer to the context of the question.

(g) For points of knowledge/understanding in any response, marks should be awarded for points that are:
   a. relevant to the issue in the question
   b. developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)
   c. used to respond to the demands of the question (eg evaluate, analyse, etc)

Marking principles: 25-mark essay questions
To obtain more than 12 marks in a 25-mark essay question, there must be a reference (however minor) to historiography. 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 question.

The grid that follows describes how 25-mark questions will be assessed against the following four criteria:
- structure
- analysis/evaluation/line of argument
- thoroughness/relevance of information and approach
- historical sources/interpretations
The two key criteria which are used to help determine where an essay is placed within a mark range are analysis/evaluation/line of argument and thoroughness.

The descriptions on the grid provide guidance on the features of essays falling within mark ranges which approximately correspond with the grades D, C, B, A, A+ and A++, assuming an even level of performance across all questions in the paper, and in the coursework. Many essays will exhibit some but not all of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. Features described in one column may well appear in a response which overall falls more within another column(s). ‘Historical interpretations’ is the only criteria that should be thought of as a hurdle. The others are not. Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue and not 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.

The grid below guides markers in placing responses within an overall likely mark range, and indicates how to award individual marks against the four marking criteria.

The grid describes the typical or most likely qualities of responses. Individual candidate responses do not follow a set pattern and many responses may fall outside these descriptions, or be close to two or more descriptions. Where this is the case, markers will use their professional expertise in awarding marks appropriately.
## 25 mark questions – mark ranges and individual marking criteria

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<td>No attempt to set out a structure for the essay.</td>
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<td>The structure is readily apparent with a competent presentation of the issues. This would include:</td>
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<td>There is much narrative and description rather than analysis or evaluation.</td>
<td>There is an attempt to answer the evaluative aims of the question and analyse the issues involved. This is possibly not deep or sustained.</td>
<td>There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and an assured and consistent control of the arguments and issues.</td>
<td>There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and an assured and consistent control of all the arguments and issues.</td>
<td>Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues with a detailed and effective analysis and evaluation which advances the argument and considers various possible implications of the question, going beyond the most obvious ones.</td>
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<td>Argument is generally clear and accurate but there may be confusions.</td>
<td>Argument is clear and directed throughout the essay.</td>
<td>The conclusions arise logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body, and attempts synthesis.</td>
<td>The conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.</td>
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<td>Argument is clear and accurate, and comes to a suitable — largely summative — conclusion.</td>
<td>Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues and arguments. Clarity in direction of argument linking to evaluation.</td>
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<td>No discernible reference to historical works.</td>
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<td>There is some awareness of historians’ interpretations in relation to the issue. Historians may be used as illustrative points of knowledge.</td>
<td>There is an awareness of historians’ interpretations and arguments. Historians may be used as illustrative points of main lines of interpretation.</td>
<td>There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians’ interpretations and arguments.</td>
<td>There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians’ interpretations and arguments which is consistent.</td>
<td>There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians’ interpretations and arguments and an engagement with current historiography.</td>
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<td>HISTORICAL SOURCES/INTERPRETATIONS</td>
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<td>There may be an appreciation of the context which gives rise to these interpretations.</td>
<td>Shows consistent awareness of possible variations of these interpretations and connections between them, including an appreciation of the context which gives rise to these interpretations.</td>
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Further general advice to markers — 25-mark questions

All markers will mark positively and reward what is there in the response. However, there are criteria which, if not met, means the candidate will fail.

Factors which lead to an essay failing:

1. **Total misunderstanding of the title.** The question is set as a particular title, and therefore there is a particular issue to be addressed. A response 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 response of around 2-3 sides would have to be astonishingly well argued to score highly. It is very unlikely to have sufficient depth and breadth of argument to convince a marker it had covered enough of the mark-worthy criteria to pass.

3. **Lack of historiography.** Responses without recognition of different historical interpretations will not be awarded more than 12 marks. There is a fairly open definition of “historical interpretations” as the minimum expected pass standard. At Advanced Higher level there must be signs of the candidate’s reading, and therefore some awareness that there are different views on an issue. If a candidate were to introduce a new paragraph with a phrase such as “Naturally, other historians have argued …” or “There is another school of thought on this matter …” that will suffice for meeting the C standard. If they (accurately) quote historians by name, or refer to particular schools of thought, or give quotes from historians and changing views over time, the essay will fall into the higher mark ranges, on this criteria.

Features which do NOT necessarily lead to an essay failing:

1. **Structure.** This may be poor and the candidate might seem to ramble. However, other insightful and relevant aspects may be 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 just because of a poor introduction.

2. **Accuracy.** Several minor inaccuracies, or a few fairly major ones, will not in themselves be sufficient for a response to fail. 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 awarding of high marks, 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 response with enough relevance to convince the marker of its overall virtue, despite the odd lapse or digression, could achieve a pass at the middle-mark range.

4. **Thoroughness.** The degree of detail is a major factor in determining marks. It is NOT a pass-fail factor. If a candidate omits what a marker thinks is a key factor, but comprehensively discusses a lot of other key factors, high marks can still be awarded.
The candidate may seem to present an ill-balanced and distorted view of the width of relevant issues in the chosen title, but that selectivity is the candidate’s privilege. The marker should mark the essay for what argument it does contain, and not for the degree to which it conforms to the marker’s view.

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 mid-range mark, or even slightly more.

5. **Use of language.** Candidates’ linguistic skills vary. Essays can often be clumsily expressed in fairly poor English, but still 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 response. It pulls it together and shows how the candidate has marshalled their facts and arguments. A good conclusion is crucial in gaining marks for analysis and thoroughness, and a weak conclusion will hinder the chances of getting top marks. However, the lack of a conclusion will not in itself lead to an automatic “fail”.

**Marking the source-handling questions**

The question paper now has three standardised stems on the source questions, as described below.

**The “how fully” question (12 marks)**
These questions require candidates to:

- establish the view of the source
- use wider contextual development to assess what a source reveals about a historical event/issue
- interpret points from the sources by bringing in their own knowledge to show how the source relates to the wider historical and/or historiographical context

Marks are allocated as follows:

**Up to 3 marks:**
- interpretation of points from the source

**Up to 7 marks:**
- wider contextual development which develops points from the source
- other points of view, including additional historians’ interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
- omissions
- other relevant information

**Up to 2 marks:**
- historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

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. Candidates cannot be awarded marks for simply...
quoting points from the source. They must paraphrase or interpret them to be given credit.

The candidate can then earn the remaining marks by the quality and depth of the immediate and/or wider contextual development they give in their overall evaluation of the source’s comprehensiveness. This should include the views of two relevant historians (2 marks are reserved for this). Where a candidate includes the views of additional historians, this should be credited within the marks for wider contextual development.

There is no mandatory provenance comment for this question, and therefore no allocation of marks for this.

The “evaluate the usefulness” question (12 marks)
These questions require candidates to:

- establish the view of the source
- evaluate the provenance of the source
- use wider contextual development to assess what a source reveals about a historical event/issue
- interpret points from the source by bringing in their own knowledge to show how the source relates to the wider historical and/or historiographical context

Marks are allocated as follows:

2-3 marks:
- comments on provenance

2-3 marks
- comments on interpretation

(A maximum of 5 marks can be awarded for provenance and interpretation combined.)

Up to 5 marks:
- wider contextual development which develops points from the source
- other points of view, including additional historians’ interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
- omissions
- other relevant information

Up to 2 marks:
- historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

The “two-source” question (16 marks)
These questions require candidates to:

- establish the view of each source
- use wider contextual development to assess what the sources reveal about different interpretations of a historical issue
- comment on how the viewpoints in the two sources relate to other possible interpretations

Page ten
Marks are allocated as follows:

6 marks:
• comments on interpretation (3 marks per source)

Up to 8 marks:
• wider contextual development which develops points from the sources
• other points of view, including additional historians’ interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
• omissions
• other relevant information

Up to 2 marks:
• historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

General marking advice

The following section applies to the central marking process and members of the marking team. It is included to provide transparency in the process by which scripts will be marked.

The detailed marking instructions are written to assist in illustrating a range of possible acceptable answers rather than listing every possible correct answer. The following notes are offered to support Markers in making judgements on candidates’ evidence. Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

• marking must be positive
• markers should 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 must not write comments on scripts; they 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. Markers will be reviewed via a process where selected seeded scripts will be pre-marked and placed in markers’ packs. Further scripts will be selected at random from each marker’s allocation and reviewed by the examining team.

This “marker check” process guarantees the standard of each marker. It also guarantees the equality of the marking standard across the 11 fields of study. It 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.
Markers should not mark papers from their own centre. If a packet contains scripts of a candidate known to the marker, or who is from a centre in which the marker has an interest (whether this has been previously declared or not), they should pass the packet to another marker.

Markers should 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 Instructions for each question

SECTION 1 — Northern Britain, from the Iron Age to 1034

Question 1 To what extent did agriculture underpin all other elements of Iron Age society?

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

Factor 1 Points suggesting agriculture underpinned society

Aspect 1 Archaeological evidence indicative of agriculture’s importance
- Majority of land which was settled comprised undefended farmsteads — indicates universal importance of agriculture in Northern Britain.
- Agricultural success underpinned profusion of monumental roundhouses in late pre-Roman Iron Age — essential to show wealth and status.
- Increased agricultural settlement into the uplands — whole valleys in the Cheviots cleared of trees.
- Emergence of large semi-subterranean souterrains and “four posters” (granary buildings) — indicative of intensification of arable production.
- Large number of souterrains reveals grain was used to serve small communities and villages.
- Have a picture of widespread farming across Scotland — important to all LPRIA communities.
- Array of tools founds in vicinity of hillforts, crannogs, brochs and open settlements.
- Extensive field systems such as at Drumturn, Perth & Kinross.
- Agriculture evidenced by scatters of small cairns, occasional banks and lynchets, fields of around a quarter of an acre.
- See cord rig, narrow cultivation rig in Border counties.

Aspect 2 Agriculture underpinned social system
- Underpinned all other elements of society — ability to co-opt and redirect surplus production enabled social elite to maintain prominence.
- Production of agricultural surplus was essential to support the existence of specialised craft-workers.
- Production of prestige goods was dependent upon existence of agricultural surplus.
- Agricultural surplus production retained to serve and support the community.
- Agricultural surplus essential to enable the construction of homes and residences of power.
- Have a picture of widespread farming across Scotland — important to all LPRIA communities.
• Agricultural cycle underpinned ritual and religion — sacrificial deposits of animal bones with human cremations suggests intimate links between agriculture and religion.

Factor 2 Points suggesting other factors or values underpinned society

Aspect 1 Warfare/need for defence
• Warfare, feuding and raiding perceived as rife, especially on tribal fringes, and thus underpinned society.
• Settlement seen to reveal instability — the purpose of forts, crannogs and brochs was seen as providing refuge; those in the immediate neighbourhood fled to these sites in times of danger.
• Enormous time, effort and material resources invested in warrior paraphernalia and on apparently military defences — suggests warfare was a significant force.

Aspect 2 Religion, ritual and superstition
• Ian Armit, Celtic Scotland: religion, ritual and superstition would have permeated all aspects of life.
• Sacrifice of prestigious goods indicates the importance of religion — important enough to justify the creation and destruction of material wealth — Duddingston Loch.
• Religion an integral part in reinforcing the social hierarchy.
• Ian Armit speculates that there may have been human offerings to an underworld God, as payment for a good harvest.

Aspect 3 Expression of status
• The desire/need to express status may have underpinned society.
• The adoption of La Tene art reflects society’s heroic interests.
• Emphasis on heroic pursuits such as drinking, warfare and feasting evidenced by artefacts such as Torrs pony cap and drinking horns.
• The construction of majestic, elaborate monuments reveals importance of expressions of status.
• Social elite drew power from ability to show status — chronologically, status was gained from control over the production and circulation of prestige goods, to the construction of community works, to the construction of high-status undefended settlements — all hold in common the need to express status.

Historians Perspective on the issue
A. Kamm Suggests war and fighting was inherent and integral to Celtic society.
Ian Armit Claims that the agricultural economy underpinned all other elements of society.

D. Harding Emphasises that Iron Age communities were capable of managing an economic regime above bare subsistence level

G. and A. Ritchie Maintain that farmers were socially prominent, hierarchically below an aristocratic class, controlling unfree farm labourers
Question 2  “Governor Agricola is no longer to be credited with the Flavian conquest of Northern Britain.”

How valid is this view of Agricola’s role in the Flavian conquest?

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

Factor 1  Points discussing degree to which Agricola should be credited with Flavian conquest

Aspect 1  Tacitus suggests Agricola’s achievements were great

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

Area 2  Archaeological/historical evidence of Agricola’s achievements

• A system of forts, fortlets, marching camps were established by Agricola, including the sizable Inchtuthill, Strageath and Elginhaugh.
• Traditionally, Agricola is credited with establishing a proto-frontier, the Gask Ridge and Glen Blocking forts.
• Agricola awarded a triumph upon his return to Rome.

Factor 2  Points discussing degree to which Agricola should not be credited with Flavian conquest

Aspect 1  Tacitus’ The Agricola has exaggerated Agricola’s achievements

• The accepted Tacitean account has been relied upon too heavily; this little book has been subjected to more analysis than almost any other non-religious text (Wooliscroft).
• The Agricola is not an accurate history, more a eulogy to honour Tacitus’ father-in-law.
• Should not deny the presence of Agricola, for we know from inscriptions and other written sources that he did serve as governor of Britain. He
may well have gained military achievements but his role has been overstated.

- Agricola was appointed primarily to put conquests gained by his predecessors onto a proper administrative footing and what military ability he may have had was merely a useful safety feature.

Aspect 2 Agricola's predecessors achieved most

- Recent opinion suggests that Agricola’s predecessors, Petillius Cerialis (c.71-74) and Julius Frontinius, had undertaken the conquest of the Brigantes and SW Scottish Lowlands.
- Petillius Cerialis (governor from AD 71-74) established a fort at Carlisle in the very north of England and his activities may well have extended north of Carlisle and even as far north as Strathmore.
- The fort at Carlisle was founded five years before Agricola's tenure of office even began, in the time of his predecessor, Petillius Cerialis.
- The academic, David Shotter, has found Neronian and early Vespasian coins, which pre date Agricola, on a number of Scottish sites — Cerialian origins and activities prior to Agricola.
- Coloured and cast glass, which was fashionable in the early 70s AD in Rome, was found in sites including Newstead and Inchtuthill, indicating earlier occupation.
- Literary references support the view of an earlier occupation — the retired senior politician Silius Italicus wrote a poem which suggests that all of Britain was conquered before the time of Vespasian’s death.
- Pliny the Elder refers to campaigns against the Caledonians by the 70s AD.
- Poet Statius refers to Cerialis’ predecessor Vettius Bolanus as actually setting up “watchtowers and strongholds” in Caledonia.
- Evidence from the Gask Ridge provides evidence for a more prolonged Flavian occupation, although how prolonged still remains open to question — suggests it pre-dates Agricola.
- Sites such as Greenloanning, Shielhill South and Huntingtower along the Gask Ridge revealed signs of at least two and possibly three structural periods — does not fit in with view of Agricola’s single phase of occupation.
- Woolliscroft and Hoffman suggest that he was by no means a military figure and he had a career of wall-to-wall administration — his role in the Flavian conquest was that of creating the machinery of Roman provincial government.

Historians Perspective on the issue
A. Kamm Suggests that Tacitus’ general outline of events stands up to scrutiny.
D.J. Woolliscroft, B. Hoffman Highlight the problems with the traditional chronology and narrative.
J.G.F. Hind Maintains that thanks to Agricola the Northern peoples had been subdued between AD 83/4 and 90.
D. Shotter Emphasises that there was some pre-Agricolan activity but we cannot argue that the majority of Flavian sites predated Agricola.
Question 3 How significant an impact did conversion to Christianity have on Northern Britons in the post-Roman period?

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

Factor 1 The social impact of Christian conversion

Aspect 1 Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- Local customs must have declined as society became more homogenous.
- Religion was socially unifying — Picts, Vikings, Gaels, Angles and Britons all shared common faith.
- Status was conveyed through religious association — Northumbrian kings, Pictish and Scottish nobles were taught to read and write as a way of guaranteeing status and authority.
- Society less reliant on oral rules — relied more on written laws.

Aspect 2 Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Conversion was slow.
- Initially, impact was localised, resulting in some small Christian communities — not the conversion of the leaders or of the people as a whole.
- Conversion was initially confined to the social elite — minimal impact on the laity.
- Life did not fundamentally change overnight — essentially still the same barbarian warrior society.
- “Apostate” Picts suggests that Picts converted superficially to Christianity and then denounced it — suggests minimal short-term impact.

Factor 2 Religious

Aspect 1 Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- Christian monotheism replaced polytheism.
- A Christian moral code circulated in the North.
- Decline in use of natural places such as groves, forest clearings and pools as a place of worship.
- Emergence of centralised places of worship.

Aspect 2 Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
- Some pagan practices endured.
- Survival of pagan celebrations.

Factor 3 Political

Aspect 1 Evidence to suggest a significant impact
- St Columba wielded political influence over succession and style of kingship.
- Religious figures ordained kings — Aedan mac Gabrain was allegedly ordained by St Columba in 574.
• Kings used Christian faith to legitimise their reign and to seek political unity — Nechtan wrote to Northumbrian king seeking advice on how to make the Pictish church fall in line with the Northumbrian one — an attempt to increase control over the Picts.
• Majesty of kingship and nearness to God became intertwined.
• Nature of kingship redefined (Sally Foster) — kings acquired saintly attributes.
• Christian clerics acted as “agents in areas” beyond a leader’s physical reach — extended the distance over which authority was held.
• Aided political unity of the Kingdom of Scotland — Angles, Picts, Scots and Britons all became Christian — common beliefs and values, lessened ethnic and linguistic differences.
• Leaders still depended upon warfare and prestige to rule their peoples.

Factor 4 Cultural/linguistic
Aspect 1 Evidence to suggest a significant impact
• Decline then total absence of pagan symbols on Pictish sculpture stones — demise of pagan artistic tradition.
• Pictish stone carving reached a high point post-conversion — Saint Andrew sarcophagus demonstrates Byzantine and Coptic influences.
• Stimulus to art — boxes for art, reliquaries for saints’ bones, altar goods, Class II and Class III stones are increasingly sophisticated, Book of Kells may have been started in Pictland.
• Literacy developed — prior to Christianity all we had was the ABCD stone from Traprain Law. See literate monks and increasing number of literate laymen.
• Bible and Psalter promoted literacy.
• Numeracy developed.
• Development of monastic libraries — Portmahomack monastery.
• Impetus to development of a literate society — writing used to legitimise claims to secular power — Kings List and Senchus Fer nAlban.
• Northern Britain was plugged into network of European cultural influences — greater cultural unity.
• Polygamy replaced by monogamy.
• Place names changed, eg see appearance of names such as Eccles from Latin ecclesia/church.
• Change in burial practice — see long cist burials.

Aspect 2 Evidence to suggest an insignificant impact
• Aspects of paganism prevailed — symbols such as fish and oak leaves were pagan and consciously used in Christianity.
• Polytheism continued in part.

Historians Perspective on the issue
A.P. Smyth Highlights the slow, gradualist nature of conversion.
S. Foster Nature of kingship redefined by Christianity.
B. Crawford Highlights that we see signposts of conversion but little evidence of an actual spiritual conversion.
R. Graham Highlights that saints in Scotland were able to unify a country by unifying their religion.
Question 4  “Britain received a third tribe, namely the Irish (the Scotii).”

How valid is this view of the origin of the Scots?

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

Factor 1  Demand for land

- The desire for good land in the right coastal environment was a key factor in Viking’s choice of settlement site.
- Theory that Viking population had outgrown the agricultural potential of their Scandinavian homeland — land was being divided into smaller and smaller fragments, incapable of sustaining a family unit.
- A “youth bulge” led to the families along the western seaboard of Norway, where fertile land was in short supply, seeking land in Northern Britain.
- Younger sons, political exiles, mercenary warriors and traders all had the option of becoming colonists in land now familiar from the tales of returning raiders.
- Northern and Western Isles offered ideal farming land with immediate access to coastal waterways.
- Northern Britain was “a home from home”.
- The Vikings who came to North Britain were from Norway in the main and were pastoral farmers whose lifestyle was based on raising cattle and sheep with a little growing of oats and barley where possible. The Northern and Western Isles, as well as looking like home, were ideal for this.
- Orkneyinga Saga tells us of Svein Asleifarson who would sow seed in the spring, raid in the summer and then return home to harvest grain — fertile land in the North sustained Viking lifestyle.
- Land closest to Scandinavia tended to be settled by Viking families, eg Shetland was settled by families looking for land, whilst farther west the Isle of Skye was settled by lone unattached male colonisers.
- Topographically the Isles provided a multitude of the type of settlement sites the Vikings wanted: ease of access to the sea; grazing land for livestock; plenty of drinking water; fuel and building materials. Orkney has very good soil and plenty of sandstone for flags for building; Shetland has patches of good soil; the machair on parts on the Hebrides, both Inner and Outer, is good for farming; plenty of shelving beaches; the lie of the ground favoured portages; conditions were ideal for fishing, pastoral and arable farming, and fowling.
- Climatically the winters were warmer than in Scandinavia, mild enough to out-winter stock, especially sheep.
Factor 2 Maritime accessibility/strategic attraction

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

Factor 3 Raiding and trading

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

Historians Perspective on the issue

A. Ritchie Talks of not just loot and plunder, desire for land a key factor.

B. Crawford Emphasises the importance of maritime links and extent to which North was familiar environment.

A. Smyth Argues that attraction of Northern Britain was mixed — a route way, a source of loot and a source of land.

C. Downham Highlights the importance of trading links.
Question 5  To what extent was the creation of Alba a result of cultural domination by the Scots over the Picts?

Factor 1  Scoticisation of the Picts
- Scots from Dal Riada were penetrating Pictland long before the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpin.
- The Pictish area around Dunkeld was referred to as “New Ireland”, Athfotla as early as 739 AD. Evidently Gaels were already well established in parts during the 8th century.
- By the 9th century, Gaelic place names were appearing across Pictland (see Pit being combined with Gaelic personal names).
- Oengus II’s dynasty was “essentially Scottish”, suggesting the Gaels had pushed into Pictland a generation before Mac Alpin.
- Increasing Scottish migration in face of Viking threat, a common foe, led to Scoticisation of Picts and the birth of Alba.

Factor 2  Viking incursions
- S. Driscoll suggests that “the Viking predations caused nothing less than the remaking of the political landscape” — Vikings catalysed Gaelic intrusion in Pictland.
- Vikings, in the Battle of Fortrui (839 AD), killed Pictish nobility, leaving a Pictish power vacuum for Kenneth and the Scots to exploit.
- Inadvertently, the Vikings created “the need for a consolidated kingdom” of Alba, as this was the only real way to resist the Norse incursions.
- In the face of Norse pressure, the Dalriadic nobility would have been increasingly attracted to the wealth and security offered in Pictland.

Factor 3  Kenneth Mac Alpin and conquest
- Ian Walker asserts that Kenneth “almost certainly defeated or subdued any Pictish opposition” and led a successful takeover of the Picts.
- P. Hume Brown asserts “taking advantage of an invasion of Pictland by the Northmen, or possibly acting in concert with them, Kenneth attacked the Picts and forced them into submission”.
- Mac Alpin’s treachery — the Prophecy of Berchan recounts Kenneth’s invitation to the Pictish nobility for a feast at Scone, where they were then made drunk, trapped in pits and massacred, creating opportunity for Kenneth to claim the Pictish throne.
- However, Kenneth’s role has been exaggerated — smothered in mythological tradition. Smyth claims that “the sustained success [of his dynasty] over many centuries gave added posthumous glory to Kenneth”.
- J.D. Mackie asserts clearly that “the union of Scotland and Pictland was made under Norse pressure”.

Aim of the question
The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to analyse factors which led to the creation of Alba. The evidence for and extent of Scoticisation of the Picts would have to be discussed. The candidate could bring to bear other relevant factors and they could discuss the alternative view that Alba was a result of Viking incursions, common Celtic inheritance or even Kenneth Mac Alpin. The response should reach a conclusion as to the extent to which Scoticisation led to the birth of Alba.
**Factor 4  Celtic commonalities**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sally Foster</td>
<td>Talks of disregard for Pictish characteristics and gaelicisation of Pictland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Smyth</td>
<td>States that Kenneth did successfully establish an enduring Alba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Walker</td>
<td>Take the view that It was “a slow fusion of two cultural groups over a long period of time”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. McHardy</td>
<td>Maintains that Picts and Scots were entwined, both basically warrior societies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“the fort may have been used as a Roman POW camp”</td>
<td>The source highlights that Severus imprisoned natives in POW camps whilst campaigning in Northern Britain.</td>
<td>Patricia Birley suggests that the approx. 300 prison huts are too small and too basic for Roman soldiers, and too close to each other to be used for livestock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Researchers believe that prisoners built their own huts, which would explain their native architecture — similar to native huts and about six metres in diameter.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The huts in the internment camps housed male prisoners and their families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Severus, who brought an imperial force to quell a native uprising”</td>
<td>The source underlines the existence of barbarian unrest in the North.</td>
<td>The date of the huts coincides with an uprising of Maeatae and Caledonians against Roman rule, uprisings of 209 and 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Severus pushed well into Scotland”</td>
<td>The source emphasises the fact that Severus and his sons succeeded in extending Rome’s presence beyond established boundaries.</td>
<td>Severus pushed north of the Antonine Wall and allegedly transported through almost all of the North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Many hostages were sent as exhibits to Rome but others were kept at Vindolanda”</td>
<td>The source highlights that Severus controlled unrest by taking hostages and prisoners.</td>
<td>Robin Birley suggests that the POW huts endured for only six months before being destroyed and a new fort built on top — assumed prisoners were sent home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point in Source B</td>
<td>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</td>
<td>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</td>
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<tr>
<td>“the imperial expedition...was to be primarily focused on the east coast of Scotland”</td>
<td>The source states that Severus focused on the East coast and his intended target was Tayside, home of the Maeatae.</td>
<td>Severus sought to control the North through making treaties with the Caledonii and Maeatae and territory ceded. Severus made great use of his sea support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the fort at South Shields at the mouth of the Tyne was converted into a massive supply dump”</td>
<td>The source underlines the importance of storing externally derived supplies at the launchpad of the invasion</td>
<td>Severus intended to lead a brutal, scorched-earth campaign and could not rely on natives and their land for supplies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“it seems that the Maeatae and Caledonii would not be drawn into a set piece”</td>
<td>The source emphasises that the Caledonii and Maeatae did not meet in pitched battle, Rome’s preference</td>
<td>Severus minted coins celebrating Roman victory in 211 after treaties were agreed between the Caledonii and Maeatae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“instead of glory in battle, the emphasis may have been on great engineering projects”</td>
<td>The source indicates that Severus and his son attempted to control the North by awing them with grand Roman installations and engineering works.</td>
<td>Severus concentrated on the East with powerful bases at Cramond and Carpow by the Tay and restored Hadrian’s Wall.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Cassius Dio records that Severus took along with him from Rome an immense amount of money — some of this, in the form of silver and gold, was no doubt paid to the Caledonians.
- The guerrilla warfare tactics of the natives impaired Severus’ ability to control the North.
- Cassius Dio tells that Severus forced the Britons to come to terms, on the occasion that they should abandon a large part of their territory.
- Severus sought to control the North with an unprecedented number of elite troops — the imperial guard — nine cohorts each of 1,000 men with accompanying cavalry, the new Second Legion as well as four fleets (including the Classis Britannica).
- He sought a combined military and naval campaign to control the North.
- Colin Martin suggests that Severus pursued a ruthless method of control — genocide — and he attempted to wipe them out by systematic devastation of the landscape.
- Colin Martin suggests Severus sought to control by systematically destroying the productive capacity of such an area — burning the standing or stored crops and killing the livestock.
Historians Perspective on the issue

C. Martin Suggests Emperor Severus attempted genocide in Scotland.

A. Kamm Suggests that gold and silver was used to negotiate a truce between natives and Rome.

A. Moffat Stresses the brutality of the Severan campaign, the annihilation of war bands and the society which sustained them.

D. Shotter Suggests that Severus kept natives in control through the payment of subsidies, followed by force until more coherent measures of control could be put in place.
Question 7  Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the extent of Viking control of the Northern and Western Isles.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author</strong></td>
<td>Norse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>Saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timing</strong></td>
<td>1230 (three centuries after the events they record) by an unknown Icelandic author so likely to be relatively unreliable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“... sailed west on a punitive expedition ... in Shetland and the Orkneys”</td>
<td>The source emphasises the planned nature of expeditions, retaliation for attacks.</td>
<td>Orkneyinga Saga presents an interpretation that Orkney was conquered by Harold Fairhair, King of Norway, from when it remained under Norse control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He subdued Shetland and the Orkneys and the Hebrides”</td>
<td>The source indicates that the Vikings used force to oppress and control the Northern Isles.</td>
<td>Saga evidence from the Historia Norwegia suggests domination: In the days of Harold Fairhair, King of Norway ... stripped these races of their ancient settlements, destroyed them wholly, and subdued the islands to themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He extended dominion”</td>
<td>The source suggests that the Norwegian elite dominated the Orkneys and Shetland comprehensively.</td>
<td>The Norse control of these areas was so complete that these areas were socially, culturally, politically dominated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He gave Earl Rognvaldr the Orkneys and Shetland”</td>
<td>The source emphasises that the Norwegian king was in complete enough control to bestow titles on local supporters — Orkney was his to give.</td>
<td>Sagas reveal that the inhabitants of the Northern Isles were all “subjects” of the earls, such as Earl Sigurd.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Moffat and J. Wilson</td>
<td>Highlights significant Viking legacy and domination in Northern Isles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Richards</td>
<td>Confirms that the Vikings did not just raid and retreat to Scandinavia, but settled in Northern Britain for years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Ritchie</td>
<td>Suggests successful integration, with establishment of a close relationship between Vikings and native Northern Britons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Lynch</td>
<td>Argues that the Northern and Western Isles were drawn into the Norwegian kingdom for centuries and were controlled as if wholly Norwegian.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 8  How fully does Source D explain the war-like nature of Pictish society?

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“kings were placing increasing emphasis on organising themselves for war”</td>
<td>The source highlights that organised war rather than sporadic raiding was an increasing prominent aspect of Pictish society.</td>
<td>Picts were able to raise resources sufficient to support large navies. 150 Pictish ships wrecked in 729 and Burghead served as a naval base.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“resources ... required to free warriors for either permanent or temporary duty”</td>
<td>The source reveals that the Picts were sophisticated enough to manage resources to allow for military service.</td>
<td>Like the Senchus fer nAlban indicates the sophistication of the Scots’ military organisation, we can infer comparable level of sophistication for Picts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“military aggression can be seen as a continual undercurrent”</td>
<td>The source surmises that warfare was neither infrequent or insignificant, it was a defining feature.</td>
<td>Abundant evidence that Picts engaged in battle be it with Angles at Battle of Nechtansmere, 685AD, Vikings, Scots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“used to decide which particular person inherited or acquired authority over any given area”</td>
<td>The source highlights that military aggression was used in the rise to, and consolidation of, power.</td>
<td>Kings depicted in military capacity in sculpted stones — indicative of warlike society, eg Dupplin Cross.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

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

Other evidence of war-like nature
• Pictish kings recorded as drowning enemy leaders in 734 and 739.
• Military paraphernalia from Norrie’s Law Hoard.

Historians Perspective on the issue
M. Lynch Suggests: “Their culture was the culture of the warrior … Whatever the Picts were, they are likely, as were other peoples either in post-Roman Western Europe or in contemporary Ireland, to have been an amalgam of tribes, headed by a warrior aristocracy which was by nature mobile. Their culture was the culture of the warrior…”

S. Foster Suggests: “Early historic period throughout British Isles characterised by war-like, heroic kings …”

A. Ritchie States: “The existence of forts and the records in monastic annals of battles and sieges testify to the war-like aspects of Pictish society …”

T. Clarkson The Makers of Scotland highlights that Pictish warriors played a key role in the barbarian conspiracy of 397 and continued raiding and war-like ways.
SECTION 2 – Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

Question 9  “King Alexander III’s success in consolidating the authority of the Scottish monarchy has been greatly exaggerated.”

How valid is this view?

Aim of the question  The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to reach a conclusion on whether or not King Alexander III’s success in consolidating the authority of the Scottish monarchy has been greatly exaggerated. Candidates may examine issues of long- and short-term success and examine how far these claims have been exaggerated.

Factor 1  Evidence that King Alexander III’s success in consolidating the authority of the Scottish monarch has been greatly exaggerated.

Aspect 1  Government
- The institutions of Scottish government remained less well developed than those in England; a Scottish “state” was even less evident by the 1280s than it was in England.
- There was no “bench of judges” comparable to that in England; there was not even any provision for legal training in the country. The justiciars (made up of senior earls) remained the most senior legal advisers in the country.
- The great officers of state were not as well developed as in England.
- There was not yet any real equivalent to the English parliament; Scotland held regular meetings under the French term “colloquium” but had not formalised the arrangement.

Area 2  Territory
- King Alexander did not extend royal authority as far as has been sometimes claimed; much of the west of Scotland and the Western Isles remained only nominally part of the kingdom.

Aspect 3  Nobles
- Faction was never far from the surface during King Alexander III’s reign.
- The Comyn domination of the government revealed the reality that Alexander III never really overcame the problem of faction which dogged his Minority; the Comyns, the victors over the Durwards and the Bissets in the 1250s, wielded the real power.
- Alexander ruled in partnership with his leading magnates as he did not have sufficient authority to rule by himself. He recognised the need for strong magnates, eg in Galloway and the north of Scotland.

Aspect 4  Overlordship of England
- Whilst King Alexander famously refused to pay homage for his kingdom in 1278, the circumstances of his Minority leading to intervention by King Henry III meant that English and Scottish affairs had become more intertwined than at any time since the Treaty of Northampton in 1244.
- King Alexander III’s marriage to King Henry III’s daughter only heightened the English sense that they had a right to a say in the Scottish kingdom.
Aspect 5 Succession
- King Alexander III's death in 1286 leaving only the Maid as his heir exposed the weakness of the MacMalcolm dynasty and encouraged King Edward I's intervention in Scottish politics.
- Alexander III took far too long to remarry after his first wife died in 1275. By 1284 all of his children were dead and it was only 10 years after Margaret’s death that Alexander took steps to remarry.
- The need to make his magnates accept the 1284 tailzie suggests Alexander’s nervousness over the weakness of the succession of the Maid of Norway.
- King Alexander III's successes may have been exaggerated by later Brucean propagandists, who wished to see his reign as a “Golden Age” which would be restored by King Robert, whom they viewed as Alexander’s rightful successor.

Factor 2 Evidence that King Alexander III’s success in consolidating the authority of the Scottish monarch has not been greatly exaggerated.

Aspect 1 Government
- The offices of state were developed so that the royal household took on more of the functions of government, rather than merely administering the King’s feudal interests.
- There were significant developments in the offices of Chamberlain, Chancellor and the role of the Chancery and the increased use of writs and breves.
- The division of the sheriffdom of Perth to create a new sheriffdom in Argyll was a concerted attempt to extend royal authority into the west.

Aspect 2 Territory
- Peace with Norway in 1266 led to the annexation of the Western Isles.
- Improved relations with England created conditions which led to greater economic stability and prosperity.

Aspect 3 Nobles
- Faction diminished once King Alexander attained his majority in the late 1260s.
- King Alexander III was careful to balance rival factions, although the Comyns remained the dominant noble family.

Aspect 4 Overlordship of England
- King Alexander refused to pay homage for his kingdom in 1251 to Henry III and again in 1278, to Edward I of England.
- A close personal relationship existed between Alexander III and Edward I.
- King Alexander III was strong enough to admonish Henry III over his failure to pay Margaret’s dowry in full.

Aspect 5 Succession
- King Alexander III was the first Scottish monarch in three generations to have a secure succession for most of his reign, with three legitimate children from his first marriage.
- Alexander held a parliament at Scone in 1284 to settle the succession crisis as soon as it arose, getting his nobility to swear an oath to Margaret, Maid of Norway.
- Alexander remarried to provide a new heir for the Scottish throne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Barrow</td>
<td>Takes the view that the Scottish “Community of the Realm” was emerging by the 1250s and was strengthened during Alexander’s reign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.A.M. Duncan</td>
<td>Takes the view that there was continuing factionalism during Alexander’s reign and the idea of the Community of the Realm must be treated with more caution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan Young</td>
<td>Emphasises the crucial role of the Comyns in this period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Reid</td>
<td>Takes the view that while many of the perceptions of this reign come from later “Brucean” propaganda, it did see considerable advances in royal authority, although it may not deserve to be remembered as a “Golden Age”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Factor 1 Evidence that Scottish resistance was mainly caused by resentment of English mismanagement.

Aspect 1 English leadership
- John de Warenne, appointed Lieutenant of Scotland, had very little interest in the country and did not return until the country was in open rebellion.
- Warenne’s treasurer, Hugh de Cressingham, became a hated figure amongst the Scots for enforcing punitive taxation based on the English system, ignoring Scottish taxation customs.
- Many Scots referred to Cressingham as the “treacherer”, rather than treasurer.

Aspect 2 Economic
- Revenue dried up across Scotland as local officials found themselves unable to collect taxation.

Aspect 3 Government offices
- The imposition of English sheriffs and law officers to replace their Scottish equivalents caused much bitterness as these men knew little of the Scottish laws, customs or language, eg Haselrig in Lanark.
- Unlike in 1305, Edward I did not take the time to create a detailed ordered regime for Scotland. He was more ambivalent towards the Scots in 1296 and created a more ad hoc situation for the new Scottish government.

Factor 2 Evidence that Scottish resistance was mainly caused by other factors.

Aspect 1 Patriotism
- The risings appear to have enjoyed “spontaneous” support amongst the commoners in the absence of overt noble leadership.
- Wallace may have made a conscious political decision not to affix his seal to the “Ragmans Rol” in 1296.
- A variety of motives have been attributed to Wallace, including being offended by the sheriff of Lanark, wishing to remove the English from Scotland, etc.
- The rebellion of Andrew Moray in the north is evidence of the “national” nature of the uprising.
- Lesser nobles and knights led rebellions to free Scotland, including Douglas and Lundie, attacking English officials with William Wallace.
- The Macdougall uprising in the northern West Highlands and Islands was...
the result of the MacDonald family being named as Edward’s men in the region — this was a local dispute, rather than against English mismanagement.

- The murder of the sheriff at Lanark.
- The raid on Scone.
- The rebellion was encouraged or possibly financed by Scottish nobles, including James the Stewart and Bishop Wishart of Glasgow. Their delay at Irvine may also have been designed to take the focus from the Wallace and Murray rebellions elsewhere in the kingdom.
- Some nobles were concerned that they might be forced to perform military service overseas for Edward I, causing them to rebel.
- When the nobles capitulated at Irvine, they received guarantees that they would not be forced to provide military service overseas.
- Many nobles, including Robert the Bruce, appear to have been motivated more by concerns for their own lands than by ‘patriotism’.

Aspect 2 Nationhood

- Scots were particularly angered by the removal of the symbols of Scottish “nationhood” — the Stone of Destiny and the Black Rood of St Margaret.
- King John was still seen as the rightful king by many — if not most — Scots, and they were prompted into rebellion by the very heavy-handed treatment of him by King Edward I.
- Wallace always claimed to be fighting in the name of King John and never sought political power in his own right.
- Wallace struck at symbols of English authority in order to remove them from his country, not simply because of his resentment at the regime’s incompetence.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Geoffrey Barrow Takes the view that the risings were the result of English mismanagement that fired a latent Scottish patriotism which was discernible by the 1290s.

Andrew Fisher Takes the view that the grasping nature of Hugh de Cressingham was noted by the English, who viewed him as loving money, and by the Scots, who disliked him personally as well as hating his official position.

Fiona Watson Emphasises the highly punitive nature of the English management of Scotland, with particular reference to garrisoning and taxation.

Michael Brown Takes the view that Edward I now expected the Scottish nobles who had submitted to him in 1296 would join his army, along with their vassals, to fight in English conflicts.
Question 11

To what extent was the decision of John Comyn to submit in 1304 caused by the defection of Robert the Bruce?

Aim of the question

The aim of this question is to allow candidates to analyse and evaluate the view that the main reason for the submission of John Comyn in 1304 was the defection of Robert the Bruce. In so doing, they might also evaluate the impact that other factors had in leading to the Scottish submission in 1304. They should reach a conclusion on the relative importance of the different factors.

Factor 1 Evidence which suggests that the decision of John Comyn to submit in 1304 was caused by the defection of Robert the Bruce.

Aspect 1 Defection of Bruce

• Robert the Bruce failed to give his full support to the resistance offered by the Guardianship for fear that its success might lead to a Balliol restoration.
• Bruce resigned the Guardianship in 1300, possibly as a result of his growing concern that a Balliol restoration was becoming a real possibility.
• Robert the Bruce defected to the English side in 1302.
• Bruce joined a significant number of Scots already supporting Edward I, including the earls of Angus and Dunbar.

Factor 2 Evidence which suggests that the decision of John Comyn to submit in 1304 was caused by other factors.

Aspect 1 International defection

• The Treaty of Asnieres of 1302, which ended the English war with France, allowed King Edward I to concentrate his resources on Scotland.
• The French were now unlikely to assist with King John Balliol’s return to Scotland or provide aid to the Scots fight against the English.
• The Treaty of Paris of 1303 between England and France left the Scots further isolated.
• The quarrel between King Philip IV of France and the papacy led to a change of heart from Pope Boniface VIII, who withdrew his support for the Scots.

Aspect 2 Bruce/Comyn rivalry

• The Bruce and Comyn/Balliol families had been rivals for political power in Scotland for many years before the Guardianship of 1298.
• The retinues of Bruce and Comyn appear to have been consistently at odds with each other; Bruce and Comyn (or at least their supporters) came to blows whilst meeting in Selkirk forest.
• The Bruce/Comyn Guardianship required the appointment of a “Chief Guardian” — Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews — in 1299 to regulate disputes.
• King Edward exploited the Bruce/Comyn rivalry by making generous terms to the Comyn-led political community in 1304 rather than rewarding Robert the Bruce for his support since 1302. Edward needed the support of Comyn (to gain control of Scotland) more than he needed Bruce, whom Edward viewed as less powerful in Scotland.
Aspect 3  Political factionalism

- There was a dispute over what would happen to the lands of the dispossessed Wallace.
- Bruce was replaced by Ingram de Umfraville.
- By 1300, John de Soules may have been operating as sole Guardian (however, some historians believe that John Comyn was still involved in the Scottish government and resistance).
- The Guardianship, even when not led by Bruce or Comyn (ie under de Soules) still failed to defeat the English beyond the relatively minor skirmish at Roslin. They needed to win more than a single battle to defeat the English overall.
- Other factional considerations apart from the Bruce/Comyn rivalry undermined the strength of the Guardianships.
- Sir John of Menteith was instrumental in turning William Wallace over to the English in 1305.
- John Balliol was in exile and doubts were being raised over his commitment to the Scottish cause.
- Many Scottish nobles submitted to Edward I across the early 1300s, eg Madougalls in 1301, Earl of Ross in 1303. The disunity of Scots would have made it much harder for Comyn to keep their resistance going.
- Scotland suffered in the absence of a legitimate king wielding direct royal authority.

Aspect 4  English strength

- The English retained significant military superiority throughout the period.
- When Edward I came north to attack the Scots in 1303 it was the first time he didn’t need to worry about international pressure as both the King of France and the Papacy had ended their support for the Scottish cause.
- The ‘warwolf’ was constructed to assault Stirling Castle in 1303.
- Several full-scale campaigns were launched into Scotland by the English during this period.
- Edward changed tactics in 1303, avoiding lengthy sieges of Scottish castles and attacked Comyn heartlands in the north-east.
- The English were able to maintain an army in the field across the winter of 1303-1304.
- Edward I was offering a different type of settlement in 1304, enabling nobles to retain their lands and power, as well as a share in government, in return for submission. Edward recognised the need for a “Scottish Party” to help him control Scotland as he could not simply impose his authority.

Historians Perspective on the issue

G.W.S. Barrow  Takes the view that Robert the Bruce’s defection was a tactical decision which does not reflect the underlying strength of his commitment to Scottish independence.

Michael Penman  Emphasises the insurmountable problems of faction in the period.

Michael Prestwich  Emphasises King Edward I’s continued desire to deliver a crushing military blow to Scotland in the period.

Ranald Nicholson  Takes the view that Robert the Bruce’s opportunism was to blame for his desertion of the Guardianship and of the Scottish cause.
Question 12

To what extent does the support of the Scottish Church explain Robert the Bruce’s victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1309?

Aim of the question

The aim of this question is to allow candidates to analyse and evaluate the extent to which the support of the Scottish church helps to explain Robert the Bruce’s victory over his Scottish rivals. Candidates may examine the role of the church in military and/or political terms, as well as balancing this with other factors which help to explain Bruce’s success. They should reach a conclusion on these different factors.

Factor 1 Evidence which helps to explain how far the support of the Scottish Church led to Robert the Bruce’s victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1309.

Aspect 1 Political support

- There was possibly awareness among some Scottish bishops of the work of Duns Scotus. The philosopher Duns Scotus may have delivered rulings which legitimised the kingship of Robert the Bruce.
- The indenture made by Bruce and Lamberton in 1304 provided Bruce with a key supporter from the Church.
- Bishop Wishart of Glasgow was quick to offer his support to Bruce after he seized the throne in 1306.
- Clergy were able to preach in favour of Bruce from the pulpit.
- The Scottish Church wanted to protect its ecclesiastical independence and “special daughter status”. As such, it needed Scottish political independence from England, so they supported Robert the Bruce despite his actions and the excommunication by the Pope.
- The Declaration of the Clergy, 1309, showed the clergy’s support for Bruce and attempted to legitimise his kingship.

Aspect 2 Administration

- The Church gave Bruce access to the machinery of government, allowing him to issue writs and breves from an early date.
- The role of Abbot Bernard of Arbroath was crucial in this.

Aspect 3 Military

- Both Wishart and Lamberton also provided armed retinues to Bruce.

Factor 2 Evidence which helps to explain how far other factors led to Robert the Bruce’s victory in the civil war between 1306 and 1309.

Aspect 1 Political factors

- The death of King Edward I in 1307 considerably weakened English resolve to prosecute the war in Scotland, allowing Bruce to concentrate on fighting his Scottish opponents.
- Edward II was distracted by internal political problems; he was not able to focus on Scotland.
- The defection of the Earl of Ross and others to his side left the Comyns isolated in the north of the country.
Aspect 2  Military factors

- Bruce scored an early victory at Loudon Hill which allowed him to break out of the south-west of Scotland.
- Bruce left his brother Edward and James Douglas to subjugate the Balliol lands in Galloway.
- Bruce was able to win victories in the west and north of Scotland which encouraged more people to join him.
- The victory at Oldmeldrum and the herschip of Buchan effectively ended Comyn resistance.
- Bruce pioneered tactics designed to destroy his opponents’ resources, such as the razing of castles.
- By 1308, Bruce’s military reputation was such that it preceded him into the north of Scotland.
- Bruce successfully avoided pitched battles and preferred to use guerilla tactics which were more likely to gain successes.
- Bruce’s military leadership was inspiring, such as at Inverurie, so as to gain further supporters.
- Bruce effectively utilised the landscape to secure victories against his opponents.

Historians  Perspective on the issue

Neil Oliver  Takes the view that the Church was vital in encouraging and promoting Bruce’s war.

Geoffrey Barrow  Emphasises the military and political skill of King Robert, whilst acknowledging the importance of support from the Church.

Michael Penman  Takes the view that the Church was crucial in lending legitimacy to Bruce’s military struggle.

Alan Young  Emphasises the weakness of the position of the Comyns after 1306.
To what extent was the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton of 1328 made possible by the overthrow of Edward II in 1327?

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was made possible by the overthrow of Edward II.

Aspect 1 Regime change in England
- Edward II, who had consistently refused to make any concessions to the Scots, was deposed in 1327 and murdered in 1328, allowing a new regime to take a more conciliatory approach.
- Edward II had refused to recognised Robert the Bruce as King of Scots; to the English he was just a rebellious vassal.
- The new English regime of Isabella and Mortimer was very unstable and England faced a long Minority, so they were keen to make peace.
- The removal of King Edward II led to a resumption of Scottish raids on the north of England, ending the 13-year truce.
- Resumed raids, known as the Weardale Campaign, into England almost led to the capture of the young Edward III.
- Resumed activities in Ireland put further pressure on the new English regime to settle with the Scots.
- In late 1327, Robert the Bruce laid siege to castles like Norham and began to draw up charters to hand out land in the north of England. This worried English authorities who feared that he might intend to annex northern English territories.

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was made possible by other considerations.

Aspect 1 Strength of Bruce position in Scotland
- King Robert was prepared to make major concessions in order to achieve recognition both of Scottish sovereignty and his own legitimacy.
- £20,000 to be paid to the English.
- There was a growing recognition in England that King Robert’s position in Scotland was increasingly strong, especially after the Soules plot.

Aspect 2 Papal pressure
- By the mid-1320s the Papacy was putting pressure on both sides to end the conflict.

Aspect 3 Lack of decisive move
- After over 20 years of war, it was becoming increasingly clear that neither side could deliver a decisive military blow.
- Neither Bannockburn (1314) nor Old Byland (1322) brought significant progress towards peace.
• The English campaigns of 1319 and 1322 similarly failed to lead to substantive talks.
• The two truces of the 1320s (in December 1319 for two years, and the Bishopthorpe Truce in 1323 for 13 years) indicated a desire by both sides to end the fighting.

**Aspect 4** Impact of the Scottish raids

• English nobles had become weary of the Scottish raids into Northumberland.
• The Harcla negotiations for peace with Robert the Bruce showed that some northern English nobles were prepared to side with the Scots if that would hasten the end of the conflict.

**Aspect 5** Weakening of the English position

• After the fall of Berwick in 1318, the English had lost control everywhere in Scotland — and there was no sign it would be restored in the foreseeable future.
• Edward II’s campaigns in 1319 and 1322 ended in failure, as did Edward III’s campaign in 1327.
• The outbreak of war between England and France in 1327 significantly reduced the appetite for war with Scotland amongst the English.

**Historians** Perspective on the issue

**Geoffrey Barrow** Takes the view that the intransigence of King Edward II had long been the key stumbling block, and that his deposition was therefore crucial in allowing peace to be made.

**Ranald Nicholson** Takes the view that the Treaty was a pragmatic recognition of the relationship between the countries which had existed in practice for some time.

**Michael Penman** Takes the view that the Treaty was reflecting an English fear that the resumption of Scottish raids into England actually marked a renewed determination to prosecute the war.

**A.A.M. Duncan** Takes the view that the Treaty was reflecting the eagerness for peace on both sides.
Question 14: How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views of the role of the Guardians in defending Scottish independence between 1286 and 1292?

The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Michael Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td><em>The Wars of Scotland</em> 1214–1271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>(2004)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The gathering of the Bruces with Stewart and his uncle, Walter, Earl of Menteith, the Earl of Dunbar and Angus of Islay was a roll call of families — largely from the west — most of whom would later support the Bruce claim to the throne</td>
<td>The Turnberry meeting only consisted of those who supported the Bruce claim to the throne.</td>
<td>The Turnberry Bond may have been a deliberate attempt by the Bruce faction to undermine the authority of the Guardians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While the Guardians could maintain the routine of royal administration</td>
<td>The Guardians were able to maintain the routine business of government despite the absence of the monarch.</td>
<td>The Guardians governed in the name of the political community and maintained government under their own seal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They lacked the stature of a king in the vital job of managing flashpoints and rivalries within the nobility</td>
<td>The Guardians lacked the God-given authority of a king in dealing with factionalism amongst the nobility.</td>
<td>The Guardianship may have been designed to try and avoid the dangers of factionalism. Robert the Bruce, as a potential claimant to the throne, was excluded from the Guardianship, as was John Balliol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardians actively sought Edward’s support</td>
<td>The Guardians actively sought the support of King Edward of England to try and maintain stability in Scotland.</td>
<td>The Guardians viewed King Edward I as a friend of the Scottish kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect of Source B</td>
<td>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Marc Morris (English historian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>A Great and Terrible King: Edward I (Biography of a king)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>(2008) (Recent publication)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Wishart ... respond on behalf of the startled Scots</td>
<td>Wishart drafted the Scottish reply, on behalf of the startled Scots, where the Guardians rejected Edward’s claim of lordship.</td>
<td>Wishart as Bishop of Glasgow was to be a consistent supporter of Scottish independence. The Scots should have expected Edward’s actions, based on past behaviour, rather than been startled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only a king of Scotland could answer such a momentous demand</td>
<td>They responded to Edward that only a king could answer his point on overlordship.</td>
<td>The Guardians met with Edward I at Norham in 1291, to discuss terms of his intervention in the succession crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wishart reminded the English king that he was supposed to be a crusader and observed that to threaten to unleash war on a defenceless people did him no credit</td>
<td>They defended themselves by taking King Edward to task, arguing that it was inappropriate to threaten a weaker nation with force.</td>
<td>The Guardians were dismissed and then re-instated by Edward, with the addition of an English Guardian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is likely that Edward acted in collusion with Robert the Bruce</td>
<td>Robert the Bruce acted in collusion with King Edward.</td>
<td>In the Appeal of the 7 Earls, Robert the Bruce appears to have sought “the peace and protection of Edward I”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources**

- The Guardians reflected the balance of Scottish society; comprising two bishops, two earls and two lords.
- Recent research suggests that there may have been a seventh Guardian — the Bishop of Dunkeld — possibly to help settle disputes and prevent a deadlock.
- The Guardians governed following the death of King Alexander III, and were expected to rule during the minority of Queen Margaret.
- The Guardians negotiated the Treaty of Salisbury with England and Norway to settle concerns over where the Maid should travel to and how she should be protected once she left Norway.
- The Guardians managed to gain the clause that the Maid of Norway would arrive
free of marriage or marriage contracts.

- The Guardians negotiated the Treaty of Birgham with England, which aimed to maintain Scottish independence in the event of a dynastic marriage between Margaret and Prince Edward of England.
- The Guardians did manage to keep the peace, even containing Robert the Bruce’s attempts to raise a host, including involving him in negotiations for the Treaty of Salisbury, and surviving the murder of one of the Guardians, the Earl of Fife.
- The Guardians successfully prevented tensions from spiralling into civil war or further violence.
- The Guardians failed to replace any of their number who died.
- After Edward went over the heads of the Guardians and extracted homage from the claimants, the Guardians also accepted his overlordship.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

G.W.S. Barrow Takes the view that the composition of the Guardianship was politically astute and constitutionally impeccable

Alan Young Takes the view that the Guardianship was dominated by the Comyn interest.

Andrew Fisher Takes the view that the Guardians were insufficiently robust in their defence of the Scottish kingdom.

A.A.M. Duncan Takes the view that the Guardians lacked the authority of king.
Question 15: Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the difficulties faced by King John during his reign.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Gesta Annalia II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An unknown “continuator” who added these (yearly deeds) to the chronicle of John of Fordun from several (now lost) primary accounts recorded (possibly) by clerics at St Andrews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Yearly deeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are a variety of purposes within the material, praising or criticising the key players depending on the different authors responsible for the original material, e.g. there is evidence of a pro-Bruce narrative at points, in other areas there is material sympathetic to King John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Copied during the late 14\textsuperscript{th} century from original materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Although the Gesta Annalia were appended to Fordun's Chronicle some time after the events, they are derived from contemporary primary sources.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Macduff managed to get John, king of Scotland, summoned to the English king’s parliament held in London.</td>
<td>Macduff appealed to the English king for justice and had John summoned to an English parliament over the issue.</td>
<td>Macduff appealed to the English king when he was denied territories in Fife which he claimed were his by right as Edward was the feudal overlord of Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John accordingly appeared in person</td>
<td>John was forced to appear in person at the English parliament despite his kingly rank.</td>
<td>Kings (as the living embodiment of the law) were not expected to appear as witnesses in court cases; thus by summoning King John to London, King Edward was exercising his lordship in a very provocative way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The king of England ... would not listen in any way to the</td>
<td>Edward would not allow the king of Scotland to speak through a proxy but forced him</td>
<td>King John’s initial refusal to appear in person or speak directly, followed by his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
representative until the king of Scotland ... convey his answers to his representative with his own lips to answer for himself, like any other subject. subsequent capitulation, had become a pattern in his behaviour towards King Edward; the same had happened when he had been asked to renew his homage earlier.

John ... experienced innumerable insults and slights from all, contrary to his kingly rank and dignity John was embarrassed by his treatment in England which was contrary to his rank as king. John’s treatment in England and his acceptance of Edward’s actions as his overlord undermined his authority within Scotland, as nobles began to view him as weak.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- King John was also summoned to appear in a number of other legal cases, eg Roger Bartholomew.
- John failed to attend a summons in 1293 or send attorneys. As such, Edward I drew up new rules covering the appeals, with appropriate penalties for non-appearance.
- King John was made to pay homage to King Edward no less than three times during the course of his short reign.
- King John also demanded military service from the Scots in his war against the French; another insult to John’s kingly rank.
- King John faced difficulties with his own nobility during the course of his reign, including the refusal of the Bruce family to pay homage to him.
- King John may have been replaced by the Council of 12, who removed power from his hands in 1296.
- John proved to be a weak military leader; he allowed himself to be sidelined during the 1296 rebellion against England, not leading his own army at Berwick or Dunbar.
- John capitulated completely to Edward at Stracathro.
- King John was stripped of the symbols of his kingly rank, giving rise, much later, to the epithet “Toom Tabard”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Barrow</td>
<td>Takes the view that King John’s reign bears comparison with that of King Alexander III, but that his situation was made intolerable by the intervention of King Edward I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiona Watson</td>
<td>Takes the view that John does not deserve the terrible reputation he has gained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda Beam</td>
<td>Takes the view that John’s “weakness” was largely a result of him taking seriously his position as a vassal of King Edward I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Brown</td>
<td>Takes the view that John would have faced difficulties even without homage to Edward, given the fractured nature of Scottish society and the lack of royal authority for six years.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Point in Source D</strong></th>
<th><strong>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attempting to build up Sir James Douglas’s lands as the Crown agent in the south-west</td>
<td>Robert used lands taken from the disinherit to reward his supporters.</td>
<td>Large tracts of formerly Comyn/Balliol lands, eg in Buchan and Badenoch, were given to Bruce supporters including Thomas Randolph, Sir Robert Keith and Sir Walter Barclay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another round of seal abuse and coercion by the royal government in demanding that nobles approve the Declaration of Arbroath</td>
<td>Bruce threatened and intimidated people to get support for his authority, or used their seals without their consent/knowledge to suggest support that did not exist.</td>
<td>Bruce intimidated his nobility in 1314, forcing them to come into his peace or face perpetual disinheritance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the so-called “Black Parliament” in August 1320 ... Robert made a cruel example of those involved</td>
<td>Robert made an example of those who were caught conspiring against him in an effort to deter others, showing a ruthless streak.</td>
<td>The Black Parliament seems to have been packed with Bruce supporters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert took great trouble to make it seem as if Soules alone had aimed at the throne, trivialising Balliol’s input</td>
<td>Bruce distorted the truth to make it seem that it was only Soules who aimed at the Scottish throne.</td>
<td>It was likely that the conspiracy actually aimed to put Edward Balliol, son of the exiled King John, on the Scottish throne in place of Robert the Bruce.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

- The primary purpose of the Declaration of Arbroath appears to have been to persuade the Papacy to lift the excommunication on Robert.
- Some historians think Robert the Bruce used the Declaration of Arbroath as a test of loyalty to see whether his political community would sign it.
- Bruce was very tolerant of some who remained outside his peace, including the Earl of Mar and the Earl of Angus, refusing to confiscate their estates.
- Bruce secured support for tailzies in 1315 and 1318 to secure his succession and provide a strong royal authority, including provisions for the succession of a minor.
- Bruce held frequent parliaments to deal with justice, extend royal authority and pass legislation.
- Bruce was able to resurrect the Scottish economy, exporting goods like wool, hides and timber, and importing luxury goods as well as war materials from English North Sea ports as well as European centres.
• Bruce worked to restore government to similar levels as under King Alexander III, including filling traditional offices, such as the Chancellor, Chamberlain and justiciars.
• Bruce gave his opponents an ultimatum in 1313 and a year to come into his peace or face disinheriance.
• The 1318 parliament at Scone confirmed systems of military service and reformed criminal law in Scotland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Bingham</td>
<td>Emphasised the relative ease with which Bruce quashed the Soules plot against his authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Penman</td>
<td>Takes the view that Bruce was nowhere near as successful at establishing royal authority as the contemporary record suggests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey Barrow</td>
<td>Takes the view that Bruce was extremely successful in consolidating royal power and maintained typical government activity which included a blend of continuity from the reign of Alexander III and novelty, much of which was necessitated by a period of prolonged warfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Brown</td>
<td>Takes the view that Bruce’s authority depended on a communal character of government, from parliaments to declarations of support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 3 — Italy: the Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Question 17 “The prosperity of the Italian city-states of the early 15th century was built on trade.” How valid is this view?

Aim of the question The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to demonstrate their knowledge of the economy of the Italian city-states at the beginning of the Renaissance. Candidates should evaluate the relative importance of trade as a basis of that prosperity, balancing this with an analysis of other relevant factors.

Factor 1 Trade Trade was vital to the Venetian economy of the early 15th century. Spices and silks were transported from the ports of the eastern Mediterranean to the city and then sold on to other Mediterranean markets or over the Alpine passes to northern and central Europe. In addition, Venetian ships brought in cheap wine and grain from the Adriatic ports to satisfy local demand. Venetian trade stimulated the construction of galleys in the Arsenale, which employed many people.

Factor 2 Banking Banking was vital to the economy of Florence. The Medici bank was based in the city but with branches in key locations across other parts of Europe. Banking brought huge wealth and influence to the Medici family and opportunities for their many friends.

Factor 3 Manufacturing Aspect 1 In Florence, the production of wool and silk brought great prosperity. Aspect 2 In Venice, the Arsenale created many jobs and fitted out vessels both to carry the goods for trade but also war galleys with which to protect it. Aspect 3 Rome was not a major manufacturing centre. Its wealth, in contrast, was built upon the presence of the papacy. The curia attracted wealthy men and their families.

Factor 4 Peace The relatively peaceful period from the Peace of Lodi in 1454 allowed cities to prosper. The Florentine merchant Giovanni Rucellai wrote that the city enjoyed a “tranquil peace, without any fear”. The commune had few expenses for troops; only a few taxes were levied, so that the region became wealthy.

Historians Perspectives on the issue

Peter Burke Argues that in Venice, “capitalism was commercial rather than industrial”.

John Najemy Argues that Florentines made more money from the manufacture of silk clothing than from wool, because the process was less labour-intense.

Gene Brucker Argues that in contrast the wool trade was the more profitable because it involved many stages and a mark-up could be charged by the manufacturers for each stage.

Peter Burke Also draws a contrast between the prosperity of the city-states and the relative poverty of the rural economy, even 70 years after the Black Death.
To what extent do links with Byzantium and the Levant explain why Venetian art of the 15th and early 16th centuries was so different from that of other Renaissance states?

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

Factor 1 Mythical and Byzantine heritage
- The basilica of San Marco was modelled on the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. It had been built to house the relics of St Mark (taken from Alexandria in 828 AD).
- San Marco’s became a display case for spoils, as well as a reliquary for spiritual treasures from the east.
- Unlike most of the great cities of Italy, the foundations of the city did not date from the classical period. Venetians claimed that the city had been founded by a band of noble Trojans after the fall of Troy. Thus the city could claim to be older than, and therefore superior to, Rome.

Factor 2 Unique setting
- Despite being a man-made, urban environment, or perhaps because of this, a taste developed for pastoral settings in the art. Even traditional religious themes were recast in pastoral terms by Venetian artists. The safety and security of the city from attack allowed a rich artistic tradition to develop.

Factor 3 Vast trading empire
- Trading with Muslims.
- Venetians admired Islamic culture and sought out Ottoman goods.

Factor 4 Artistic developments
Aspect 1 Rejection of symmetry
A rejection of symmetry in city planning and in art came from the irregular shape of the islands and the piece-meal founding of new islands. The facade of San Marco’s is unapologetically asymmetrical. Its greatest contrast can be seen in Alberti’s church facades of the later quattrocento: S. Andrea and S. Sebastiano in Mantua.

Aspect 2 Engagement with light
- For example, the chromatic richness of the work of Giovanni Bellini.
- The effect of light on water.
- While frescos were the medium of choice for Florentine and Roman painters; Venetian artists quickly learned that frescos soon fell apart in the humid climate of the lagoon. For this reason, Venetian painters pioneered and established the practice of painting in oil on canvas.
Factor 5  Focus on public ceremony

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

Historians Perspective on the issue
Patricia Fortini Brown Refers to the art of public life in Venice and argues that spectacles displayed and reinforced the social and political hierarchy, and provided a means for cohesion through participation in a group activity that transcended distinctions of caste, class and condition.
Deborah Howard Has demonstrated how a variety of Venetian architectural details, including the rooftop terraces and stone screens that adorn Venetian palaces, echo and emulate Eastern forms and designs.
John Ruskin Wrote in the 19th century that “the Venetians deserve a special note as the only European people who appear to have sympathised to the full with the great instinct of the Eastern race”.
Elizabeth Horodowich Shows how Venetians were not nearly as fascinated by Ancient Greek and Roman art and literature as were their Florentine counterparts. One of the characteristics of the Renaissance in Venice was that classicism came comparatively late.
Question 19  To what extent were the Medici “princes of Florence” in all but name between 1434 and 1494?

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

Factor 1  The rule of Cosimo

Aspect 1  Prince of Florence

- Pope Pius II referred to Cosimo de Medici as not so much a citizen as a master of his city.
- Political meetings were held at Cosimo’s house. The magistrates he nominated were elected.
- Cosimo was accused by Rinaldo degli Albizzi in 1433 of attempting to raise himself above the rank of an ordinary citizen. He was exiled for a year.
- The Medici were international bankers and their wealth gave them immense power. Cosimo’s father had been banker to the Papacy. This gave him considerable influence in Florence and beyond. J.R. Hale described Cosimo as probably the richest man in Europe at the time.
- Guicciardini writes that, nothing was built or made without his (Cosimo’s) opinion and judgement being asked, and several who had to build something went to him for his opinion.
- Cosimo pointed out to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, that a republic could not be run in the same way as a despotic regime.

Aspect 2  Ordinary citizen

- Cosimo ran Florence from behind the scenes. He preferred Michelozzo’s plans for the Palazzo Medici to the more extravagant plans of Brunelleschi which he considered too showy for an ordinary citizen. In 1464, Cosimo was granted the title Pater Patriae, implying a paternalist rather than self-seeking control of the city.
- Cosimo adopted a frugal life-style, trying to avoid conspicuous consumption.
- Cosimo was head of state on only three occasions in 30 years, for a total of six months.
- Throughout the period, Florence remained a republic.
- Florentines were proud of their republic and obsessed with the fear that one faction or one family would take control. Leonardo Bruni extolled the virtues of republican rule, seeing Florence in the early years of the 15th century as the heir of the Roman republic. Membership of the Signoria was chosen by lottery, with names taken out of a bag in order to protect the independence of the Signoria. However, the Medici proved to be adept at subverting the constitution by influencing the scrutiny “a mano”, whereby the members of the Signoria were chosen by the scrutineers.
Factor 2  The rule of Lorenzo

Aspect 1  Prince of Florence

- Lorenzo delighted in the full light of publicity. He conducted foreign policy as if he were prince of Florence, dealing directly with foreign powers and calling on the Signoria merely to rubber-stamp his decisions.
- Lorenzo’s court, though not huge, was certainly magnificent enough to be considered princely. He acted as a princely patron of scholars and artists, much like Federigo da Montefeltro in Urbino, or the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua.
- Opposition to Medici control boiled over in 1478 in the Pazzi Conspiracy, an attempt by their enemies to murder Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano.
- Savonarola denounced the Medici in 1494 as tyrants who had destroyed the traditional liberties of the Florentines.
- Each of the Medici rulers had powerful enemies and faced serious challenges to their influence, culminating in the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. This does not necessarily mean that they could not be considered princes. Even princes faced challenges to their rule in 15th century Italy. The savagery with which Lorenzo dealt with the Pazzi conspirators suggests he had a prince-like control of the courts. He executed over 70 conspirators.

Aspect 2  Ordinary citizen

- The Medici became Dukes of Florence only in 1537.
- Medici power was based on wealth, not heredity. Under Lorenzo’s stewardship the bank lost huge sums. By 1492 all branches outside Florence had closed, radically reducing the influence of the Medici in the city.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Jacob Burckhardt Saw Cosimo’s powers as lying more in his cultural influence than in the narrowly political. He refers to his leadership of the culture of the age, but he does recognise that Cosimo was still in effect a prince.

Dale Kent Describes Medici rule as the most complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest. A single party embraced the state.

John Hale Refers to Medici rule of Florence and its foreign policy as taut oligarchic control.

Anthony Molho Claims that Cosimo held power not because of force, or because of his control of the electoral processes, but because he had created a political machine which made it possible to reward those who cooperated with him.
“Giorgio Vasari’s *Lives of the Great Artists* presents a distorted view of the development of art during the Italian Renaissance.”

How valid is this view?

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

**Factor 1  Evidence that Vasari does not present a distorted view**
- Vasari worked tirelessly to acquire evidence for the “Lives”. He travelled throughout Italy, read relevant correspondence, questioned the artists or their surviving friends.
- Vasari knew some of the later artists personally, and certainly saw their work in their original context. He refers to contracts between patrons and artists. Vasari attempted to verify many of his assertions by delving in the archives. He writes that “I made this digression for the sake of truth”.
- There is some truth in Vasari’s basic thesis, that Florentine art was the finest of the age. This came about, as Vasari wrote, because of an environment of continuous critical appraisal, industriousness and the exercise of good judgement, alongside a striving for glory and honour.

**Factor 2  Evidence that Vasari presents a distorted view**
- Vasari was a Tuscan, born in Arezzo, dedicating his work to his patron Grand Duke Cosimo I de Medici in 1550. He repeatedly praises Florentine artists, suggesting a Tuscan bias.
- Vasari deliberately denigrates the art of the medieval period in order to exaggerate the contrast with the new art of the Renaissance. He writes of how the barbarian invasions had ruined Italian art and they no longer had any good customs or ways of life.
- Vasari’s “Lives” fits into the humanist notion that history should instruct and encourage through the record of notable careers and notable achievements. Its usefulness is therefore limited to some extent by its purpose.
- Vasari firmly believed in the notion of progress in art, a notion which is now questioned by some modern art historians or critics. When ancient Rome fell, art declined. All the Italians knew of art was the flat, lifeless style derived from Byzantium. Then, around 1250, art was reborn. It grew to maturity in three stages, exemplified by Giotto, Masaccio and then Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo. These represented the childhood, youth and maturity of art. Earlier Renaissance artists are said to have laid the foundations upon which later artists could build to reach sublime heights. The “Lives” ends in the 1560s, with Michelangelo’s death in 1564, with art now mastering and triumphing over nature.
- Vasari was writing a century and a half after some of the early artists, eg Donatello. Many of his stories are unverifiable. Others seem to have
been invented by Vasari for effect. Vasari tells the same story of the
talent of young artists working as shepherds being discovered by
passers-by. The tale is told of Giotto but then repeated for the Sienese
painter Beccafumi. The coincidence is hard to believe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.R. Hale</td>
<td>Is of the opinion that enough of Vasari’s facts are accurate to ensure the status of the “Lives” as the quarry from which all histories of Italian Renaissance art must be hewn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Turner</td>
<td>Writes of how Vasari elevated the idea of Florentine supremacy in the visual arts to the canonical status that it would enjoy for centuries, beginning the story with Cimabue, who was vanquished by Giotto, and ending with Michelangelo, who surpassed both nature and the antique at a qualitative level upon which no mere mortal could hope to improve. The message was clear: he writes “Better to be Tuscan than Italian, and better to be Florentine than Tuscan”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geraldine A. Johnson</td>
<td>Writes that whilst some art historians continue to assume that Vasari’s text can be used with confidence as evidence for what “really” happened, in many instances it is clear that the “Lives” are as much an accumulation of hope, desires, and myths as any work explicitly labelled as fiction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Graham-Dixon</td>
<td>Claims that Vasari’s view of history rested on a misconception of the relationship between the self-consciously new age of the Renaissance and the period which preceded it — the Dark Ages, as he saw it, being a time of more or less undifferentiated ignorance and stasis. It makes more sense to think of the Renaissance as a culmination rather than a rebuttal of certain medieval tendencies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 21
To what extent was the concept of the “Renaissance Man” little more than an ideal?

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

Factor 1 Evidence that the concept was an ideal
• The concept originated in Burckhardt’s “Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy” in 1860.
• Leonardo da Vinci, put forward by many people as the archetypal Renaissance Man, in fact finished remarkably few works of art. His reputation is built upon a very small number of works.
• Humanists debated the virtues of the active and the contemplative life. Few men, if any, managed to live up to the expectations of them both.
• A Renaissance Man would require a rounded approach to education that was typical of the ideals of the humanists.

Factor 2 Evidence that the concept was a reality
• A Renaissance Man needed to be a polymath, with expertise in a number of different subject areas. Leon Battista Alberti wrote that “a man may do all things if he will”, showing his confidence in Renaissance humanism. He encouraged the notion that people should embrace all knowledge and develop their capacities as fully as possible. Thus the gifted people of the Renaissance sought to develop skills in all areas of knowledge, in physical development, in social accomplishments and in the arts.
• Poliziano wrote of Alberti that “He was a man of rare brilliance, acute judgement, and extensive learning... Surely, there was no field of knowledge however remote, no discipline, however arcane, that escaped his attention.”
• Leon Battista Alberti, who was a priest, architect, painter, poet, scientist, mathematician, inventor and sculptor, was also a skilled horseman and archer.
• Federigo da Montefeltro tried to present himself as accomplished in many fields, a soldier and a scholar, creating a magnificent court in Urbino.
• Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) exhibits many of the qualities required of a Renaissance Man. He was a painter but also had a great influence on sculpture and architecture through his plans and drawings. Art claimed only a part of his activity and energies. He had a boundless curiosity about nature and sought to penetrate its innermost workings. A survey of his numerous extant drawings shows him to have been interested in what we would call botany, physiology, geology and zoology. The influence of his anatomical drawings gives him a claim to be regarded as the founder of the modern study of anatomy.
• In addition to his drawings, Leonardo kept voluminous notebooks. These reveal the great importance he attached to mathematics — “Let no man who is not a mathematician read the elements of my work.” He dealt with various branches of physics and was deeply interested in the subject of flight, and in the behaviour of water. His geological interests
extended to palaeontology. In addition to his theoretical studies, he also devised machines for various practical purposes, even though these inventions normally did not progress beyond drawings.

- A gentleman or courtier of that era was expected to speak several languages, play a musical instrument, write poetry. Baldassare Castiglione, in his *The Book of the Courtier* wrote a guide to becoming a polymath.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Geraldine A. Johnson** Repeatedly refers to Burckhardt's ideal of the multi-talented “Renaissance Man” but also suggests that such an ideal was inevitably realised by only a very limited number of wealthy, elite, and usually male humanist-scholars, nobles and clerics.

**Burckhardt** Writes of how Alberti studied music, law, physics, mathematics, painting and literature. He says “He acquired every sort of accomplishment and dexterity, cross-examining artists, scholars, and artisans of all descriptions, down to the cobblers, about the secrets and peculiarities of their craft”.

**J.R. Hale** Says that in the Renaissance man “escaped from the medieval thought-dungeon, and the world (and its expanding physical and mental horizons) was his oyster”.

**R. Hole** Claims that when we read today Leon Battista Alberti’s description of himself, written around 1460, which Burckhardt cited as evidence of universality, we laugh at his foolish pretension as he claims to have been quite brilliant at everything.
Candidates may be awarded a total of 5 marks for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author</strong></td>
<td>Alberti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>Treatise on painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timing</strong></td>
<td>1435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To make art a respectable intellectual pursuit

Painted at the time so provides a good suggestion of contemporary ideas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Painting possesses a truly divine power</td>
<td>Painters have a power of creativity which transcends more mundane activities.</td>
<td>Papal patronage of the arts in the High Renaissance was in part motivated by a desire to project an image of papal power and religious orthodoxy. Julius II’s new St Peter’s could be seen in that light, as could Perugino’s Charge to St Peter in the Sistine Chapel, showing Christ bestowing the keys of the kingdom of heaven upon St Peter and by extension upon the papacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through painting the faces of the dead go on living for a very long time</td>
<td>Painting preserves the likeness of a subject for future generations, in effect immortalising the sitter.</td>
<td>Patrons were in part motivated in their patronage of artists by a desire to be remembered after their death. Giovanni Rucellai listed “commemoration of myself” amongst his reasons for paying for artistic projects (including Alberti’s facade of the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence). Memorialisation accounts for the huge scale of Pope Julius II’s planned tomb in St Peter’s. The rise of accurate portraiture allowed the representation of the dead to the living. The portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro presented his image to posterity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Painting has contributed considerably to the piety which binds us to the gods and to filling our minds with sound religious beliefs</td>
<td>Painting strengthens true religious faith by presenting images of the divine.</td>
<td>Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote of Cosimo de Medici that he was motivated by a desire for God to have mercy on him and so commissioned various religious works of art, including Fra Angelico’s frescos in San Marco’s. Donor paintings were common throughout the Renaissance, with images of the donors worshipping the Holy Trinity (Masaccio) or worshipping the Christ Child in Nativity scenes by Botticelli. The aim was to promote salvation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting contributes to the honest pleasures of the mind, and to the beauty of things.</td>
<td>Paintings are both beautiful and pleasing.</td>
<td>Some painting was in part motivated by a love of beauty and simply for pleasure. Many nudes are first and foremost erotic, for example Giorgione’s Sleeping Venus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

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

George Holmes

 Writes of how Alberti wanted art to move away from traditional notions of symbolism, allegory or mere decoration to a wholehearted presentation of art as a realistic portrayal of nature and humanity. *On Painting* established the image of the artist as a man of culture portraying nature.

Richard Turner

 Writes that Alberti closely associated painting with two of the liberal arts, geometry and rhetoric, so implicitly elevating its intellectual status. By recounting the importance of painting to the princes and leading citizens of antiquity, he implied that — beyond intellectual recognition — artists were owed an improved place in society. He also comments that, whilst most art of the 15th century was Christian in subject matter, Alberti refrains from discussion of Christian art and takes subjects from ancient literature as his main examples.

Mary Hollingsworth

 Comments that in their palaces and chapels, their fresco cycles, altarpieces and tombs, rich businessmen manifested a strong desire to proclaim their worldly success as well as the need to expiate their guilt for the world to come. They desired to give visual expression to their wealth and status.

Stephen Campbell and Michael Cole

 Argue that though Alberti saw painters as creative like poets, the subject of nearly every substantial work they would undertake was dictated by a client who expected them to execute agreed-upon content in a more or less pre-established style, sometimes following the requirements of a written contract.
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Point in Source B</strong></th>
<th><strong>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Julius planned to make Rome a truly impressive centre, one that would clearly demonstrate his vision of the renewed power and prestige of the Pope as supreme head of the Church</td>
<td>Julius reasserted the political power of the papacy in Italy.</td>
<td>Julius recovered the territories taken by Cesare Borgia and reasserted control over the Roman barons. By 1513, the power of the French in Italy had collapsed. Julius issued a bull against simony and actively supported missionary enterprises in the New World and the reform of the Benedictines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had found the papal coffers empty and left them full</td>
<td>Julius restored the papal finances.</td>
<td>Julius began the system of strict annual auditing of the papal accounts. His monetary reforms, including the issue of the new silver guilio, helped avoid a papal bankruptcy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above all, the speaker stressed the concept of a Golden Age under Julius II</td>
<td>Julius’ pontificate was broadly successful and was in fact a golden age.</td>
<td>Julius’s patronage of the arts laid the foundations for the High Renaissance. He expanded the Vatican library and began the papal collection of antique sculpture. He employed Michelangelo, Bramante, Raphael and others to celebrate the power of the Church and the truth of its doctrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For once the Renaissance tradition of praising a patron for the transformation of a shabby city into a magnificent centre held more than a grain of truth</td>
<td>Julius dramatically improved the appearance of the city of Rome.</td>
<td>He began the building of the new St Peter’s and commissioned the Sistine ceiling from Michelangelo and the Stanza della Segnatura from Raphael.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point in Source C</td>
<td>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</td>
<td>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I look you over, I see many a sign of ungodliness and none of holiness... The more I look at you the fewer traces I see of any apostolic character.</td>
<td>Julius failed to live up to the religious expectations of his role as Pope</td>
<td>Leo X’s attempts to raise money to restore the papal finances and to pay for the new St Peter’s included selling Indulgences — papal letters offering a pardon of sins in exchange for money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You wear the robes of a priest of God, yet under them you are dressed in the bloody armour of a warrior.</td>
<td>Julius was more interested in waging war than pursuing his spiritual role.</td>
<td>Julius fought in defence of jurisdictions and territorial rights in Italy. These rights were seen to be the papacy’s by divine sanction, as well as by legal right and long-established custom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There’s no part of your body not marked with traces of outrageous and abominable lust.</td>
<td>The pope was lustful.</td>
<td>This may be unfair as a comment on Julius, but other popes, such as Alexander VI, saw no contradiction between their ecclesiastical role and having lovers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You say you are a great builder: build yourself a new paradise!</td>
<td>Julius had neglected his spiritual function in his determination to build magnificent new buildings for the papacy in Rome.</td>
<td>Julius and Leo X were keen to rebuild Rome so it would be a worthy capital of the Church. A new St Peter’s basilica was to be built. Michelangelo, Bramante and Raphael were employed by the papacy to make Rome and the papal apartments more magnificent. Julius commissioned Michelangelo to design and construct a hugely impressive tomb for him in St Peter’s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources**

- Under the Borgia Pope Alexander VI, sensual pleasure and dynastic ambition were not uncommon in the papal curia. He had several children after he became pope. He promoted the careers of his own children.
- On becoming pope in 1513, Leo X is reported by the Venetian ambassador to have commented, “Let us enjoy the papacy since God has given it to us”.
- Leo X is reported to have indulged his tastes for hunting and feasting.
- Pope Julius II and Adrian VI campaigned against simony and nepotism.
- Pope Clement VII is said to have lived simply and even his worst enemies were unable to suggest that his was anything other than a blameless or moral life.
• Canon law forbade the clergy to shed blood (but did not ban them from uttering exhortations to violence, or accompanying, directing and granting absolution to its perpetrators).

• Holy War was not just to be directed against the Muslim foe. It was also to be fought in Christendom, sometimes against heresy, schism or disobedience committed by secular rulers.

• Julius swore on his election as Pope to reclaim the territories in the Romagna wrongly alienated from the Church. He launched a series of campaigns to reconquer the papal states by attacking the Baglioni of Perugia and the Bentivoglio of Bologna.

• Julius is reported to have put on armour to fight his enemies. He allegedly commissioned Michelangelo to produce a bronze sculpture of himself with a sword in one hand for the portico of the church of San Petronio in Bologna.

• Julius played a key role in the 1509 campaign against Venice over the republic’s refusal to give up Rimini, Faenza and Ravenna.

• By 1510, Julius’ avowed intention was the total eviction of foreign or barbarian forces from Italy. His intention, according to the papal master of ceremonies, was to exterminate the French king and all Frenchmen.

• In his winter campaign of 1510-11 against the Duke of Ferrara and his allies, Julius took personal command in an offensive military operation – the siege of Mirandola.

• Julius was a financial genius and brilliant administrator. He carefully supervised all aspects of papal administration. He began the system of strict auditing of the papal accounts.

• Julius dreamed of a great campaign against the infidel, the Turks. In 1509 he ordered the construction of galleys for the project. He hoped to celebrate mass in Constantinople within a year.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Guicciardini
In the 1530s wrote that Julius’s concern and intention was to exalt the temporal greatness of the Church with the arts of war.

D.S. Chambers
Takes the view that it was not a new fashion for popes to participate actively in warfare. Justification was found in the Old Testament and the idea of just war formulated by St Augustine. The portrayal by Erasmus is a gross if not wholly undeserved caricature.

Vasari
States that statues of Victory with conquered provinces at their feet were meant to be among the figures adorning the pediment of Julius’s tomb.

J.R. Hale
Refers to Julius as a financial genius and brilliant administrator.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of Sources B and C is helpful in offering a full perspective on the exercise of power by the popes in the High Renaissance.
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“the court they came to ornament was her husband’s”</td>
<td>Artists were commissioned by women but their role was to celebrate the husband and his court, so women’s patronage of the arts indirectly decreased their influence over courtly society</td>
<td>Isabella d’Este played a key role as a patron of the arts in Mantua. It was, however, the court of her husband, Francesco Gonzaga, which the artists made magnificent. Leonardo and Titian both painted for her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Renaissance nobility] ......transferred their non-military training from the lady to the humanistic tutor or boarding school</td>
<td>Humanism placed women under male-dominated social conventions.</td>
<td>Francesco Barbaro argued that a woman should love her husband, lead a modest life and have diligent and complete care in domestic matters. The role of women was constrained by childbearing and rearing, and the preaching of the Church. These made it very hard for women to participate in the public sphere. Leon Battista Alberti set very strict limits on the lives of women in his treatise On the Family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As humanists [tutors] supressed romance and chivalry to advance classical culture</td>
<td>Humanism replaced courtly love with a male-dominated classical culture, meaning women’s experience was of declining influence and importance</td>
<td>Under medieval traditions of courtly love, women had been afforded a leading role, placed on a pedestal and worshipped by their admirers who would attempt to prove their worth to the lady. Women had been of primary importance in courtly love. In the Renaissance, classical models replaced medieval romance and chivalry. Medieval courtesy had shaped the man primarily to please the lady. However in the early modern state this changed to a situation where the ways of the lady were determined by men.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The lady who married a Renaissance prince became a patron ... But the court [artists] came to ornament was her husband’s

During the Renaissance, women were dependent upon their husbands.

With the rise of humanism, women lost their role as tutors of young children to humanist scholars.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

Historians Perspective on the issue

Margaret L. King

Argues that women were increasingly aware of the need to obtain an education and that this led them to question the assumptions upon which society was built. The age of feminism dawned before the age of the Renaissance closed.

Joan Kelly-Gadol

Argues that women were disempowered since their lives were reduced to the home.

Burckhardt

Describes gender relations during the Renaissance as based upon a perfect equality. Peter Burke argues that few statements in Burckhardt’s book are more misleading

Stanley Chojnacki

Refers to the exclusion of women from public life where fathers and sons consorted. Renaissance society could be characterised as one in which mothers contributed but fathers commanded.

Kenneth Bartlett

Shows that pregnancy was a dangerous time for Renaissance women. Death in childbirth was a common occurrence. A life in a nunnery could be seen as coming as a relief to some women, as nunneries could offer girls the chance of continuing their education and relieve them of the dangerous occupation of pregnancy.
SECTION 4 — Scotland: from the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707-1815

Question 25
How far does the poor leadership of James VIII explain why the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 achieved no more than “stalemate, retreat and ultimate fiasco”?

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

Factor 1 Leadership of James VIII
- Distant, unattractive and lacking charisma.
- Barely present during the rising. Landed on 22 December, two months after Sheriffmuir, by which time effective momentum had been lost. Sailed to France on 4 February having contributed little to the cause.
- Lack of presence throughout ensured rebellion lacked effective leadership, ending in fiasco.

Factor 2 Leadership of the Earl of Mar
- A self-interested and opportunistic politician with no military experience. Mar squandered numerical and strategic advantage before and after Sheriffmuir.
- The rising was characterised by abortive, unsuccessful strategies and continual hesitation. A pre-emptive seizure of Edinburgh Castle stalled and was then hastily abandoned, while the planned western advance on Glasgow collapsed due to poor organisation.
- Details of events at the battle of Sheriffmuir — stalemate and effective if not actual defeat, though military operations continued until February 1716.

Factor 3 Support within Scotland
- 1715 was easily the largest and most threatening Jacobite rising, partly as a result of widespread economic and political opposition to the Treaty of Union.
- The strength of arms was considerable. Mar’s 16,000-strong host was the largest Jacobite army of any rising. Significantly, considerable support came from the great landed families of the north-east and, to a lesser extent, the lowlands.
- 70% were Highland clansmen — the only Jacobites within Great Britain that retained an armed capacity. However, few western clans played an active role and no Highland chief gave the rising unqualified support.
- Majority of Scotland’s population was anti-Catholic. Whig and Hanoverian propaganda successfully separated Protestantism and Jacobitism; as a result, support for the Stuarts became synonymous with Catholicism.
- Stuarts were inextricably linked with opposition to the Union, yet the Union guaranteed the Presbyterian Church. Thus, the Jacobites failed to gain the support of the Kirk which enjoyed a near total control of the

Page sixty-five
lowland population in the early 18th century.

- Similarly, although the Jacobites committed themselves to the re-establishment of the Scottish parliament, the Stuarts, as reigning monarchs, had a record of hostility towards the institution.

**Factor 4 English support**

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

**Factor 5 Foreign support**

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

**Factor 6 Hanoverian response**

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

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Mackillop** Confirms the inadequate response from English Jacobites — in England Jacobitism was nearly always a social form of political disaffection which preferred getting on the wrong side of a claret bottle than a bullet or bayonet.

**Lynch** Focuses on Sheriffmuir, stressing the importance of a first major victory that never came to galvanise support amongst sympathetic, but hesitant, Jacobite supporters.

**Devine** States that in 1715 there had been a real chance of Stuart counter-revolution. Opportunities for real progress were there, but they had been thrown away by inept leadership.

**Pittock** An influential critic of Mar, he dismisses his leadership in concise terms. Mar was more interested in diluting his army’s effectiveness than using it.
Factor 1 Methods used by the tobacco lords

Aspect 1 Undercutting the English

- Development of smuggling on a huge scale enabled Glasgow’s merchants to exploit the opportunity for trade with America by undercutting their English rivals including Liverpool, London and Whitehaven.
- Estimated that in the two decades following the Treaty of Union, Scottish merchants paid duty on only a half to two thirds of their colonial imports. A balanced comment will note that the reorganisation of the customs service in 1723 reduced the scale of illicit practices.

Aspect 2 Personal connections

- Close family partnerships and clannish alliances allowed the tobacco lords to manipulate burgh politics. Notably, the dominant role of the city’s Merchant House ensured local policy-making pertaining to the provision of infrastructure, including dredging the Clyde and improvement of harbouring facilities, were prioritised to the advantage of the tobacco barons.
- Tradition of sending young men to Virginia as part of their mercantile training gave Glasgow’s merchants further advantage, consolidating relationships with Scots-American emigrants — many of whom became important figures in the plantation economies of Virginia and Maryland.

Aspect 3 Investment

- Improved port facilities allowed merchants to abandon satellite ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow by the 1750s as over 200 wharves and jetties were able to support ocean-going ships.
- Efficient business methods reduced costs through innovations in purchasing, marketing and shipping, enabling Glasgow to account for 40% of UK tobacco trade by 1765.
- In particular, the store system allowed lower purchase prices and faster turnaround times, while increased ownership rather than chartering of ships reduced costs further.
- The tobacco lords were noted for their willingness to invest in a wide range of industries, founding the city’s first three banks. Industrial developments, such as shipbuilding innovation and the pioneering construction of dry docks (1762) was supported by the commercial enterprise of the tobacco lords, which in turn led to more efficient trade through a considerable multiplier effect.

Question 26 How important were the methods of the tobacco lords in establishing Glasgow as the “tobacco metropolis of Western Europe”?

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the various factors which contributed to the spectacular success of Glasgow’s tobacco industry. A high-quality answer should discriminate between legal and illegal methods and compare the significance of these practices against other relevant factors, arriving at conclusion on their relative importance.
Factor 2 Geography
- Whatley notes that a key period of expansion, 1739-40, during the War of Jenkin’s Ear, was beneficial for Glasgow as the passage around the north of Ireland was significantly safer than more southern routes.
- Glasgow’s location gave fortuitous access to Atlantic trade, enabling shorter sea crossings and resultantly lower freight costs across the Atlantic.
- Higher quality responses will be careful to note that any comment regarding Glasgow’s location should not be overstated, given 90% of all tobacco was re-exported east to European markets.

Factor 3 Treaty of Union
- Pre-1707, the Scottish tobacco trade was small-scale — Scottish merchants were prevented from trading directly with English colonies by the Navigation Laws.
- The Union guaranteed free trade to the colonies and the English home markets, providing a context within which the growth of the industry was possible.
- Massive expansion in the Glasgow tobacco trade in the years immediately after the Union, in sharp contrast to the stagnation of the trade across the rest of Britain — Glasgow was the only part of Scotland thriving in the politically sensitive year of 1715.
- Continuation of illicit practices was tolerated, partly because Scotland was now within the Union. Benign British rulers would have been unlikely to have afforded such an attitude to foreign competitors.
- Scottish ships now sailed under the protection of the Royal Navy’s cruisers and “strong convoys”.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Lynch Argues that the Tobacco Lords’ methods were instrumental to the success of the industry, particularly in the early 18th century. States that “The tobacco trade until the mid-1720s grew not through the new opportunities offered by free trade but through the long-honed skills of Scottish merchants of carrying on an illicit trade evading customs regulations.”

Devine Emphasises the impact of illicit methods used by Glasgow merchants which were so widespread as to cause fierce resentment in England: “The view from Westminster was that Scots were not paying their way through taxation because of the enormous scale of smuggling and systematic revenue fraud.”

Whatley Acknowledges the colonial trade opportunities afforded by the Treaty of the Union, though ultimately stresses the illegal practices of the tobacco lords: “Much of their success was based on their ability to evade on a massive scale and bend to their own advantage the customs regulations.”

Smout Glasgow found it had to push hard (and smuggle hard) to muscle in on a market occupied for a century by English merchants.
“Urban areas had become the dominant presence in the society and economy of Scotland by 1800.”

How valid is this assessment of the growth of Scottish towns and cities during the 18th century?

The aim of this essay is to assess the extent and nature of the growth of Scottish towns and cities by the end of the 18th century. Essays should analyse the migration of the rural population to Scotland’s cities during a time of unprecedented population growth. In response to the deliberate wording of the question, candidates should also define the growth of cities beyond mere size of population, accounting for both social and economic change. A recognition of regional trends may feature in high-quality responses. Candidates should come to a clear conclusion.

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

Patterns of population growth
- Scottish population: 1707 — estimated 1 million; 1755 — Webster’s survey 1,265,000; 1801 census — 1,608,000.
- Growth in the population of towns considerably outstripped that of the countryside. In 1750, 9% of the population lived in towns; by 1800 this figure had doubled, by which time nearly one in four Scots lived in towns or cities.
- In a league of urbanised European countries, Scotland progressed from tenth in 1700, to seventh in 1750 and fourth in 1800.
- Growth of towns was most pronounced in the western burghs of the Clyde valley. Between 1755 and 1801, the populations of Falkirk and Kilmarnock doubled, while Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley more than trebled. This spectacular growth was largely due to the initial stages of industrialisation.
- Edinburgh and the eastern seaports including Leith, Dundee and Aberdeen also experienced significant, if less rapid, expansion.

Society
- Edinburgh’s New Town was imbued with political significance, its street names confirming the new Whig Scotland’s loyalty to the House of Hanover. It also redefined class divisions, as the urban poor remained in the old town.
- Glasgow’s western district consisted of 13 new streets and squares. Perth and Aberdeen had analogous, smaller scale developments.
- These developments resulted in new middle-class urban communities, providing a contrasting model of urban development from that associated with industrialisation and the arrival of workers from the countryside.

Economy
- The administrative, judicial and economic role of towns and especially cities was reinforced and redefined, partly as a result of the emergence of town planning. New public buildings and open spaces emerged, such as Glasgow’s Chamber of Commerce and George Square.
- Scotland’s rapid rate of economic growth in the late 18th century was
at least partly due to increased urbanisation (and resultant greater concentration of consumers and producers), enlarged pools of labour and external economies such as reduced transport costs.

Factor 2 Evidence which may suggest urban areas did not dominate Scotland’s society and economy

Aspect 1 Patterns of population growth
- Every rural region of Scotland registered population growth during the late 18th century.
- Although the urban population was growing faster than that of the countryside, the rural population remained a far larger proportion of the total Scottish population at the end of the 18th century.
- By the 1830s, an estimated two-thirds of Scottish weavers lived in villages and small towns.
- Aside from Inverness, there was a complete absence of significant urban development in the Highlands.

Aspect 2 Society
- Continued pre-eminence of elite landed gentry.
- Rural hinterlands became steadily more prosperous, resulting in increased incomes of tenant farmers and landlords.

Aspect 3 Economy
- The agricultural revolution transformed the rural economy. Increased production and productivity and the re-organisation of agricultural practice significantly increased output. Devine estimates that vegetable production doubled, while animal production increased six-fold between 1750 and 1820.
- Substantial increases in food production provided the foundation for both industrialisation and urbanisation.
- The vast majority of the population was employed in agriculture or rural-based industry.
- Early industrialisation was not necessarily an urban phenomenon — in 1795, rural Renfrewshire had more cotton-spinning mills than Glasgow. Water-powered mills often required rural locations, including New Lanark and Deanston. Steam power was not widely adopted until after 1800.
- Other major industries, including pig iron manufacture and coal-mining, were often located in villages.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Smout Concludes that urbanisation impacted on a minority of the Scottish population by the end of the 18th century
Devine Emphasises the extent and rapidity of urbanisation in the latter 18th century.
Nenadic Underlines the inherent difficulty in drawing definitive conclusions when examining population migration in 18th-century Scotland due to the prevalence of temporary migration.
Question 28

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

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to analyse the nature and development of Scottish society in the last decade of the 18th century by assessing the relative impact made by the ideals associated with the French Revolution. An examination of Scottish society immediately prior to the French Revolution could provide an appropriate context which can be set against the increased political activity of the early 1790s. The candidate should come to a conclusion on the evidence presented.

Factor 1 Factors which predate the French Revolution

Aspect 1 The Enlightenment

- The impact of the teachings of Enlightenment figures such as Francis Hutcheson and that of American independence, and the dissemination of associated ideas through pamphlets and newsletters.

Aspect 2 Political changes

- 1782-3 burgh reform movement launched by Thomas McGrugar (Zeno). Freeholders agitating for county franchise representing most counties in Scotland met in Edinburgh, though ambitions were limited to modest reforms extending the franchise to the propertied classes.
- Increased interest in political affairs indicated by increase in the number of newspapers, from eight in 1782 to 27 by 1790, and their increasingly politicised content.
- The years immediately preceding the French Revolution were characterised by political apathy and indifference due to rampant corruption — only nine county and burgh elections contested in 1790.

Factor 2 Factors which may suggest the French Revolution’s impact was significant

Aspect 1 Impact of ideas

- February 1791 publication of volume 1 of Tom Paine’s Rights of Man generated significant interest in the ideas associated with the French Revolution “well beyond the political classes”. Paine’s writings went beyond reform and were genuinely revolutionary including universal suffrage.
- Agitation represented new popular opposition.

Aspect 2 Key events 1792:

- Candidates should identify 1792 as the key year, the watershed being the failure of constitutional monarchy in France which was replaced by more radical republican government. This triggered a wave of politicised activity in Scotland, much of which was specifically targeted at Henry Dundas, Home Secretary, whom many Scots identified as the personification of the establishment. Volume 2 of Paine’s Rights of Man was also published. By the end of 1793, over 200,000 copies had been sold across Britain.
- July — establishment of the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People, rapid expansion and assembly of the British National Convention of the Friends of the People in November. Candidates may note that revolutionary objectives were rejected in favour of
“moderate firm and constitutional proceedings”.

- Numerous instances of public disorder across Scotland indicate a popular anger against “Old Corruption”, including erection of liberty poles, planting trees of liberty, wearing the redcaps, torching Dundas effigies and further rioting.
- Establishment of localised “Societies of the Friends of General Reform”.
- Cultural references — Burns poem “A man’s a man for aw that”.

**Aspect 3  Severity of government response indicating significant impact**

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

**Factor 3  Factors which may suggest the impact of the French Revolution was limited**

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

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Devine**  The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 changed everything and set the scene for an unprecedented challenge to the existing regime. The ideas of the revolution had a catalytic effect and gave fresh impetus to political discussion.

**Whatley**  Argues that the initial stimulus for much of the political activity was a lack of burgh reform and the corruption of political patronage, rather than a direct stimulus from the French Revolution.

**Murdoch**  Notes that, although many of the ideas associated with the French Revolution are universal constitutional issues, the Scottish reaction was uniquely focused on Henry Dundas as the established representation of the status quo.
Question 29
To what extent does John Cockburn of Ormiston deserve to be considered the most significant contributor to Scotland’s agricultural revolution?

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

Factor 1 John Cockburn of Ormiston
- An early improver of the first generation, and thus a genuine pioneer.
- Unusual in that, beyond economic gain, Cockburn can be considered a cultural improver. Cockburn was pro-Union, and believed agricultural improvement would allow Scotland to justify its place in 18th-century Britain.
- Between 1714 and 1746, Cockburn oversaw a far-reaching programme of improvement. All steadings were rebuilt, enclosure, hedge planting.
- Paid for tenants and their sons to learn husbandry in England.
- Granted unheard of 19-year leases in exchange for tenants’ agreements binding them to improve the land at their expense, emulating Cockburn’s improvements on his home farm.
- Unlike typical gentry of the era, Cockburn adopted an active interest, continually inspecting husbandry and even corresponding directly with tenants when on business in London.
- Re-built the local farm-toun into the “new-town” of Ormiston, providing a market for surplus produce and facilities — including a brewery, distillery and bleachfield.
- 1747 — Cockburn declared bankrupt; however it may be argued that a lack of success as a businessman and having an impact upon the agricultural revolution may not necessarily be incompatible. Many of his tenants continued in their improved husbandry whilst benefiting from the material infrastructure which became his legacy.

Factor 2 Archibald Grant of Monymusk
- Like Cockburn, Grant was an MP, wealthy landowner and pioneer improver whose efforts to modernise the husbandry practised on his lands ran in parallel with Cockburn’s.
- Proved improvement was compatible with sound business practice, restoring his family fortune through the implementation of efficient methods.
- Invested heavily in infrastructure, such as his planned village of Archiestown to provide not only a marketplace but also employment in textile manufacture.
- Imported European workers to instruct on agricultural and industrial techniques.
Factor 3  Sir John Sinclair
- Influential landowner who actively involved himself in the encouragement of his tenants to adopt improvement.
- A prominent member of the Board of Agriculture and the Highland and Agricultural Society, Sinclair instigated agricultural research and investigation on a vast scale, culminating in editing the Statistical Accounts and the General Views of Agriculture.
- Prolific, widely read author who denounced customary practice, which he claimed relied upon implements “of the worst description”, ensuring “all attempts at improvement would be in vain”.
- Numerous publications provided an important impetus for progressive ideas.
- Financed new and improved infrastructure, including the redesign of Caithness and the establishment of Thurso.

Factor 4  Thomas Hope of Rankeillor
- Member of the gentry who toured England and Europe in search of agricultural innovation.
- Instrumental in forming and running Edinburgh’s Honourable Society of Improvers which itself was instrumental in disseminating knowledge of the new husbandry.
- Became particularly adept in the use of drainage, gaining repute for the draining of Edinburgh’s south loch which was replaced by the Meadows.

Factor 5  Henry Home, Lord Kames
- A prolific agricultural author and publicist, Kames wrote extensively on the importance of the practical application of science in agriculture — most famously in his publication of the influential “Gentleman Farmer” in 1776.
- Commissioned extensive agricultural studies to record and publicise best agricultural practice.
- Provided capital for ambitious rural transport improvements including road improvements, bridges and the cutting of canals.
- Gained fame for the scale of his improvements on his Blair Drummond estate which included the drainage and cultivation of 330 acres of marsh, described by a contemporary as “the most singular and considerable improvement in Scotland”.

Historians  Perspective on the issue
Smout  Identifies Cockburn as being particularly important in applying and dissemination of improved farming practice. “It is impossible not to be impressed by the energy and vision with which a man like John Cockburn of Ormiston burst open the high walls of tradition on his estate.”
Whatley  Notes Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk’s considerable investment in infrastructure in both planned towns and associated industry.
Adams  Confirms Lord Kames’ influence upon contemporaries, courtesy of the enormous scale of improvement at Blair Drummond.
Devine  Emphasises the pivotal role of the individual improvers as a collective force in the promotion of agricultural change.
Question 30: How fully does Source A explain the reasons for the changes in Scottish schooling in the 18th century?

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

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<tr>
<td>“There had been... schools outside the statutory system...parishes were often too large for one master to satisfy demand.”</td>
<td>The Kirk no longer had absolute control as the large size of some parishes encouraged the development of alternative schooling.</td>
<td>Rapid population growth, migration and the parish school system were incompatible, diluting the Kirk’s control over the schooling of the growing non-rural population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“...explosion in private schools was confirmation that there was a widespread demand for literacy.”</td>
<td>A growing demand for literacy encouraged the rapid growth of private schools.</td>
<td>Although the Kirk’s influence remained strong, as ministers and elders appointed masters and supervised instruction in parish schools, a general secularisation of society was gradually weakening its influence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The most dynamic feature of schooling in the large burghs was a response to the new needs of the expanding business and professional classes.”</td>
<td>The rise of business and the professions led to fundamental changes in subjects taught and the type of teachers employed.</td>
<td>The foundation of town academies providing an intensive education in “modern” subjects represented an even more radical response to the demands of the business and professional communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Financial problems encouraged some rural schoolmasters to broaden their teaching.”</td>
<td>Financial necessity encouraged some teachers to broaden the curriculum.</td>
<td>The success of town academies — such as Ayr, Stirling and Perth — focus on “new subjects” with specific links to commerce led to an expansion of the academy movement acting in itself as a powerful agent of change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

- The reformation had used education to instil Christian adherence in children. However, secularisation across Scottish society created considerable social pressure for change.
- Scottish schools were becoming more varied — burgh grammars and academies were augmented by numerous private institutions. All of these schools were outwith the direct control of the Kirk, providing greater choice for parents and thus providing further impetus for change.
- University reform permeated down to schools, partly as a legacy of the reformation’s attempts to create an integrated system of education.
- Significant regional variation existed between rural and urban development.
Urbanisation placed significant strain on increasingly densely populated towns’ grammar schools.

- Town councils played an important role in the development of grammar schools, emphasising the study of Latin and progression to the universities.
- The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) supplemented the parish system in the Highlands for evangelical and political purposes.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

Withrington Acknowledges the strength of the partnership between the state and Kirk in developing Scottish schools during the 18th century: “the state ... gave parliamentary backing for the funding of a parochial school system and the church acted as managers for the whole enterprise”.

Mackie Emphasises the powerful position of the Kirk upon Scottish education: “A result of clerical insistence was an Act of 1696 compelling the heritors of every parish to provide a commodious house for a school. By the early 1690s, Scotland appears to have had extraordinarily good provision for schooling”.

Smout In recognition of its expansion and rate of change, Smout labels 18th-century education a growth industry, arguing that the changing nature of education, reflected its changing purpose which was largely due to the demands of the emerging middle and professional classes.

Herman Links the role of the Kirk, and in particular the Education Act of 1696, with the relatively high rate of literacy. “One thing is certain: Scotland’s literacy rate would be higher than that of any other country by the end of the 18th century.”
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“he...imagined they would beat four times their number of regular troops. Charles, however, deceived himself.”</td>
<td>Charles’s esteem of his Highland army was exaggerated, leading to over-confidence in their potential.</td>
<td>Victory at Prestonpans on 20th September was total. Cope was a very ordinary general.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“an opponent not sufficiently trained or led... left Charles over-confident”</td>
<td>Early in the ’45, government troops were poorly trained and this led Charles to underestimate the government troops.</td>
<td>His force of 2,500 was disposed of decisively in 20 minutes. Thus, Charles’s admiration of his Highland army was within a clear context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Culloden placed the clan regiments on an ill-chosen field that greatly favoured conventional British tactics.”</td>
<td>The battle field chosen by the Jacobites handed the conventional Hanoverian forces a significant advantage.</td>
<td>The invasion of England was partly justified by the ease of victory at Prestonpans and their ability to defend “fortress Scotland”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Charles simply turned loose his seemingly invincible Highlanders.”</td>
<td>The Highland troops were not effectively commanded.</td>
<td>Culloden Moor suited the tactics and discipline of the Hanoverian army, in contrast to the confused Highland charge.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>George Murray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Highly regarded commander of the Jacobite army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>One day after the battle of Culloden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter sent to Charles Edward Stuart</td>
<td>Letter reflects the difficult relationship between Lord George Murray and his prince</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Point in Source C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“It was wrong to have raised your royal standard without having a positive assurance from the French.”</td>
<td>French support was vital to the success of the rising – Charles should not have started the rising by raising his royal standard without it. Charles’s 700 professional French soldiers and munitions never landed, being forced to return to France after bombardment by HMS Lion. Further French assistance was extremely limited and a full invasion, despite Charles’s rhetoric, was never promised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I never saw him in time of action, neither at Gladsmuir, Falkirk or at the last and his orders were completely confused.”</td>
<td>Mr O’Sullivan, whom you trusted with most essential things, was exceedingly unfit and committed terrible blunders – his orders were completely confused. Advised by O’Sullivan, Charles insisted on fighting an orthodox defensive action at Culloden despite opposition from a number of his senior officers led by Lord George Murray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Tactics of the Government forces with their front fire and flanking us when we went upon the attack destroyed us”</td>
<td>The Hanoverian artillery and in particular the use of grapeshot. ripped apart the Highland charge while at the same time infantry outflanked the clansmen. Hanoverian troops adopted modern, disciplined tactics – integrating musket fire, a new bayonet drill and effective use of field artillery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The lack of provisions also had fatal consequences.”</td>
<td>You trusted Mr Hay to order provisions The Jacobite army lacked appropriate supplies, leaving the Highlanders starving prior to battle. Food and, critically, money were running short by April 1746. Charles’s army was underfed, underpaid and in an increasingly desperate situation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Historians Perspective on the issue
Szechi Critical of Charles’s tactics and leadership throughout the rising.

Pitock Downplays the likelihood of France committing to an invasion: “Charles himself was an embarrassment to France, who wished to downplay his importance to some of its allies.”

Devine Emphasises the lack of support for Charles’s cause rather than the specific events at Culloden: “Scottish backing during the rising was remarkably thin on the ground long before the crushing defeat of Culloden; it was this together with the virtual disappearance of support in England rather than force of arms in itself which ultimately ended the last hopes of restoration.”
question 32 Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of social change in the Highlands in the late 18th century.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Samuel Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A famous literary figure of the 18th century, publishing poetry, essays, and most famously, <em>The Dictionary of the English Language</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His book was written in the company of the famous biographer James Boswell, and described their tour of the western Highlands, Hebrides and the lowlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td><em>Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One of the most detailed descriptions of Highland life in the late 18th century – recognised as a monument of English literature and Highland history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Englishman, Johnson’s motivation was to observe the traditions and lives of the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Produced at the time, so likely to be reliable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Chiefs have turned their thoughts to the improvements of their finances and expect more rent.”</td>
<td>Conflict between the chiefs’ need to increase their revenue and consequent increase in rent.</td>
<td><em>Duthchas</em> – the traditional role of the clan chief to provide protection and land to his people was, at its essence, a principle of heart and mind. Traditional clan land management prioritised accessible landholding rather than the maximisation of agricultural production for a market economy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“The tenant ...refuses to pay the demand, and is ejected.”
The Highlander’s inability to pay increased rent and eviction.
Increasing consumerism amongst chiefs, including the purchase of second homes, furniture and clothing grew in parallel with unprecedented rent increases — Glengarry rentals increased 472% between 1768 and 1802.

“The land is then let to a stranger, not of the clan.”
The decline in clanship as commercial tenants replace clan members, and as clan chiefs become landlords.
A new commercial tenant emerged. Usually Lowland or English, they had little ethnic or hereditary link to the clan chief.

“The willingness to seek another country is clear ... numbers which have already gone are very great.”
Describes the consequential emigration of the Highlanders in significant numbers.
The competitive allocation of land to the highest bidder was a major causal factor in the emigration of Highlanders in unprecedented numbers.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- The decline in clan values was a long-term trend preceding the beginning of the 18th century. However, by the 1770s there was an acceleration in the rate of social change.
- Commercial forces pressurised the social contract of clanship as southern markets grew for Highland products such as cattle and timber.
- Increasing absenteeism of clan elites who established second homes in London or Edinburgh was symptomatic of societal change in the Highlands.
- Significant emigration from the Highlands began in the 1730s, primarily from Argyll and Sutherland.
- Some Highlanders were forcibly evicted, others were compelled by financial necessity, while some simply chose to leave.
- Although recent historiography has placed less emphasis on the impact of Culloden and government legislation on the decline in clanship, government intervention reinforced the long-term decline in Gaeldom.
- Societal change also included the demise of the traditional township (baile), the disappearance of the tacksmen, the migration to coastal land and the widespread introduction of commercial sheep farming.

Historians Perspective on the issue
- Cameron Confirms the acceleration of clearance in the 1780s and underlines the importance of both the introduction of sheep and the demand for men for military service during the American War of Independence.
- Devine Emphasises the role of a massive increase in demand for Highland produce which led to the destruction of traditional Highland society.
- Macquarrie The demise of clanship was caused by “commercial productivity and profitability replacing kinship as the means to organise relations between Highland elites and their clansmen.”
SECTION 5 — USA: “A House Divided”, 1850-1865

Question 33  To what extent was the Kansas-Nebraska Act the most significant reason for the emergence of the Republican Party by 1856?

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

Factor 1 The Kansas-Nebraska Act
- Awakened the spectre of the slave power.
- Prompted a coalition of anti-slavery groups, eg Anti-Nebraska Party, the People’s Party and Republicans.
- Stephen Douglas’ repeal of the Missouri Compromise caused outrage in the North.
- The competition for control of Kansas sparked a race between pro-slave and free-soil settlers giving a focal point for the Northern political voice.
- Lecompton versus Topeka state legislatures in Kansas.
- “Bleeding Kansas”.

Factor 2 Southern political power, anti-slavery sentiment and Slave Power Conspiracy
- Many Northern Democrat voters sought a new political party as the Democrats were dominated by Southern opinion.
- Democrat control of the Presidency for nearly 50 years.
- Five out of seven Supreme Court judges were from Southern states.
- The Democrats appeared to be committed to advancing the cause of slavery; hence the Slave Power Conspiracy theory which dominated Northern thinking.
- “Bleeding Sumner”.
- Northerners opposed slavery’s extension into the territories.
- Republicans viewed slavery as restricting the South’s economic growth.
- The Republicans were one of a number of anti-slavery coalitions in the North.

Factor 3 Nativism
- Mass immigration from Europe to Northern cities.
- Rise of the “American Party” or Know Nothings.
- Strong link between the hierarchy of the Democratic Party and the Catholic Church.
- Most Catholics voted Democrat.
- Religious and political opposition to immigration but — critically — social and economic motivations also.
- However, not all Republicans held Nativist views. Lincoln famously stated his opposition to the Know Nothings in 1855.
Perhaps a degree of inevitability that the Know Nothings would be dominated by a Northern coalition movement.

**Factor 4 Collapse of the Whigs**
- The rise of new political movements in the North won mass support in 1854 elections — Whigs ceased to be a main political force.
- The Democrats seriously lost out in 1854 elections.
- Division of Whigs into sections following Kansas Nebraska Act.
- Issues of temperance, anti-immigration, anti-Catholicism fatally divided Whigs.

**Factor 4 Northern economic policies**
- The protective tariff.
- Concept of “free labour”.
- Government aid for internal improvements and the desire for a homestead law.
- Multi-faceted appeal of the Republicans — a rainbow coalition of Northern ideals.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**McPherson** Republican Party developed a free-labour rationale for their vision of capitalist development. Counter Southern attacks upon system of wages and division of labour. Republican support came from upwardly mobile Protestants and farmers operating within the national market.

**Tulloch** Birth of Republican Party in aftermath of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. Republicans attracted those opposed to Southern determination to maintain slavery.

**Farmer** Given its ideas, it was believed the Republican Party could never be more than a Northern sectional party — rescued by events in Kansas.

**Reid** Political evangelicalism permeated the developing Republican Party. Sectional issue crucial to Republican philosophy.
Question 34  “The role of the Western theatre in the Civil War has been underestimated.”

How valid is this view?

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

Factor 1 Western Theatre
Aspect 1 The key to military strategy
- Potential for Union victory in the West was great due to its sheer size, its lack of natural defence lines and rivers flowing into the heart of the Confederacy.
- Grant’s successes in February 1862 opened up the South’s “soft underbelly”.
- Battle of Shiloh prevented the Confederacy regaining the initiative in the West.
- The capture of Vicksburg opened up the Mississippi to Union shipping and split the Confederacy in two.
- Key Union military victories dealt severe blows to Confederate morale. eg Battle of Murfreesboro forcing Bragg’s army into retreat, Battles of Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge forcing Confederate forces to retreat into Georgia in disarray.
- The experiences on the battlefield in the Western Theatre would be critical for generals such as Grant and Halleck when they came to fight in the East.
- Union successes in the West ultimately opened up the route for Sherman’s march on Atlanta in summer 1864.

Aspect 2 Difficulties for Union strategy in the West
- Key problems organising its Western forces.
- Problems of command and control.
- Difficulties in communication and therefore coordinating a strategy.
- Union had to police areas conquered, therefore tying up men that could have been used to fight elsewhere.
- Difficulties in guarding an extremely long supply line.

Factor 2 Virginian/Eastern Theatre
Aspect 1 Military strategy
- “Forward to Richmond” from Northern press encouraging victory by capturing the Confederate capital.
- This is where the most decisive battles took place!
- Grant versus Lee.
- Army of Potomac versus Army of Northern Virginia.
- The Naval Blockade restricted trade and supplies entering and leaving...
the Confederacy. The “Anaconda Plan” was critical to eventual Union victory, allowing the Union land forces to enforce its superior “manpower and resources”.

**Aspect 2** Difficulties for the Union in the Virginian Theatre

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

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Tulloch** Grant realised the importance of grasping the details of ammunition, supplies and transport. Whilst victory in the West was a necessary prerequisite for Northern victory, it did not guarantee it *per se*.

**Liddell Hart** Sherman understood the concept of deep strategic penetration.

**Jones** Critical of Lee for depriving West of men and reinforcements. Union had to rely on supplies brought by river and rail to supplement what they could find in the area.

**Parish** After February 1862, the South lost much of its confidence in its ability to defend its western front.
To what extent have criticisms of Jefferson Davis as a wartime leader been exaggerated?

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

Factor 1 Criticisms exaggerated

Aspect 1 Political leadership
- Davis established the Confederacy and put a decent political team in position from nothing in 1860.
- He made difficult and bold decisions, eg imposing martial law on areas threatened by Union invasion or higher taxation on land, cotton and slaves.
- Davis was dedicated to the Southern cause and worked hard to establish a sense of Confederate nationalism.

Aspect 2 Military leadership
- The Confederacy did fight for four years under his leadership.
- Davis gave key military commanders freedom and trust.
- Lee held Davis in high regard.
- Davis was poorly advised by many Confederate generals, eg Lee could have advised Davis to change the Confederate capital.

Aspect 3 Personality and personal experiences
- Davis had a respected military and administrative background, proving himself as a Mexican war hero and in the US Senate as War Secretary.
- Davis had a realistic view of the war’s length.
- Davis struggled to control state governors which cost him and the Confederate cause dearly, eg Vance and Brown.

Factor 2 Criticisms justified

Aspect 1 Political leadership
- Davis struggled to manage competing factions within the Confederate government.
- Davis was criticised by his own war department staff for his lack of knowledge and interference. Vice-President Stephens called Davis “My poor blind and deaf dog”.
- Disastrous Confederate economy.
- Davis left foreign policy to others in his government. He failed to ensure a proactive diplomatic effort; rather, expecting events during the Civil War to achieve his diplomatic aims. He also relied too heavily on the importance of cotton in achieving his diplomatic aims.

Aspect 2 Military leadership
- Beauregard and Johnston both blamed Davis for military failure.
• Davis did not deal effectively with the problems facing the Confederacy which resulted from the length of the war. eg morale and food shortages.

Aspect 3 Personal characteristics
• Davis did not clearly define and express his war aims for the Confederacy.
• Davis struggled to establish good working relations with many of his political colleagues. His personality seems to have made him more enemies than friends. Constant feuds in his government undermined the Confederate war effort, eg during the war he appointed four Secretaries of State and six Secretaries of War.
• Davis had poor judgement and ability to appoint effectively, both politically and militarily.
• He was well known for his indecision.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Potter If the Union and the Confederacy had exchanged presidents with one another, the Confederacy might have won its independence.

Gallagher Davis did do well, just an absence of capable subordinates.

Vandiver Many failings but Davis did have “nerve”.

Eaton At many points during the Civil War it could be argued that it was impossible for Davis and the Confederacy to achieve victory in the Civil War.
Question 36

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

Aim of the question

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

Factor 1 Military factors

Aspect 1 Military difficulties

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

Aspect 2 Military successes

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

Factor 2 Domestic factors

Aspect 1 Northern domestic problems

- Fear: Jubal Early had appeared on outskirts of Washington.
- Social: growing dissatisfaction with legal and press restrictions.
- Ethnic: attracted by opportunities more immigrants arrived in the North which fuelled further tension.

Aspect 2 Northern domestic issues in favour of Lincoln:

- Lincoln had the support of the soldiers. The War Department allowed whole regiments to return home to vote. Most states allowed soldiers the opportunity to vote in the field. 78% of soldiers voted for Lincoln.
Factor 3 Political factors
Aspect 1 Political difficulties for Lincoln
- Lincoln: support for Grant, military failures and casualties meant he was very unpopular. Lincoln thought he might not gain the Republican nomination to stand in November Presidential election.
- Fremont created his own party, the Radical Democracy, which threatened to split the Republican vote.
- September 1864: election fitted in with Mobile victory, fall of Atlanta and Sheridan success.
- Reconstruction policy: radical Republicans and 10% plan/Wade-Davis.

Aspect 2 Political advantages for Lincoln
- Democrats chose McClellan as their candidate but could not agree on a platform for election being divided by peace and continuation of the war.
- Democrat campaign lacked serious political challenge, resorting to calling Lincoln a “negro lover”.
- Lincoln did have the support of the Republican Party and the Republican voters on the whole. Chase and Fremont, the challengers for nomination, failed to mount any serious challenge.
- Renaming the Republican Party, the National Union or Union League enhanced the potential for re-election as it presented a united front.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Reid Mitchell Failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pro-war party defeat.
Archer Jones Grant’s campaign was a political liability for Lincoln.
McPherson States that domestic gloom in May was changing to optimism and further suggests a greater chance of elections in November rather than August.
Glatthaar Northern regiments rarely filled by 1864.
Question 37
How justified is the view that the Civil War’s greatest impact was on women in the South?

Aim of the question
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. Candidates may choose to consider the impact of the Civil War on women in both the South and the North, but they may compare the war’s impact on Southern women with any other relevant group. They should reach a conclusion on the extent of the war’s impact on Southern women, relative to other relevant group(s).

Factor 1 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.

Factor 2 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.

Factor 3 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.

Historians Perspective on the issue
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.

Reid 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.

Mitchell Believed the Civil War compelled women to become more active, self-reliant and resourceful.

Massey 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.
Question 38

Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the debate over slave conditions in antebellum Southern society.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>George Fitzhugh, a Virginian lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginian lawyer who would be representative of views in his own state and in the defence of slavery. Leading pro-slavery intellect and representative of Southern plantation owners’ views in the 1850s. Fitzhugh published three books, all attacking Northern capitalism and defending Southern slavery. He worked in the Treasury Department of the Confederacy from 1862. His infamous work “Cannibals All” was published at the same time as the Dred Scott decision which added to the outrage in the North.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>From his book “The Blessings of Slavery”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To defend the institution of slavery and bolsters Southern arguments for the retention of slavery at a time of constitutional uncertainty over the future of slavery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Book published in 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Published at the time of increasing tension over extension of slavery, eg Dred Scott 1857.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Quote from Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slaves are freest and happiest in the world with free workers working longer and harder than slaves</td>
<td>Arguing that slaves did not work harder than many other Americans.</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine-hour working day for male slaves</td>
<td>Giving an example to support the assertion that slaves were well treated, relative to other workers.</td>
<td>Fogel and Engerman support these statements in their influential work but this was not always the case, as slave testaments suggest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They have their Sabbaths and holidays. | Regular days off from work: Sundays and holidays. | The importance of religion in the South led to days off, particularly Sundays. However this was always at the discretion of the slave-owner and varied across the South and from plantation to plantation.

The negro children, the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessaries of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care or labor. | Children, elderly and infirm do not work and are provided for by the slave-owner. | Evidence of healthcare for slaves in some Southern plantations.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of 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 approximately four 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.

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 units could be broken through sale. Up to 25% of slave family units were 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 for escapees.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Phillis Apologist for slavery. He argued that slavery protected Blacks from African savagery. Treatment of slaves was 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 Argues that 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.

Page ninety-two
Elkins Takes the view that slaves were dependent on the mood of an authoritarian master.

Fogel and Engerman Take the view that 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.
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For 25 years this agitation (against slavery) has been steadily increasing.</td>
<td>Agitation against slavery has increased so much that it has gained the support of the government.</td>
<td>Perceived Northern aggression against slavery and the rise of the abolitionist movement from 1835 and the abolition of slavery by the Mexican government in Texas, prompting the outbreak of the Mexican War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the states north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery.</td>
<td>The Republicans (a sectional party) elected on a Northern vote have introduced policy to end the expansion of slavery.</td>
<td>Republicans formed in 1854; anti-slavery movement purely with a Northern support base. The Republicans controlled the House and Senate in 1858.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common government, because he has declared that “Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free”, and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.</td>
<td>Lincoln elected as President, whose anti-slavery views were well-known across the South.</td>
<td>Lincoln elected President in 1860. His views were clear and well-known across the South following the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has been announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.</td>
<td>Republicans believe that war should be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.</td>
<td>Prevention of slavery in the territories, Topeka government and Lincoln’s views.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Therein lies the irrepressible conflict; the eternal struggle between the agrarian South and the industrial North to control the government. The Civil War was not about slavery but about economics, ie industry versus agriculture. North and South divided into two sections — contrasting in many ways, eg industry vs agriculture, free labour vs slave labour, interventionist government vs limited government.

But equilibrium was impossible under expansion and growth. Equality impossible; territorial expansion was a key source of tension. Territorial expansion the key to tension, eg Texas, Mexican War, California, Kansas, Nebraska — should these new territories be free or slave?

One section would at one time or another become dominant and control the national government. Each side battled for control of government. Control of government meant representation for the controlling section and the dominance of their ideology, eg tariff in the North meant potentially lower profits in the South therefore the economy of the South would be threatened.

Their political philosophies growing out of their economic and social systems were impossible to reconcile. The different structures (agrarian and industrial) led to different political philosophies, but it was the different economic structures which were the key cause of this. Slavery was arguably at the heart of the economic and social differences.

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

Charles and Mary Beard Have argued that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.

Brian Holden Reid Takes the view that the Southern people were hated by the Northerners. The Southern approach was defensive and many saw secession as an alternative to war.

Nevins The moral issues associated with slavery were the catalyst for civil war.

Stampp Takes the view that slavery was the prime cause of the Civil War.
Question 40  How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation?

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>The Emancipation Proclamation... encouraged slaves in the Confederate states to flee their masters. The heightened possibility of slave insurrection distracted Confederate officials.</td>
<td>Encouraged slave insurrection in the Confederacy and slaves to escape, thus undermining the Confederate war effort.</td>
<td>Lincoln argued that “freedom has given us the control of 200,000 able-bodied men, born and raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much has it subtracted from the strength of our enemies”. Indeed, there were 179,000 Blacks in the Union armies at the end of the war, most of whom were former slaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The heightened possibility of slave insurrection distracted Confederate officials and lowered morale in the rebel armies.</td>
<td>Lowered the morale of Confederate forces.</td>
<td>Britain could not be seen to recognise a nation that supported slavery, despite the benefits the Confederacy brought to Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once Lincoln publicly defined the war as a conflict between freedom and slavery, any chance of European aid to the Confederacy vanished.</td>
<td>Ended the potential European recognition of the Confederacy and therefore European support.</td>
<td>The Emancipation Proclamation had no effect on slavery in Union slave states. September 1862 — no slave had been liberated. The British Prime Minister Palmerston was critical, as was the world’s media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>However, by emancipating the Confederacy’s slaves as a war measure — and not as an act of justice towards the Negro — Lincoln subordinated the ideal of freedom to the preservation of the Union.</td>
<td>As a war aim rather than a moral decision, Lincoln undermined the notion of liberty in his decision.</td>
<td>Lincoln barely mentioned the Emancipation Proclamation in his annual address to Congress in December 1862 — many questioned this.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Lincoln did turn the war into a revolution with the Emancipation Proclamation.
- Emancipation boosted Northern morale, adding a humanitarian ideal as well as a preservation of the Union to the war effort.
- Lincoln was now assured of the support of radical Republicans in Congress.
- The Emancipation Proclamation destroyed the Northern pro-war coalition. Conservative Republicans withdrew their support for a period. War Democrats did not approve.
• The Emancipation Proclamation only freed slaves in select geographical areas. Emancipation depended on the advance of Union armies. Freedom did not reach many Blacks until well after the end of the war.
• Kentuckians resisted the Proclamation fiercely, even keeping 65,000 slaves captive while challenging the decision legally.
• Lincoln described the Emancipation Proclamation as “an act of justice” as well as “military necessity”.
• The Proclamation meant that the Confederacy could no longer look for a peace settlement if it insisted on retaining slavery.
• The Black recruitment came at a critical point in the war as Whites were less willing to volunteer and, in 1864 when 100,000 Whites did not re-enlist, the 125,000 Black were essential to the end of the war.
• An eighth of Union troops around Petersburg were Black. This was critical to the strategy of “Total War”.
• The Emancipation Proclamation required Republicans to pass a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery as the Proclamation lacked the necessary force in legal terms.
• In the 1862 elections, the Republicans lost control of five states and 35 congressional seats.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Randall and Donald
Take the view that the war took a new turn as a result of the Proclamation.

Rawley
Takes the view that the Emancipation Proclamation widened the war’s purpose.

Quarles
Takes the view that Blacks entered at time of real shortage, swung war in favour of Union.

McPherson
Takes the view that the Proclamation was more important than Congressional Acts, Black enlistment one of the most important acts of the war. The turning point theory; victories of 1864/5 unachievable without Blacks.
SECTION 6 — Japan: the Modernisation of a Nation

Question 41 How far was the elimination of the Shoguns between 1868 and 1869 the decisive step toward achieving a centralised state?

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

Factor 1 Validity of the view that Japan prior to 1868 was a decentralised state
- Details about the decentralised system of government prior to 1868.
- Reform was essential because the Tokugawa only had direct control over 25% of the country.
- Introduced a decentralised form of government through the division of Japan into Han, and the careful positioning of Daimyo.
- Control structures such as the caste structure and orthodoxy associated with Neo-Confucianism used to underpin decentralised system.
- System based upon loyalty and trust — although this was waning by mid-19th century.
- Tempo Reforms highlighted the weakness of the decentralised form of government.
- Japanese people were also divided by differences in dialect and their strong ties to their village and neighbourhoods, where often their families had lived for centuries.

Factor 2 Factors which highlight the progress towards a more centralised state after 1868
- 1869: beginnings of abolition of caste structure, which allowed for all peoples to be answerable to the emperor and his representatives, as opposed to the next social grouping above them in the caste structure.
- 1871: abolition of the Daimyo’s domains and their replacement by prefectures. This effectively all came under the control of the emperor (and eventually the new government), and allowed the new Meiji regime to implement centralised policies and reforms. They were also able to collect taxes directly from all parts of Japan — something the Tokugawa had not been able to do.
- Generally, Daimyo accepted posts as governors of their former domains and their retirement was on comfortable pensions.
- Barely 1% of the population were able to vote — so, although
centralised, active participation was not encouraged.

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

**Factor 3 Limitation of centralisation process**

- Politically, Meiji were successful at establishing a centralised state.
- However, there was not a dramatic transformation in the lives of the majority within Japan, the peasants, and they often continued to identify largely with their local village.
- Within the new constitution there was a separation of powers between the monarchy, the Privy Council, the legislature of the House of Peers and House of Representatives.
- Military chief of staff answerable only to the emperor, not the main centralised political institutions.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Hunter**

Argues that the Meiji Constitution did not create a unified nation under an absolute emperor, nor a parliamentary democracy, but a series of major groupings, each of which could utilise the imperial position to impose its policies on the rest of the population. Believes that the acts of political centralisation carried out after 1868 were aimed at building a united nation capable of withstanding the western threat. For that purpose it was imperative that the fragmentation and divisions of the Bakufu era be replaced by a substantive unity, at least in the face presented to the outside world.

**Buruma**

Challenges the idea that any sense of national unity came from political reform. National unity was armed unity. National education was military education. The samurai virtues were now applied nationally. Loyalty and obedience to the emperor, who was paraded around the country in military uniform, was the highest form of patriotism.

**Hane**

Cites that the new political leaders were confronted with formidable tasks. They had to end Tokugawa feudal order and establish a tightly controlled centralised government.
Factor 1 Success of the changes

Aspect 1 Success at lifting literacy rates and creating an educated workforce

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

Aspect 2 Success at promoting nationalism

- Imperial Rescript of Education — 30th October 1890 — and its role in directing schools to place more emphasis on moral education, developing a sense of nationalism and loyalty to their emperor.
- Education was a primary agent in the cultural revolution.
- The divine position of the emperor is very much exploited within the Imperial Rescript to enforce a compliant attitude and unquestioning sense of responsibility towards the Japanese state.
- Japanese people defined as subjects of an absolute monarch rather than citizens in a democratic state.
- Neo-Confucianist notions of loyalty and filial piety obvious in the Rescript.
Factor 2  Limitations of the changes
Aspect 1  Success at lifting literacy rates and creating an educated workforce
  • The impact of the educational reforms was somewhat limited until the abolition of school fees in 1899. Took until 1909 for 100% of boys and girls to attend primary school.
  • Educational reforms very much focused on the education of boys. Girls did not have access to education beyond the compulsory four years until 1899, when at least one girls’ high school was set up within each prefecture.
  • Universities remained accessible only to males.

Aspect 2  Success at promoting nationalism
  • Concern that early education reforms were becoming too westernised by the 1890s.
  • Education reforms reflect the division that existed within Japanese society towards excessive westernisation — and the hybrid nature of the reform process — and caused division at times.
  • Education reforms led to the assassination of Arinori — dividing rather than uniting opinion.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Storry  Contends that “the progress of education moulded the people into a nation of patriots...The government needed literate soldiers, factory workers, business employees and government employees to achieve its goal of enriching the nation and challenging the Unequal Treaties”.

Beasley  Argues “the Rescript was condemning the indiscriminate emulation of western ways”.

Hunter  Believes “the prime objective of the (education) structure was the needs of the state and its main goals were the provision of skills and patriotic morality among the many to produce a literate and pliable workforce”.

Benson and Matsumara  Summarises “education, it is said, has been the chief tool in shaping national identity”.

Page one hundred two
“Recent historians have drawn attention to the indispensable part played by the Zaibatsu in Japan’s economic advance.”

How valid is this view?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the undoubtedly important role that the huge vertical monopolies, the Zaibatsu, played in industrial development. It would then be relevant to go on to discuss the other factors which aided the initial establishment of these factories, such as government support, the role of the West, the role of women and the economic foundations of the Tokugawa. The candidate will then reach a conclusion on the role played by the Zaibatsu in Japan’s economic advance.

Factor 1 Role of Zaibatsu
• Government favouritism resulted in the development of huge monopolistic concerns.
• From the 1880s onwards, Zaibatsu began to dominate manufacturing and commercial activities.
• Most had their own bank.
• Some concentrated on certain fields; others embraced a range of activities.
• By the early 20th century, control was becoming a problem.
• These huge conglomerates were led by four giants - Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda.
• The Mitsubishi conglomerate controlled 25% of shipping and shipbuilding, 15% of coal and metals, 16% of bank loans, 50% of flour milling, 59% of sheet glass, 35% of sugar and 15% of cotton textiles.
• Developed networks of foreign contacts and gathered information in order to sell and purchase a wide variety of goods abroad.
• They became influential in politics — so powerful that they could not be ignored.

Factor 2 Foundations pre-1868
• Highly developed agriculture with inter-regional trade.
• Good communication infrastructure to build upon.
• Japan had an abundance of well-educated and loyal human labour.
• Growth of commercial activities around castle towns.
• Growing influence of merchants — blurring of caste divisions.
• Movement away from rice-based to money-based economy already occurring.
• Contact with the Dutch.

Factor 3 Role of Westerners and international environment
• The effects of the Unequal Treaties in promoting industrial development — Japan’s desire to be accepted as an equal.
• Iwakura Mission.
• The international environment led to Japan expanding and adopting new industrial technologies, which helped her catch up.
• Cultural borrowing like shipbuilding, iron and steel mills, banking and commerce, textiles (positive impact of silkworm disease in Europe).
• Use of Yatoi.
Factor 4  Role of state
- Role of state in process and policies they implemented — built model factories such as Tomioka silk-reeling mill.
- Careful control of Yatoi — dismissed once their knowledge was disseminated.
- Military reform and connection with industrial expansion.
- Government had limited reliance on foreign loans. They took firm control over expenditure — partial funding of large-scale private enterprises and support for Zaibatsu.
- Their improvements in infrastructure.

Factor 5  Role of women
- Freed up by the abolition of the caste structure, women became the dominant workforce within the textile industry.
- Throughout this period, women consistently formed the majority of the workforce within Japanese factories.
- Often paid a high price for this in terms of their working conditions and the physical and emotional impact.
- Women were often sold into contracts with factories by their parents, and lived in dorms attached to the factories.
- Yet at the same time, the accepted view of women was still to be “good wives and wise mothers”.
- Often when women married, they left the factories.
- Small numbers of women went from textile workers and domestic service to become typists, telephone operators and store assistants.
- Took until 1911 to limit their working day to 12 hours.
- Women continued to play a vital role in agriculture, which throughout the Meiji period still remained Japan’s most important commercial activity. They were the dominant workforce in the paddy fields.

Factor 6  Role of WW1
- Gained a foothold in Asian market — merchant shipping doubled.
- Ending of imports from the West forced development, especially in the chemical industry.
- Japan reversed balance of payments deficit during the war years.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Reischauer  Suggests “The great wealth and broad base of the combines (Zaibatsu) enabled them to finance promising new fields in the economy and thus increase their share in its fast-growing industrial sector”.

Macpherson  Suggests that the role of the government was crucial.

Hiromatso  Takes the view that the foundations of Japan’s modernisation were to a large extent laid during the years of peaceful isolation.

Hane  Highlights the importance of the textile industry — within which women formed the dominant workforce. The industry that developed rapidly from the early Meiji years and remained a key component of the economy was textile manufacture ... by 1904 it had become the world’s largest producer, with a 31% share. Argues that modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation.
**Factor 1 Military reform**
- Military and naval reforms that took place were moulded from the French then German for the army and Britain for the navy.
- The introduction of conscription in 1873 — three-year service for 20-year-old men, followed by four years subsequent service in the army reserve with exemption from conscription being very limited.
- Schools of artillery and engineering trained officers in the technology of modern warfare. Reform of public finances made it feasible to increase spending on the armed forces. One third of government revenue was devoted to developing a modern army and navy.
- Army was made almost an autonomous entity — being answerable only to the emperor. Military leaders wielded significant political power because they were members of the ruling oligarchy.

**Factor 2 Success in the Formosa Incident leading to a power shift in favour of Japan**
- The process leading to eventual defeat was a gradual one, which began with the Formosa Incident. In September 1871, Japan concluded a commercial treaty with China establishing equal trading rights, low tariffs and consular jurisdiction to operate in both countries.
- However, tension mounted over the Ryukyu Islands and events served to illustrate the shifting balance of power away from Japan to China.
- From 1871, Japanese governments made moves aimed at incorporating the islands into their national administrative framework.
- This was strongly contested by China, who claimed ownership. Late in 1871, 54 Ryukyuan fishermen were shipwrecked on Formosa (Taiwan).
- They were killed by Formosan aborigines. The Japanese government claimed them as nationals and demanded compensation from China. China refused. Japan sent an expedition to the Ryukyu Islands (to assert their ownership).
- In May 1874, a further 3,500 Japanese troops landed in Formosa. In October, after negotiations, Japanese troops withdrew. China paid the indemnity. Japan’s receipt of compensation and China’s failure to condemn the Japanese action signified in western international law that the Ryukyuans were Japanese citizens. The islands including Formosa were formally conceded in 1879. This incident demonstrated the weakness of China and growing strength of Japan.
Factor 3 Military and strategic events during the war which contributed to Japanese victory

- Japan was to formally replace China as the leading Asian nation through military defeat. War was centred over Korea.
- During the early decades of the Meiji, China maintained a strong influence in Korea.
- July 1882: anti-Japanese riots in Seoul (Korea) which forced Japanese to flee.
- Troops were sent to Korea from both Japan and China — which marked direct Japanese intervention in the internal affairs of Korea.
- Negotiations aimed at settling the problem resulted in the April 1885 Treaty of Tianjin.
- Japan and China agreed to withdraw their troops. In 1894, Chinese troops were sent to Korea in response to the king’s request for help against a domestic rebellion.
- Acting under the terms of the 1885 Treaty, Japan also sent troops. Both parties refused to withdraw.
- In July 1894, Japan sunk a British ship chartered to carry Chinese reinforcements.
- Fighting escalated. By the end of 1894, Japanese troops had driven Chinese troops from Korean soil. They were advancing through Manchuria, threatening Tianjin and Beijing.
- By 1895 the Chinese navy had been virtually annihilated.
- Japan agreed to a request for peace conference.
- The Treaty was signed on 17 April and the terms of the Treaty included Japanese possession of Formosa, Pescadores Islands and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.
- The opening by China of four more treaty ports.
- Payment of a sizeable indemnity. A separate Treaty of Commerce and Navigation awarded Japan the most favoured nation treatment in China — all of which highlighted the extent to which Japan now dominated China.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Hunter Argues that “As Japan’s strength grew, so did her ambitions on the Asian mainland and her ability to advance them”.

Harris Suggests that extending Japanese power and influence on the continent of Asia was part of a larger vision.

Beasley Contends that Japanese leaders of almost all shades and opinion wanted to draw Korea into the Japanese orbit.

Henshall Highlights that Japan proved superior both on land and sea, but the most decisive element was its superiority in naval tactics, which were modelled on the British.
Question 45

How significant was the impact of the First World War on Japan?

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the impact of the First World War upon Japan, considering factors such as territorial expansion, economic impact and international perceptions. The candidate should reach a conclusion regarding the impact of the First World War on Japan, with reference to relevant factors.

Factors which may suggest that the First World War did have an impact upon Japan

Factor 1  Territory

• 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.

Factor 2  Economically

• From 1915, Japanese industry underwent considerable expansion because it was able to capture markets from European powers actively involved in the war, eg the Indian markets for textiles 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 five 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.
• 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 2,996 by 1920.

Factor 3  International perceptions

• 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.

Factors which may suggest the impact of the First World War was limited

• 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; 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.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Pyle** Contends that “the outbreak of WW1 in Europe in the summer of 1914 provided extraordinary opportunities to advance the twin objectives 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 that 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”.
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“For 250 years during the strict, stable rule of the Tokugawa shoguns”</td>
<td>Argues that Japanese society was one of stability and strict rule.</td>
<td>The Tokugawa Shoguns had implemented a strict caste structure after they secured control in 1603, which dictated everyone’s place in society and, in theory, prevented any mobility between castes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Japanese continued to live and work in structures as predictable and carefully defined as their social rank”</td>
<td>Identifies some of the key members of Japanese society — the Samurai, the peasant, the craftsmen and the merchant.</td>
<td>The Samurai and peasants were two of the important castes; the former were individual warriors tied to a Daimyo who were responsible for maintaining law and order; the latter were responsible for producing Japan’s staple food source and form of currency — rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Manufacturing consisted mainly of weaving, pottery and metalwork, performed skilfully”</td>
<td>Describes the foundations of industrial development that existed in 1850 — weaving, pottery, metalwork.</td>
<td>Tokugawa society did see the foundations put down for industrial development, with some peasants diversifying into commercial activities, and merchants (in theory a very low caste) assuming greater power and control by 1850.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“People and their freight travelled by small sailing ships between coastal towns, or moved by palanquin, packhorse, or foot along the traditional highways”</td>
<td>Traditional methods of transport were still being used.</td>
<td>Although the physical infrastructure was developing as a result of Alternate Attendance, traditional methods of transport powered by humans or water were largely used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

Historians Perspective on the issue

Waswo States that conditions in Japan most closely resembled those of high feudalism in Europe.

Hane Argues that, to ensure political control and social stability, the Tokugawa Bakufu set out to fix a rigid class system.

Hunter States that a rigid hierarchy of hereditary caste continued to prevail both in theory and, to a large extent, in practice.

Storry Highlights the blurring of caste divisions that were occurring by the mid-19th century: “The whole regime had been under indirect attack for many quarters inside Japan long before 1850”.

Page one hundred ten
Question 47: Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the role played by foreign forces in the downfall of the Tokugawa in 1868.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Iwakura Tomomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is a correspondence between two leading members of the new Meiji regime, Iwakura was so important that he went on to lead the Iwakura Mission to the West to try and deal with the issue of the threat from the West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Memo to Sanjo Sanetomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose was to highlight the inadequacies of the Tokugawa regime, written from the perspective of one of the individuals involved in toppling that regime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Written within 12 months of the collapse of the Tokugawa regime and within the context of a civil war between Tokugawa and Meiji supporters.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“It was not addressed whether this was good for the country or bad.”</td>
<td>The failure of the Tokugawa to consider if foreign relations were really good for the country.</td>
<td>The arrival of Commodore Perry carrying his letter from President Fillmore did throw the Tokugawa Bakufu into turmoil. It highlighted their breakdown in control and their great sense of inertia in making a decision. They approached the Imperial Court for the advice (in itself a highly significant move), and then completed disregarded the view of the Emperor. Such disregard for the Emperor’s view served to increase popularity for movements like the Sonno-Joi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“fear of the foreign threat”, “foreign troops have landed in our ports”.</td>
<td>The foreign threat instilled fear in the Tokugawa.</td>
<td>The lack of a standing army made it very difficult for the Tokugawa to withstand the pressure of the West, especially considering that Perry arrived with considerable force and a large proportion of the US navy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“revising the unfair trade treaties”. The trade treaties were viewed as unfair and in need of revision. The Treaties brought with them a profound sense of shame upon the proud Japanese, who had long tried to isolate themselves and heavily control any relations with the west and believed that they were superior to them. The Tokugawa were help responsible for this and seen to have lost their mandate to rule in the name of the Emperor.

“our country’s greatest shame”. The signing of the Unequal Treaties brought profound humiliation to the proud Japanese. The Tokugawa’s association with the shameful Unequal Treaties did result in increasing discontent towards them.

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

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

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

- **Wall** Contends that the arrival of Perry in July 1853 brought the whole complicated debate to a head.
- **Storry** Argues that “The Tokugawa system might have continued essentially unchanged had it not been for the forcible opening of the closed door”.
- **Huber** Argues that it was Perry’s arrival which finally made it possible for serious reformers in Choshu and elsewhere to convert their theoretical understanding into an urgent demand for change.
- **H. Bolitho** Highlights that “in the country the authority of the Shogun and Daimyo alike was successfully flouted”.

*Page one hundred twelve*
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“The Emperor is the head of the Empire.”</td>
<td>Emperor is stressed as the head of the empire with all the powers of a sovereign.</td>
<td>The emperor’s position was legally established by the Meiji Constitution, promulgated in 1889, instigated the following year, which declared his inviolability and allowed him theoretical wide-ranging powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The sovereign power...is inherited by the Emperor from his Ancestors.”</td>
<td>Stresses the historic power of the emperor, deeply embedded in Japanese history.</td>
<td>The role of the emperor was pivotal in the new constitution to ensure its rapid and unquestioning acceptance, and this document would therefore stress his importance. Constitution stressed that the emperor was a living god, descended from the sun goddess Amaterasu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“All the different legislative as well as executive powers of state...are united in this Most Exalted Personage.”</td>
<td>He has power over all legislative and executive powers of the state, including responsibility for the new constitution.</td>
<td>The emperor had the right to declare war, make peace, conclude treaties and adjourn the Diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“This power shall always be exercised with the consent of the Diet.”</td>
<td>Article V, does state the emperor has to get the consent of the Diet and therefore his powers can in theory be restrained — a contradiction open to exploitation.</td>
<td>Produced by the new Meiji oligarchy in the name of the emperor. Theoretically the emperor did have powers, but did not really exploit them during Meiji and Taisho years. Real decision-making power lay with the Meiji oligarchy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“After his gracious bestowal of the constitution, which marked his debut in his new role”.</td>
<td>The emperor did appear to assume a new role in Japanese politics as it was in his name that the new constitution was promulgated.</td>
<td>The Constitution of 1889 was a gift from the emperor to his people yet it was shaped by Ito Hirobumi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The Emperor’s relation to politics was maintained in public on a strictly ceremonial level.”</td>
<td>Argues powers of emperor were strictly ceremonial, eg the opening of the Diet — he did not actually exercise much direct power himself.</td>
<td>Ceremonial position of emperor reinforced by Imperial Rescript in Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He...met with his ministers...and spoke...in infrequent rescripts that expressed his government’s will.”</td>
<td>He did meet with ministers and his name appeared on political rescripts.</td>
<td>Charter Oath of 1868 proclaimed by the Emperor — yet was really the product of Kido Koin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He did not decide anything by himself’.</td>
<td>Did not decide anything for himself, despite being described as believing in principles of progress.</td>
<td>Authority lay with the clan leaders from Satsuma and Choshu who led the rebellion against the Tokugawa regime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

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

Historians Perspective on the issue:

Jansen “A modernising elite had emerged; the power lay with this oligarchy.”
“Restoration leaders kept the court at the centre of national identity and that emphasis diffused amidst the population as a means of control.”

Storry “The nominal head of the new government in Tokyo was a court noble but the real controllers of power were men from much more junior rank from the western clans”.

Beasley “The Emperor’s importance as a source of legitimacy for the Meiji leadership has never been in doubt”. To the Meiji leaders he was “useful as a symbol and occasionally as a weapon of last resort”.

Wall “At first the new government made a show of being open; soon, however, power was concentrated in the powers of the samurai from the western han.”
SECTION 7 – Germany: from Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918–1939

Question 49

How valid is the view that there was nothing more than a revolutionary situation in Germany in 1918-1919?

Aim of the question

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

Factor 1 A revolutionary situation in 1918-19 but not a revolution

Aspect 1 Prince Max attempted to preserve the old regime as far as possible

• Max von Baden’s October Reforms had changed Germany from a military dictatorship into a parliamentary monarchy.
• The October reforms were not enough to stop popular unrest as expressed in mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, strikes, riots and the setting up of soviets across the country.
• On 9th November, Baden forced the Kaiser to abdicate; a republic was declared and power was handed to Ebert and the Social Democratic Party (SPD).
• On 15 November, industrialists and trade unionists agreed to create a Central Working Association which established the principle of workers’ rights, trade union negotiating rights with binding arbitration on disputes and an eight-hour day. However, the structure of the economy remained unchanged. Capitalism was left intact.
• The judiciary and the civil service remained unreformed.

Aspect 2 Ebert attempted to create a moderate revolution

• Ebert set up a provisional government — the Council of People’s Commissars — made up of three men from the SPD and three from the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD).
• On 10th November, Ebert struck a deal with Groener (the new head of the army) which left the army officer corps intact and the army un-purged in return for army support for the new government. Thus, an opportunity for radical change was missed. The military elite were left in a strong position to undermine the republic.
• In December 1918, the USPD left the government because they felt the revolution was stalling under Ebert’s leadership.
• Ebert’s moderate position was challenged by Spartacists (and other radical socialists) who argued that he was stopping the revolutionary impetus which defeat had set in motion.
• In December 1918, the National Congress of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Councils voted to support Ebert’s preference for elections to a Constituent Assembly, thereby endorsing his moderate position.

Aspect 3 Social revolutionaries attempted a Bolshevik-style revolution
In January 1919, the German Communists attempted to initiate a Bolshevik-style revolution, but this uprising was crushed by the SPD government using the army and the Freikorps. The government’s action permanently alienated the Communists from the SPD.

Factor 2 There was not even a revolutionary situation, but simply widespread, diverse discontent
- Discontent due to war weariness.
- Mutiny of the High Seas Fleet due to futility of risking lives.
- Relatively little support for communism.
- Workers Councils were not particularly revolutionary.
- Fragmented nature of discontent.
- Effects of Spanish flu and food shortages.

Factor 3 The events of 1918-19 were more than just a revolutionary situation and in fact amounted to a full-blown revolution

Aspect 1 Government
- Although Ebert made a deal with the army, this was pragmatic and in no sense meant that Germany was not to be a democracy.
- Likewise, keeping the judges and the top civil servants in post was a practical necessity intended to protect the gains made in the revolution by ensuring that the government of the country could continue to function rather than collapse.

Aspect 2 Economy
- Although the industry had not been taken over by the state on behalf of the people, Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft (ZAG) was a revolutionary change— not least because it meant that for the first time in Germany there was a radical shift of power away from industrialists to trade unions and the workers.

Aspect 3 Constitution
- On 9 November, Germany became a republic. This was a radical change in the country’s political identity, a truly revolutionary change.
- Just as important, the rulers of the German states also disappeared so the new Germany was radically different in form from the Germany of 1914.
- The Constitution of August 1919 embedded the changes Ebert had overseen and, indeed, was itself a revolutionary document because it meant that the republic and the democratic system were now enshrined in law.
Historians Perspective on the issue

William Carr Takes the view that the achievements of the revolution were undoubtedly limited. The structure of Germany was hardly affected by the revolution. The spirit of Imperial Germany lived on in the unreformed civil service, the judiciary and the officer corps. Nor did the powerful industrial barons have much to fear from the revolution.

Ruth Henig Takes the view that the revolution did not result in the wholesale removal of the existing economic or social structures. A Marxist revolution had been prevented and the forces of reaction and strident nationalism made a swift recovery and emerged by 1920 as the most potent enemies of the new republic.

Eberhard Kolb Takes the view that the revolutionary mass movement was essentially a failure, both in its moderate phase and in its second radical phase. One can speak of “a revolution that ran aground, and one with which none of the main political groups wished to be identified. Scarcely anyone in Germany had wanted the revolution to develop and come to stop in the way it did.”

Detlev Peukert Takes the view that Ebert’s decisions from 9 November 1918 to 19 January 1919 signalled that the revolution was to be confined to constitutional and corporatist measures. The existence of a democratic tradition in Germany before the revolution, and the complexity of Germany’s industrial and social structure “meant that any radical break with the past was impossible”.

Page one hundred seventeen
“The Treaty of Versailles lay at the root of the instability faced by the German government between 1919 and 1923.”

How valid is this view?

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

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

Aspect 1 Political
- The Treaty created a deep and widespread resentment that came to be aimed at the republic and the democrats who had accepted it.
- There were strong objections to the territorial and military terms of the Treaty and this lost support for the republic among the traditional elites.
- Clause 231 — the “War Guilt” clause — was regarded by Germans as humiliating.
- By accepting the Treaty — even though it had no choice but to do so — the newly elected democratic government was blamed for Germany’s humiliation.
- The Treaty became a focus for right-wing nationalist opposition to the republic and to democracy.
- Resentment of the Treaty enabled conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Nazis to argue that democracy was un-German and parliamentarianism weak and ineffectual and a foreign imposition.

Aspect 2 Economic
- Germany’s economic crisis in 1923 was also blamed directly on the Treaty, especially the reparations clauses, and therefore on the republic and democracy.
- Reparations were viewed as little more than an attempt to destroy Germany.

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

Aspect 1 Political
- Continuous coalition government from 1919 on, and the fact that voters were not voting for constituency MPs but rather for people on a party list, helped to erode trust between the voters and the Reichstag.

Aspect 2 Economic
- The hyperinflation crisis of 1923 caused widespread anger and frustration with the government. Collapse of confidence in the currency was very damaging for confidence in the democratic system.
Aspect 3  Violence

- Political violence and instability 1919-23, which often had little to do with the Versailles Treaty as such, frightened people and made them uncertain about democracy’s ability to maintain law and order.
- Ebert’s use of the Freikorps to crush the Spartacists in January 1919 created a permanent alienation from democracy among Communists.
- KPD’s attacks on democracy frightened the middle and business classes; they feared democracy would not be able to hold back Communism.

Historians Perspective on the issue

R.J. Evans  Takes the view that Versailles was only one reason for the republic’s weakness. The republic was beset by insurmountable problems of political violence, assassination and irreconcilable conflicts about its right to exist. It was unloved and undefended by its servants in the army and bureaucracy... it had to face enormous economic problems...

M. Collier and P. Pedley  Take the view that hatred of the treaty and the “stab in the back myth” peddled by the anti-republican right undermined support for the republic and the parties who were involved in its creation.

Ruth Henig  Takes the view that Versailles meant that the parties of the moderate left and centre found themselves increasingly on the defensive against nationalists and supporters of the former regime. The Treaty was a significant factor in the recovery of right-wing and anti-democratic political forces from 1919.

Stephen Lee  Takes the view that the Treaty set in motion influences which were to prove more damaging to the republic than the Treaty itself. Its impact was therefore indirect, but real nevertheless.
Question 51

To what extent does Stresemann’s foreign policy show him to be little more than a traditional German nationalist?

Aim of the question

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

Factor 1 Factors which support the view that in his foreign policy Stresemann was a traditional German nationalist

Aspect 1 Fulfilment of Versailles

• In a private letter to Crown Prince Wilhelm (the Kaiser’s son) in September 1925, Stresemann said that the priorities for German foreign policy were to settle the reparations question in Germany’s favour; to protect those Germans living under foreign rule; to readjust Germany’s eastern frontiers.
• In the same letter he said that German policy “must be one of scheming” and that while he could say this in private he had to exercise “the utmost restraint in his public utterances”.
• Stresemann pursued a policy of erfüllungspolitik (fulfilment) in which he complied with the terms of Versailles in order to deceive Britain and France about Germany’s intentions and so encourage them to agree to revision of the Treaty.
• He aimed to get revision of the reparations through the Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929) in order to allow Germany to build up her economic power.
• He aimed to end the Ruhr and Rhineland occupations in order to gain the support of nationalist and conservative opinion in Germany.

Aspect 2 International relations

• In the Locarno Pact (1925), he accepted that Germany’s western borders should remain as agreed at Versailles but managed to have the question of Germany’s eastern borders left open so that Germany could in the future pursue expansion in the east.
• He aimed to have Germany’s great power status restored and achieved this by ensuring that Germany would only agree to re-join the League of Nations if she had a permanent seat on the Council.

Aspect 3 Military

• In 1926 he managed to negotiate the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission that monitored Germany’s compliance with the military terms of Versailles so he could begin the process of strengthening Germany’s military.
• The Treaty of Berlin (1926) contained secret clauses that enabled the Reichswehr to try out new weapons and to train in Soviet territory. This pleased the Reichswehr and symbolised Stresemann’s determination to highlight his nationalist credentials.

Page one hundred twenty
Factor 2 Factors which support the view that in his foreign policy Stresemann was being “a Good European”

Aspect 1 Fulfilment of Versailles
- *Erfullungspolitik* still meant accepting the humiliating “diktat” of the allies, which Stresemann did in the interests of maintaining European peace.
- He did not pursue revision of reparations vigorously enough to satisfy the right and indeed by pursuing a policy of fulfilment at all he ensured that opposition to the republic continued unabated and that Versailles was a major focus of that opposition, but he accepted this as the price of maintaining European peace.
- Locarno did not allow Germany to revise the eastern borders; it only left the question of such revision open.

Aspect 2 International relations
- Recognition of Germany’s great power status with a permanent seat on the League of Nations Council had less to do with Stresemann’s supposedly covert nationalism and more to do with the fact that he understood that the international system could not work effectively without Germany’s involvement.

Aspect 3 Military
- Germany still could not re-arm and was still not allowed to change the demilitarisation terms of Versailles, and Stresemann did not press for these to be permitted.
- Stresemann did not try to ensure that Germany would have the military power to insist on revision of the territorial terms of Versailles.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Sally Marks Takes the view that Stresemann was a superlative liar, dispensing total untruths... “He was not the Good European he appeared to be but was in reality ‘a great German nationalist’. Through his foreign policy, Germany became the pre-eminent member of the European family of nations — which is what he all along intended should happen.”

Jonathan Wright Takes the view that Stresemann felt the tension between the constraints of a responsible foreign policy and the romantic nationalism of his early career. He hoped for a stable and peaceful international order because he understood Germany’s dependence on its great power partners. From his pragmatism there developed a strong commitment to European peace.

Eberhard Kolb Takes the view that Stresemann was a nationalist, but his “keen sense of reality” meant that he viewed Germany’s restoration and European peace as interdependent.

Stephen Lee Takes the view that Stresemann was neither a covert nationalist nor a Good European but a pragmatist who adapted to changed times and circumstances and, where he could, created new opportunities.
Question 52  To what extent did industrialists gain most from Nazi economic policies between 1933 and 1939?

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

Factor 1  Factors which support the view that industrialists gained most from the Nazi economic policies

Aspect 1  Impact on the rich
- Industry was brought under government supervision in the interests of national unity. All firms were members of the Reichsgruppe for industry.
- The state controlled most resources, but industry remained in private hands.
- Large firms had to join cartels but they expanded to meet government requirements.
- From 1936, under the Four Year Plan, re-armament became the main focus of the economy. Re-armament benefited big business enormously. Firms like Krupps, I.G. Farben and Daimler-Benz all expanded dramatically. Heavy industry expanded almost 200% over the period 1933-38.
- New areas of business also benefited such as the motor industry, chemicals and aircraft manufacture.
- Big business also benefited from the smashing of the labour movement. Wages were now controlled and profits, though also controlled, did rise significantly.
- Nevertheless, the Nazi regime was not simply a businessman’s regime but in fact set about subordinating the independence of business to the interests of the Nazi state. And indeed during the 1930s around 300,000 small businesses disappeared.

Factor 2  Rural economy
- To begin with, the government took measures that helped peasants such as the regulation of food prices and the cancellation of some debts.
- Initially, protection and controlled prices also helped farmers.
- Arable farmers were helped via government subsidies.
- The Four Year Plan helped to increase production by reducing fertiliser prices, providing subsidies for mechanisation and giving grants for the cultivation of new land.
- The Reich Entailed Farm Law (1935) was designed to protect traditional small farms (about 35% of all farms in Germany). These farms could not now be sold or mortgaged and had to be passed on to one person.
Factor 3  Small businesses

- The Nazi government also attempted to protect small traders. The Law to protect the Retail Trade (1933) placed special taxes on large stores and banned new department stores.

Factor 4  Benefits to workers

- Crucially, workers benefited from increased employment. By 1939, only 35,000 of 25 million male workers were officially unemployed.
- There was also a small but perceptible rise in workers’ living standards.
- By 1936, the average wage for a worker was 35 marks per week — ten times more than the dole money which over six million had been receiving in 1932. Average paid holidays rose from three days per year in 1933 to between six and 12 days per year in 1939.
- The DAF (German Labour Front) that replaced the now banned trade unions provided workers with a range of facilities while the KdF (Strength through Joy) and the SdA (Beauty of Work) organisations provided leisure opportunities and better working conditions.

Factor 5  The military

- Although Hitler was not able to subordinate all areas of the economy to the re-armament drive, there is no doubt that the military benefited hugely. Military expenditure went from 1% of GNP in 1929 to 6% in 1934, 13% in 1936 and 17% in 1938. By 1940 it had reached 38% of GNP.
- The focus on re-armament meant that the military gained from the increased production of tanks, artillery, rifles, advanced weaponry, aircraft, ships and submarines.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Wolfgang Benz  Takes the view that, on the issue of unemployment, the Nazi government’s success “was dramatic”. By 1937-38, many companies were already complaining of a shortage of workers.

Richard Grunberger  Takes the view that the attitude of German business to the regime “was that of a conductor of a runaway bus who has no control over the actions of the driver but keeps collecting the passengers’ fares right up to the final crash”.

Ian Kershaw  Takes the view that “The crushing of the left, the free hand accorded to industry, the re-ordering of industrial relations, and in general the new political climate, formed the basis of a positive relationship between the Nazi government and big business — a relationship which became cemented by the stimulus to the economy through the work creation programme and then in growing measure by the massive profits to be derived from the armaments boom.”

Roderick Stackelberg  Takes the view that business enjoyed a privileged position, handsome profits and a considerable degree of self-management in the Third Reich, on condition that it served the political objectives of the Nazi leadership. The “primacy of politics” was the guiding principle of Nazi economic theory and practice.
Factor 1 Nazis’ success in repressing opponents and potential opposition

Aspect 1 Legal repression

- 28 February 1933: Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State, used to repress the KPD. By the end of March, 20,000 Communists were in prison and by summer 100,000 Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists were in prison.

- 13 March 1933: Goebbels was appointed Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment. The Nazis now took complete control of the press, radio, cinema and all cultural output and were thereby able to prevent opposition views from being heard and to ensure the complete dominance of Nazi propaganda.

- 24 March 1933: the passing of the Enabling Act. Decrees could now be passed by the Cabinet (in effect Hitler) without recourse to the President, so cutting out the need for any debate.

- 22 June 1934: SPD banned; other political parties dissolved themselves soon after. Trade unions were made illegal.

- 14 July 1933: Law Against the Formation of New Parties. Germany became a one-party state.

- 20 July 1933: Concordat agreement between the state and the Vatican ensured that opposition from the Roman Catholic Church was neutered.

- April 1934: Himmler became chief of the Prussian Gestapo.

Success of apparatus of the Nazi Police State from 1933-39. In search of enemies of the state, the Gestapo was allowed to operate outside the law and take suspects into custody. Such victims were liable to be tortured and sent to concentration camps. The courts were also thoroughly Nazified and the establishment of the People’s Court (April 1934) ensured that “treasonable offences” were dealt with harshly.

- The success and effectiveness of Gleichschaltung.

Aspect 2 Use of terror

- 30 June 1933: “Night of the Long Knives” destroyed internal opposition [from the SA] and won support from the army for Hitler.

- Terror was highly effective as disincentive to opposition to the regime.

- Not all Germans went along with the regime, but the odds were stacked against them if they opted to oppose it. Although the Gestapo is no longer viewed by historians as the all-seeing, all-knowing organisation it used to be portrayed as, it was nevertheless highly effective because of people’s willingness to inform on their neighbours and the variety of agencies and institutions that worked with it.
Opponents of the regime had to contend with the fact that whether their opposition was non-conformity or dissent or outright resistance there was a good chance that the Gestapo would get to know about it very quickly. Coercion was important in keeping opposition in Nazi Germany down, but so was the consent of the masses.

**Factor 2  Failure of the opposition because of its own weaknesses**

**Aspect 1  Divisions and poor leadership**
- Opposition did not exist as one unified movement but was fragmented, often along class lines.
- Communist and Social Democrat underground opposition remained bitterly divided and completely unable to cooperate.
- There was lack of organisation, leadership and the ability to maintain secrecy.
- Opposition lacked a common purpose and was weakened by diversity of motives.

**Factor 3  Willingness of most Germans to go along with the regime**

**Aspect 1  Active support for Nazis**
- Nazi propaganda *did* have an impact in persuading people to support the regime but, more important, as unemployment fell and living standards improved so more people felt better off and were minded to support rather than oppose the regime.
- Many people also welcomed Hitler’s promises to restore national prestige and his foreign policy successes from 1933-39 seemed to many to be proof that Hitler was able to fulfil these promises.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Nikolaus Wachsmann**
Takes the view that Hitler’s police apparatus commanded extensive weapons of repression. Fear of the Gestapo was widespread. The Gestapo drew extensively on support from outside its ranks. It used information and denunciations from paid informers, low-ranking party activists and state and municipal agencies, as well as the general public.

**K. Mallmann and G. Paul**
Takes the view that the National Socialist rulers could live with insubordination, superficial conformity and insidious criticism as long as the consensus in political fundamental principles appeared secure and dissatisfaction, *nonconformity and partial opposition did not coalesce and organise effectively.*

**Robert Gellately**
Takes the view that it was a characteristic feature of Nazi Germany that the regime found no difficulty in obtaining the collaboration of ordinary citizens. Most people seemed prepared to live with the idea of a surveillance society, to put aside the opportunity to develop the freedoms we usually associate with liberal democracies, in return for crime-free streets, a return to prosperity, and what they regarded as good government. There was no organised resistance.

**Ian Kershaw**
Takes the view that Resistance and opposition to Hitler acted without the active mass support of the population. Large proportions of the population did not even passively support the resistance but, rather, condemned it. Resistance was fragmented, atomised and isolated from any possibility of mass support. Opposition — real and potential — was crushed through the unprecedented level of repression by the Nazi state.
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;insanity of the numbers, the uncertain future&quot;).</td>
<td>The source explains how the period of hyperinflation was a surreal experience and one that caused deep anxiety.</td>
<td>The hyperinflation crisis was triggered by the French occupation of the Ruhr (beginning in January 1923) and by August 1923 inflation was completely out of control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(it was “an epidemic”).</td>
<td>The source underlines the fact that the fear caused by hyperinflation was not confined to just a few people here and there, but was widespread.</td>
<td>Panic buying was only one among many negative effects of the hyperinflation on people's lives. Living standards crashed. Any savings that people had accumulated were rendered completely worthless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the lines “signal that the city will be shopped empty yet again”).</td>
<td>The source highlights the concrete effects of hyperinflation, such as panic.</td>
<td>Not just wages were affected. Anyone who depended on a fixed income of any kind was reduced to poverty because their income was fixed but prices rocketed and the value of the currency was destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;shrinks in value on the way to the grocer’s shop&quot;).</td>
<td>The source explains that prices rose so quickly that in the time it took workers to run to the shops after being given their pay packets their money had become virtually worthless, just bits of paper.</td>
<td>This points out the fact that during the crisis there were 300 paper mills and 2,000 printing firms working 24-hour shifts to produce banknotes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

- The catastrophe that hyperinflation caused is perhaps best seen in the value of the dollar to the mark. At the start of 1923, one dollar was worth 17,792 marks. By November 1923, one dollar was worth 200,000,000,000 marks.
- Hyperinflation pauperised the middle classes and some historians think that this was more revolutionary in its effects than the revolution of 1918-19 had been.
- People’s health suffered too, especially that of elderly people reduced to poverty by the hyperinflation.
- Hyperinflation had psychological effects as well as the more visible economic and
social effects. The catastrophe made people suspicious of democracy and the republic, and distrustful of politicians.

- The crisis provided opportunities for demagogues on both the left and the right to attack the republic and democracy.
- Given that so many Germans suffered, and of all classes and backgrounds, the hyperinflation crisis challenged basic values and the deep scars left by the crisis contributed, in the long run, to the collapse of the republic.
- Yet not all Germans lost out. People with large mortgages, for instance, and farmers in debt benefited because they could pay off their loans with devalued currency.
- People who rented property with long-term rents gained as the real value of their payments fell.
- Exporters gained because of the mark’s falling value.
- Some businessmen also benefited, most famously Hugo Stinnes who quickly bought up businesses that had failed because of the crisis. By 1924, Stinnes owned 1,535 companies — an estimated 20% of Germany’s industries.
- The state also benefited because it lost its debt.

Historians Perspective on the issue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alan Bullock</td>
<td>Takes the view that the inflation was to undermine German society in a way which neither the war, nor the revolution of 1918, nor the Treaty of Versailles had ever done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Evans and Jane Jenkins</td>
<td>Take the view that “The pauperised and those cheated of their savings became more prepared to listen to the firebrand orators of the extremist parties.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Fulbrook</td>
<td>Takes the view that “The psychological shock eroded democratic values and instilled a heightened fear of the possibility of economic instability.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detlev Peukert</td>
<td>Takes the view that “The social effects... are not easy to assess. Two individuals from the same broad social class could be affected very differently.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I have been accused of betraying the Weimar Republic and hoisting Hitler into the saddle.”</td>
<td>Papen denies that he worked behind the scenes to get Hitler appointed and that he miscalculated in his assessment of Hitler.</td>
<td>Papen is not being completely honest when he tries to assert that he was not an intriguer or a plotter. In fact, he worked tirelessly behind the scenes not just to secure his own interests but to ensure that whatever happened there would not be a return to parliamentary democracy. In May 1932, for example, Papen was quite content to be appointed by Hindenburg and to try to govern through the elite without any support at all from the Reichstag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not many people seem to realise the extent to which Hitler arose because of the harsh clauses of Versailles and the economic crisis caused by reparations.</td>
<td>Papen argues that it was not backstairs intrigue but the Treaty of Versailles and economic crisis caused by reparations that best explain Hitler’s rise, and so the Allies are as much to blame for Hitler’s appointment as anyone else.</td>
<td>Papen actively sought the support of the Nazis, and in June 1932 he lifted the ban on the SA. Much more serious for the fate of democracy, Papen used emergency powers to depose the SPD-led coalition government in Prussia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitler and his movement were in essence a reaction against hopelessness.</td>
<td>Hitler’s movement was the product of the sense of hopelessness of the German people. Hitler gained the support of almost 40% of the German electorate which is why he was appointed Chancellor.</td>
<td>It was Papen who, in response to Hitler’s demands, agreed to new elections in July 1932 in which the Nazis made yet more spectacular gains. In January 1933, Papen agreed to serve in a Hitler-led government and declared, “We’ve hired him” which did indeed show just how badly he had miscalculated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I have been accused of betraying the Weimar Republic and hoisting Hitler into the saddle as a way of taking revenge against Schleicher. But</td>
<td>Papen denies his pursuit of a vendetta against Schleicher was the real reason Hitler was appointed Chancellor.</td>
<td>Economic crisis was indeed an important factor in the rise of the Nazis and in the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor. So was Hitler’s promise to “smash Versailles”, a treaty that most</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the correct narrative of events shows that this is not true.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral success alone could not bring it about.</td>
<td>The Nazis’ electoral success is not a sufficient reason for Hitler’s appointment.</td>
<td>In the elections of July 1932, the Nazis gained 37.4% of the votes and 230 seats in the Reichstag — not a majority. However, in the elections of November the Nazis lost two million votes and 34 seats — indicating, as Kershaw suggests, that their rise was not unstoppable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five months later he changed his mind, with the Nazi Party in crisis following the electoral setback of November.</td>
<td>Hindenburg changed his mind. Following initial opposition, five months later he appointed Hitler as Chancellor.</td>
<td>The Nazis also did badly in the local elections of November and December 1932.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few among the elite groups had Hitler down as their first choice but by January 1933, with other options apparently exhausted…</td>
<td>Hitler was not first choice but, by January 1933 other options had been exhausted.</td>
<td>In addition, by the end of 1932 the Nazis’ finances were extremely low because of the costs of competing in so many elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitler needed the elites to attain power.</td>
<td>Without the support of the elite, Hitler could not have become Chancellor of Germany when he did.</td>
<td>Hindenburg’s options in December 1932 were clearly limited, but he did have options. In the end, however, he chose to follow the advice of Papen and others who hoped to use Hitler, with his popular appeal, to enhance their own power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martin Broszat</td>
<td>Takes the view that it was during the Papen era, between June and November 1932, that the presidential system was tilted towards the extreme right... This was the phase when advance concessions were made that created the conditions of an assumption of power by the Nazis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.J. Evans</td>
<td>Takes the view that the Depression helped to make the Nazis a catch-all party of social protest, appealing to a greater or lesser degree to virtually every social group in the land. The Nazis succeeded in transcending social boundaries and uniting highly disparate groups on the basis of a common ideology... as no other party in Germany had managed to do before.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conan Fischer</td>
<td>Takes the view that the translation of Nazi popularity into power... owed much to the disastrous miscalculation of the elites. It is true that millions of middle-class Germans sought deliverance by the Nazi movement from Marxism, but the presence also of millions of working-class Germans was unmistakable. Although the Nazis benefited from the Weimar Republic’s recurrent crises, this is not to say that their success was either straightforward or inevitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Fulbrook</td>
<td>Takes the view that, by late January 1933, the elites were not prepared to uphold democracy at any cost; most wanted some form of authoritarian government. The NSDAP no longer seemed dangerous and in these circumstances Hindenburg was persuaded by a small group (including his son and von Papen) to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Candidates may be awarded a total of 5 marks for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author</strong></td>
<td>German Central Institute of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>Guidelines for teachers in secondary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timing</strong></td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“a great national existence”</td>
<td>The source highlights the fact that the goal of the <em>Volksgemeinschaft</em> is the revival of German nationalism and the German nation and the teaching of history is to be used to create respect for, and to glorify, Germany’s past.</td>
<td>The source is an example of the Nazis’ absolute determination to control completely teachers and the school curriculum, to ensure that both teachers and the curriculum were used as vehicles for propaganda and the transmission of Nazi ideology. Education was at the heart of the Nazi <em>Volksgemeinschaft</em>, not least because the Nazis recognised that winning the hearts and minds of Germany’s youth was absolutely vital to the future of the <em>Volksgemeinschaft</em> ideal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the responsibility of every individual for the nation as a whole”</td>
<td>The source also underlines the importance in the <em>Volksgemeinschaft</em> of the subordination of the individual to the interests of the nation.</td>
<td>Given that the goal of the <em>Volksgemeinschaft</em> was the creation of a community based on race, winning over the hearts and minds of youth was seen as crucial. Under the Nazis, virtually from birth German children were to be brought up as good National Socialists and with a strong awareness of Germany’s history – at least according to how the Nazis interpreted it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“A new understanding”  The source emphasises that Germany’s destiny is now inseparable from that of the National Socialist movement.

Nazi youth organisations for boys and girls had been set up well before Hitler became Chancellor, but once the Nazis were in power they moved to make Nazi youth organisations compulsory (which they were from 1936).

Youth organisations aimed to produce young people who would idolise Hitler, be obedient, be physically fit, prepared to sacrifice themselves for the good of the nation, and who would do everything in their power to strengthen the health and racial purity of the German nation.

“... on the clear recognition of the basic racial forces of the German nation”  The source makes it clear that the goal of the Volksgemeinschaft will be the creation of a racial community.

The Nazis also sought to ensure that education was a propaganda vehicle for the Nazi message of a classless society and one unified by race. Teachers were coordinated from early on in the regime and, by 1937, 97% of schoolteachers were in the National Socialist Teacher’s League. In addition, the school curriculum was Nazified so that, as Source D indicates, subjects such as History simply became carriers of Nazi ideology about race and nationalism.

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

• Racial ideology permeated all aspects of Nazi policy and society, underlining the fact that the goal of the Volksgemeinschaft was to end class divisions and to bring about a new and unified community based on race.

Historians Perspective on the issue
M. Collier and P. Pedley
The Nazis attempted to unite all Germans in a racially pure, classless national community. In this community, the Nazis promised there would be no political, religious, economic or social divisions. The status of a German would be determined by racial purity and ideological commitment to the state.

Tim Kirk
Takes the view that the Volksgemeinschaft was a myth. Despite the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda, Nazism did not in fact bring about a social revolution in Germany — either in terms of real social change or in the way in which social reality was perceived. The effect of Nazi social and economic policies was to reinforce rather than transcend or overcome class divisions; the working class, for instance, was contained rather than integrated into a national community.

Jill Stephenson
Takes the view that the creation of a national community was an aspiration of the Nazi leadership. It was conceived as a collective body of “valuable Aryan” Germans who would live and work in harmony together under the leadership of the Nazi party. The myth of the national community had perhaps some credibility in the years of peace, although there were sceptics even then.

Adam Tooze
Takes the view that National Socialism’s proudest boast was to have superseded the old politics of sectional interests in the name of the Volksgemeinschaft.
SECTION 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902-1984

Question 57

How important a part did the demand for cheap labour play in the development of segregationist policies in South Africa, 1910-1924?

Aim of the question

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

Factor 1 Influence of gold and diamonds mines

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

Factor 2 Legislation

- 1913 Land Act was also designed to aid the needs of poor white farmers for cheap labour in what Trapido describes as “the union between gold and maize”.
- Legislation passed to appease white labour force such as the 1911 Mines and Works Act which secured posts for higher paid whites through certificates of competency.

Factor 3 Pressure

- Pressure from white labourers to increase controls over black workers who were undercutting whites.
- Whites can put pressure on mine-owners through the ballot box, unlike black workers.
Factor 4  Agriculture

- Residential segregation originated in towns dominated not by the mining industry, but by merchant and commercial interests.
- Concerns about the impact of Smuts’ policies led many farmers in the Transvaal and Free State to switch support to Malan in 1948.
- Vast majority of Bills passed by the South African parliament between 1910 and 1935 were designed to assist farming.
- The laws of 1913 and 1936 ensured that most of the best land stayed in white hands.
- Hertzog promoted the export of agricultural produce through transport subsidies.
- UP’s 1937 Marketing Act helped maize farmers.
- Grants given to tackle drought relief and rural unemployment.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Wolpe  Argues that the Land Act was designed to ensure a ready supply of labour to the mines.

Beinart  Argues that early government policy was also influenced by African chiefs (most notably the Land Act) in order to bring back wages and ensure their authority was not diminished by young male workers.

Feinstein  “It was revenue raised from the gold mines that enabled the state to give huge sums to other sectors, especially the commercial farmers, with an array of subsidies, relief grants and loans.”

Davenport  Challenges the view that, while Smuts favoured mining capital, there was a change of direction under Hertzog, and policies were more favourable to mine-workers.
Question 58

How far was a unique sense of Afrikaner identity the main reason for the rise of Afrikaner nationalism between 1924 and 1948?

Aims of the question

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

Factor 1 Afrikaner identity and belief in a set destiny

- Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) influence and message of purification through suffering
- Values of the DRC perceiving Afrikaners as chosen people, “divinely guided pilgrimage”
- Influence of language — Preller as “populariser of history”.
- Mythology of Afrikaner nationalism whereby real events are forged into a view of Afrikaner past in the 20th century.
- Distortion of history to justify beliefs such as the Cape frontier, Great Trek, Battle of Blood River, Day of the Covenant.
- Emphasis on ethnic struggle versus the British, such as the legacy of the Boer war, traits of the “bitterenders” mythologised.
- 19th-century Cape experience — Die Afrikaanse Patriot stressed the distinctiveness of Afrikaner experience.
- 1880 Formation of Afrikaner Bond — emphasises Afrikaner unity but had limited support beyond the Cape.
- Papers, magazines (ie Die Huisgenoot) stressed the common heritage of all Afrikaners and reached 20% of all Afrikaner families by the 1930s.
- 1929 Federasie of Afrikaanse Kultuur Vereniginge (FAK) sought to unify and disseminate sense of separate Afrikaner identity: Volkseenheid (unity of the volk).
- Creation of martyrs such as Joupie Fourie.
- Afrikaner culture further propagated and defined by the 1938 Eeufees celebrations.
- Afrikaner business encouraged to serve whole community of Afrikaners.
- Growing fears of loss of ethnic identity in the cities.

Factor 2 Limits of Afrikaner identity

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

Factor 3 Other factors contributing to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism

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

Historians Perspective on the issue
Early Afrikaner nationalism as a product of fear.
liberal Traditional view that a mythologised interpretation of Afrikaner history contributes to the rise in Afrikaner nationalism (Grundlingh).

Giliomee Argues that the communally deprived or those driven to preserve their position had their concerns mobilised by leaders, resulting in the rise of national identity. The Afrikaner leadership aimed to uplift the poor whites through the psychological and cultural dimension of collective security. He also emphasises the language movement (“cultural nationalism”) and the popularisation of history.

Marxists View the rise of Afrikaner nationalism as an expression of class interests.
O’Meara
Thompson and Wilson Highlight the role of the DRC in shaping the political philosophy of Afrikaners (90% were adherents of the DRC).
Question 59
To what extent was disunity amongst resistance groups the main factor in undermining the effectiveness of opposition to segregation between 1910 and 1948?

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

Factor 1  Disunity amongst resistance groups
- Diversity of African resistance movements.
- Lack of agreement about aims and methods.
- Financial scandals and internal disputes which destroyed the ICU.
- Early African National Congress (ANC) leadership disdainful of popular agitation, so failed to link up with other resistance groups.
- The methods of the early ANC included deputations and petitions.
- Some leaders, including Dube, were reluctantly prepared to accept rural segregation as long as there was a just distribution of land.
- By the 1930s, ANC membership probably did not exceed 1,000. The more radical Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union ICU was far more significant in the 1920s because they attempted to establish a mass movement, although this was not the view of the ANC.
- By the 1930s, the ANC leadership was bitterly divided and split into warring cliques, not least due to Gumede’s flirtation with the Communist Party which deeply divided the ANC.
- ANC radicals in the Cape mounted a campaign of civil disobedience to achieve the native republic, further exacerbating splits within the organisation.
- Opposition to Hertzog’s Native Bills was led by the All African Convention, not the ANC, demonstrating lack of cohesion — and competition over which would be dominant.
- Women played little part in the early ANC.
- The ANC’s policy of working with those who had political power bound them more closely to the ruling class, alienating others.
- ANC did co-operate in the late 1920s with the Communist Party of South Africa.
- Failure to capitalise on rural resistance.

Factor 2  Other factors
Aspect 1 Pursuit of economic routes
- Most believed that, if they were economically successful, whites would give them political representation — thereby limiting their methods.
- Most of the early leaders (Dube, Plaatje, Gumede, Seme) were mission-educated and — as doctors, lawyers, ministers, etc — they were from the African middle class.
- Economic success would only be possible with good (and equal) education for blacks.

Aspect 2 Pursuit of equal opportunity not political power
- Between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s, the ANC had lost its coherence following the collapse of the ICU.
- Black intellectuals maintained support for education and working within the existing system, despite the impact of the Depression.
- Early ANC leaders aimed for equal opportunity, not political power, or African domination.
- They hoped improved understanding, and greater justice, would allow Africans to make a growing contribution to South African society.
- Failure of international deputations such as that at Versailles.
- Resistance at this time is described by Beinart as being localised in issue and often in action.
- Methods of early resistance organisations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Walshe</td>
<td>Early leaders were hugely influenced by the “Cape tradition” of relative liberalism. The ultimate goals were equal opportunity and equality before the law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Beinart</td>
<td>Argues that regional organisations of the ANC tended to go their own way — Transvaal leaders were drawn into workers’ issues; the Western Cape was influenced by Garveyism. Furthermore, the level of rural resistance was underestimated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale McKinley</td>
<td>A Marxist historian, McKinley argues that the ANC failed to establish grassroots organisations among the masses in South Africa, that they were preoccupied by their petty bourgeois interests such as obtaining a free market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worden</td>
<td>Describes the limitations of the ICU due to leadership and regional struggles and an unwillingness to move focus away from the countryside until the late 1920s where it obtained most of its support. In general, he attributes the ineffectiveness of early resistance as being that “African protest lacked the link with political mobilisation”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 60  “The policy of Separate Development after 1960 was apartheid by another name.”

How valid is this view?

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

Factor 1  Evidence of Separate Development as “sanitised apartheid”

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

Factor 2  Evidence contrary to statement

- Evidence that Separate Development went further than previous apartheid, including ending any form of African representation in white politics.
- The government’s Bantu policy was not fixed, and evolved over time.
- The ultimate goal of giving “independence” to the Bantustans was
a “remarkable shift in the governments’ position” (Barber).

- Evidence of escalation in apartheid, such as the forced removal of 3.5 million Africans from their homes.
- Increasing violence amongst resistance groups such as Pogo and Umkhonto weSizwe resulted in the “granite response”, with increasing state oppression.
- The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (1970) made all Africans citizens of one of the homelands, even if they had never lived outside a “white” area.
- By 1972, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Lebowa had all been granted “self-governing” status.
- The Homelands remained poor, overcrowded and weakened by the forced removal to them of the sick and the old.
- The Homelands, which had been designed to appease international criticism of apartheid, had the opposite effect.
- Almost all countries in the world regarded the Bantustans as puppets of the South African government.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Posel**

Describes apartheid after 1960 as having entered a “second phase”. Apartheid “underwent an important change of direction . . . which ushered in a discrete second phase of policy-making”.

**Brian Bunting**

Offers a contemporary communist perspective, arguing that there was continuity between the 1950s and 1960s: “Operating on the basis of a preconceived ideology . . . the Nationalists have planned their strategy with care and worked step by step towards their goal. Nothing has been left to chance.”

**O’Meara**

Favours the “Grand Design” view and sees coherence between the policies of the 1950s and those of the 1960s and claims that policies of the 1960s — such as decentralisation, population removal and homelands development — were central to the development of apartheid from the start.

**Giliomee, Mbenga et al**

Present apartheid as a coherent body of discriminatory laws, while acknowledging that, after 1960, Verwoerd saw the homelands as an alternative form of political representation for black South Africans at a time when political rights were increasingly on the agenda throughout the continent.
How significant was the United Nations in influencing the foreign policy of the South African government, 1960-1984?

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

Factor 1 Pressure from the United Nations

- **1950** — General Assembly declared that “a policy of ‘racial segregation’ (apartheid) is based on doctrines of racial discrimination”. Previously, the UN refused to condemn matters of ‘internal policy’. In the 1950s, South Africa was excluded from UN specialised agencies.

- **1960** — the Security Council, in its first action on South Africa, adopted Resolution 134 deploring the policies and actions of the South African government in the wake of Sharpeville, calling upon the government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.

- **1961** — the Secretary-General meets Verwoerd to request speedy integration of the races. Verwoerd described this as “totally unacceptable”.

- **1963** — first meeting of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, it was later renamed the “Special Committee against Apartheid”. Resolution 181 calling upon all states to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. Not mandatory until 1977.

- **1966** — International Seminar on Apartheid.

- **1968** — General Assembly requested all states and organisations “to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid”.

- **1973** — UN declared apartheid a “crime against humanity”.

- **1 January 1976** — the UN Centre Against Apartheid was established.

- **1984** — the Security Council declared null and void the new racist constitution of South Africa. Strong language from the UN was not matched by action as the UK, US and France vetoed resolutions supporting the armed struggle in the UN Security Council. They also opposed economic sanctions. Only the Scandinavian countries imposed sanctions and gave aid to the ANC.

Factor 2 Other external threats to South African government

- Black majority rule in frontline states meant South Africa faced “total onslaught” from neighbouring African states.

- Communist support from frontline states — the role of Mozambique and Angola.

- The impact of liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa.

- Churches and Christian-based organisations significant in spreading Awareness.

- Sporting questions like the Basil D’Oliveira affair encouraged white sympathies.

- The role of the ANC in exile.
• Umkhonto weSizwe organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s.
• Influence of Cold War in limiting Western pressure on SA government – failure of arms embargoes related to Cold War.
• BUT – the UK Labour government of the 1970s, and the USA, veto sanctions and largely follow a pro-South African policy, allowing capital and investment in the country.

Factor 3 Internal threats to the South African government

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

Historian Perspective on the issue

Nigel Worden Argues that “total strategy” intensified the very problems which it sought to defuse and emphasises the role of African trades unions in the decline of apartheid.

Merle Lipton Argued that “The trend (among capitalists) is towards increasing opposition (to apartheid) and it has been accelerating.” Capitalist interests in South Africa were already working to undermine apartheid by the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Lodge Argues that “from its inception, the UN had supplied a sympathetic forum for condemnation of South African race policies”. He describes the UN as having “weak expression of concern about violence “of Sharpeville but this did signify an advance in the UN’s opposition to apartheid.

Adrian Guelke Provides a balanced evaluation, claiming that changes in the region of Southern Africa, and the end of the Portuguese empire in Africa, had weakened the position of the South African government.
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>His plans involved major social and economic engineering with the intention of creating a loyal dominion of the crown.</td>
<td>Milner planned to reconstruct South Africa in such a way as to create a loyal dominion within the empire.</td>
<td>Reconstruction was needed after the defeat of the Boers and the Treaty of Vereeniging. The Treaty itself was a compromise with Transvaal and the Orange Free State becoming British colonies but with the promise of eventual self-government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase the British population by a vigorous immigration policy.</td>
<td>He aimed to encourage immigration to South Africa to increase the British population.</td>
<td>Milner’s stated aim was to promote immigration from Britain so that people of British origin would outnumber the Boers three to two.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retain control in the hands of British officials while the changes were taking place.</td>
<td>British administrators would remain in charge while Milner’s policies were being implemented.</td>
<td>A number of Oxford graduates arrived in South Africa as administrators: collectively they became known as “Milner’s kindergarten”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milner’s third route was through cultural imperialism; in particular the use of education to anglicise the Boers.</td>
<td>Education would be used to embed British values among the Afrikaners.</td>
<td>All teaching in schools and universities would be in English. Dutch was only permissible as a means of teaching English. Particular importance was attached to the teaching of history.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Leonard Thompson American historian, writing in the liberal tradition. Thompson highlighted the role of black Africans in the history of South Africa, in contrast to the emphasis on white South Africa favoured by an earlier generation of historians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>History Written to provide a modern history of South Africa, in the liberal tradition, while also drawing on the insights of radical/revisionist historians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Published 1991 Published shortly after the release of Mandela and the opening of negotiations with the ANC. Several subsequent editions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point in Source B</td>
<td>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Milner regime re-established Afrikaner landowners and made African lives harsher than before the war.</td>
<td>Milner’s administration restored land to Afrikaner farmers, making the lives of Africans more difficult.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milner tightened pass laws to restrict the mobility of African labourers.</td>
<td>Existing pass laws were tightened, restricting movement for Africans and making it more difficult for African workers to find work in the towns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mining companies cut Africans’ wages and stopped competing for their labour.</td>
<td>In the mines, wages were cut and mining companies ended the existing competition between companies for African workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government arranged for labourers to be imported from China.</td>
<td>Chinese labourers who were brought to South Africa to work in the mines undercut African miners.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources**

- Milner’s plans for British immigration were not a success.
- Afrikaners continued to constitute well over 50% of the white population in South Africa.
- Major investment in infrastructure, including a loan of £35 million for railways and public works.
- Labour for the mines was recruited in Mozambique, Basutoland and Swaziland, as well as China.
- By 1906, gold production was almost double pre-war production.
- SANNC report (1905) formalised ideas about segregation.
- These proposals laid the foundation for legislation in 1913 and 1923.
- British rule did nothing to destroy Afrikaner nationalism.
- Het Volk and Orangia Unie provided leadership for dissatisfied Afrikaners.
• In 1907, the former Boer republics were granted self-government under Afrikaner-led administrations.
• Selborne Memorandum (1907) stressed the potential advantages of Union.
• Bambatha Rebellion highlighted the need for a strong central authority.
• Economic difficulties created by customs disputes and railway rivalry would be overcome by Union.
• Milner’s verdict on Union: “All power is with the Boers, and will remain with them.”

Historians | Perspective on the issue
--- | ---
Marks and Trapido | Reject Milner’s own belief that he had failed to achieve his imperialist vision for South Africa: “Milner succeeded in South Africa better than he realised. He laid the foundations for a state which reflected the demands of 20th-century imperialism but also fulfilled them.”

J. Cell | Argues that the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission (1902-5), established by Lord Milner, provided the first clear articulation of segregationist ideals. As such, it provided a blueprint for much of the legislation which followed after 1910.

Allister Sparks | Is critical of the Liberals’ policy of reconciliation with the Afrikaners after 1905: “Four years later, Campbell-Bannerman gave the defeated republics back their independence in a union with the two British colonies. It was an act of unprecedented generosity to a defeated enemy. It was also an act of unprecedented betrayal of the black South Africans. For it was the first and only time an imperial power has given sovereign independence to a radical minority.”

Nigel Worden | Argues that the British government had achieved what it considered essential — the protection of mining interests — while agriculture had largely been reconstructed. In 1910 “political unity for the sake of economic growth was the British priority.”
Question 63 Evaluate the usefulness of Source C in explaining the origins of apartheid before 1959.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Nelson Mandela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandala was a leading opponent of apartheid as evinced by his running of Umkhonto weSizwe’s violent struggle against apartheid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Autobiograpy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Published 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extract from Mandela’s autobiography was started in 1974 while he was incarcerated by the apartheid regime. Resumed his writing in 1990 after the collapse of apartheid, and therefore his writing is retrospective.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The nationalists were animated by bitterness towards the English, who treated them as inferiors for decades, and bitterness towards the Africans, who the Nationalists believed was threatening the prosperity and purity of Afrikaner culture.</td>
<td>Afrikaners bitterly resented the English for treating them as their social inferiors, and the Africans whom they saw as threatening the Afrikaner way of life.</td>
<td>Evidence of the legacy of oppression of the Afrikaner by the British and the perceived threat of the “black peril” as driving apartheid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartheid was a new term but an old idea, representing the codification of all the existing laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites.</td>
<td>Apartheid brought together all existing segregationist legislation which ensured white supremacy.</td>
<td>Earlier legislation, such as the 1913 Land Act and the 1923 Urban Areas Act, was expanded under apartheid. Evidence of apartheid policy as a way of maintaining white supremacy — such as the prohibition of Mixed Marriages, the Population Registration Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earlier segregationist policies are formalised/brought together into an inescapable system.</td>
<td>A single all-embracing system of laws was created from the old piecemeal segregation legislation.</td>
<td>Geographical segregation of the races brought more into towns by the Group Areas Act and Native Resettlement Act, which built on the 1923 Urban Areas Act.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The function of apartheid was to entrench white supremacy in South Africa. Apartheid was designed to perpetuate white domination for ever. The Sauer Report of 1948 has been interpreted as a “blueprint” for apartheid by some, including Brian Bunting and O’Meara. Views of Afrikaner academics such as Cronje, who advocated complete racial separation in order to ensure the long-term survival of the Afrikaner people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evidence for the economic justification for apartheid, including apartheid as a means of extracting the benefits of the migrant labour system to meet the needs of manufacturing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influx control legislation would restrict the process of black urbanisation and therefore the development of an urban proletariat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influx control would also protect the interests of white workers threatened by the lower wages of black workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 10 Rights granted to certain groups of urban Africans would protect the needs of the manufacturing industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial farmers guaranteed labour supply from the reserves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual relocation of industry to the reserves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguities contained within the Sauer Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated aims of the Bantu Education Act.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hermann Giliomee</td>
<td>Afrikaner historian describes apartheid as a “radical survival plan” rooted in the DRC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Wolpe</td>
<td>A radical historian, he argued that apartheid ideology was a way of justifying the extension of cheap labour to the manufacturing industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posel</td>
<td>Analysis of influx control in the 1950s shows apartheid was a more flexible policy than once believed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saul Dubow</td>
<td>Argues that the conflicting views contained in the Sauer Report had not been worked out a decade later. Verwoerd’s mid-1950s rejection of the Tomlinson Report — which outlined the investment needed to achieve complete separation — reflects the disparate elements within apartheid thinking at this time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 64  How fully does Source D explain the decision to adopt militant tactics by some resistance groups in the 1960s?

The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The massacre, and the nationwide tumult that ensued, made violent strategies seem very compelling.</td>
<td>The massacre (at Sharpeville) and the resulting demonstrations across South Africa made the resort to violent tactics more attractive.</td>
<td>The 69 deaths at Sharpeville, and the nationwide anti-pass demonstrations that followed, led to the declaration of a state of emergency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of their organisation made the move to violent tactics more compelling.</td>
<td>The banning of the existing African resistance movements made the resort to violence more likely.</td>
<td>ANC and PAC were banned following the massacre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influential ANC leaders believed violent confrontation was inevitable.</td>
<td>Some of the ANC leaders had come to believe that violent resistance was unavoidable.</td>
<td>Nelson Mandela was among those who accepted the need for violent confrontation. He discussed this with Joe Slovo (South African Communist Party) in the summer of 1960.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerilla warfare might have remained a minority view if the Pan-Africanist Congress' protests had not mobilised such a massive response.</td>
<td>The decision to adopt militant tactics was dependent on the mobilisation of the masses, as evident at Sharpeville.</td>
<td>Post-Sharpeville, protest escalated. Luthuli burned his pass publicly; demonstrations in Western Cape involved more than 30,000 people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

- Mandela had discussed the prospect of an armed struggle with Walter Sisulu as early as 1952, explaining that “the attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands”.
- Banning of the PAC and ANC after Sharpeville forced the movements underground, resulting in a change in tactics.
- Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) established 1961; first campaign December 1961
- Poqo first seem in action in 1962.
- Increased white oppression due to Verwoerd’s fear of black resistance becoming cohesive and concentrated against the white government.
- Frustration over limits of ANC/resistance success in the 1950s.
- Rise of African nationalism and belief that there was no hope for a policy of peaceful agitation.
• Leaders were arguably brought closer by their experience in the Treason Trials, thus facilitating greater co-operation thereafter.
• By 1960, levels of agitation had significantly increased against the government.
• Defiance Campaign had overcome apathy and aroused a spirit of militancy and determination.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Davenport Suggests that the ANC was driven apart by leadership disputes and this contributed to the launch of the armed struggle.

Davis and Fine Have argued that the move to armed struggle was not just a consequence of the Sharpeville massacre, but that local armed resistance had in effect been in evidence before 1961-2.

Barber Failure of the Defiance Campaign demonstrated that there was no constitutional route to liberation.

Dubow Rejects the view that the turn to violence represents a “takeover” of the ANC by the Communists, arguing that the decision by some members of the ANC to work with the Communists at this time was tactical alliance: “In this, personal ambition surely played a role, for Mandela’s ascendancy to a position of leadership after 1960 was inseparable from his role as MK commander in chief.” Argues that it does not necessarily follow that Mandela was being used by the Communists; in fact it is just as possible to claim that Mandela was using Communist Party organisation and resources to advance orthodox African nationalism.
SECTION 9 — Russia: from Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914-1945

Question 65 To what extent did a one-party dictatorship emerge in Russia between October 1917 and March 1921?

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

Factor 1 Political aspects of one-party state
- Closing down the opposition press.
- Removal of freedoms granted by the provisional government.
- Destruction of the Constituent Assembly as the opposition was too weak.
- Significant demand for co-operation between parties; threat of railwaymen’s union, post and telegraph workers to cut off communication — hence Lenin agreed to talks, but engineered their collapse and made an alliance of sorts with Socialist Revolutionaries to claim he represented the peasantry (land issue).
- Control imposed over the Soviets — compromise from the beginning, ie. “all power to the Soviets” denied by setting up the Sovnarkom; intention to centre power in the hands of the Bolsheviks alone.
- Destruction of other political parties: Kadets, Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.
- Establishment of central control — pyramid of power — Politburo at the top: to eliminate opposition, to maintain the revolution, but tight-knit group in Moscow.
- Party control over the state; the party the vanguard of the revolution hence development of bureaucracy (Soviet constitution).
- Use of terror, Red Terror and Cheka.
- Legal system abolished — replaced by revolutionary justice, arbitrary and violent.
- Some Bolsheviks becoming disillusioned about democratic centralism as the source of Bolshevik discipline.
- So much political power placed in the hands of one man — Lenin.

Factor 2 Economic aspects of a one-party state
- 1917 Land Decree — abolishing private ownership.
- War Communism was used to strictly control the economic sphere of Russia.
- Loss of the proletarian base, developed role of Politburo and status of Central Committee.
Factor 3  Social aspects of a one-party state
- Abolition of titles; use of egalitarian “comrade”.
- Socialist press encouraged class warfare — “parasites” and “bloodsuckers”.
- Class warfare encouraged: burzhui beaten, robbed, arrested. State licensed and encouraged people to attack middle-class houses “to loot the looters”.
- Civil servants on strike so were purged, juniors promoted — third-rate but obedient.
- Religion was frowned upon and Bolshevism became the new religion.

Factor 4  Ideological aspects of a one-party state
- The ideology of Bolshevism, eg “What is to be done”, “April Theses”, “State and Revolution”, “War and Revolution”: to promote development of socialism harsh measures and strong leadership were required for the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- Building on the February Revolution; sweeping away “pillars of Tsarism”.
- Rejecting liberal democracy as represented by the provisional government and would-be Constituent Assembly in favour of proletarian democracy, through Soviets and party leadership.
- Need for democratic centralism.

Factor 5  Other aspects
- Precarious situation of the Bolsheviks.
- Assassination attempt on Lenin’s life in August 1918.
- Provinces — plundering houses, violence, looting burzhui.
- War with Germany, politics in Treaty of Brest-Litovsk — not a duty to fight the capitalist imperialists, ending of WWI symbolic of the working class revolution. In reality, Bolshevik support needed to be extended beyond the cities, the army was not fit to fight but territory lost would be regained in the international proletarian revolution.
- Fear of breakdown of whole apparatus of government; failure of world revolutions to materialise.
- Hence, the building of forces of terror and the wiping out of opposition were vital to ensure the survival of the revolution/the Bolsheviks. Creation of a one-party state was justified ideologically in order to avoid the counter-revolution.

Historians Perspective on the issue
R. Pipes  Argues that Lenin intended all of this. He only had one agenda and that was a one-party dictatorship.
Bulgakov/Shiskin  Takes the view that the Bolsheviks were “destructive demagogues”.
O. Figes  Takes the view that “drunken mobs went on the rampage... sailors and soldiers went round the well-to-do districts robbing apartments and killing people for sport.”
R. Sakwa  Takes the view that “it was clear from 1918 that Lenin insisted that the Constituent Assembly had outlived its usefulness”.

Page one hundred fifty-two
Factor 1 Leadership

Aspect 1 Trotsky’s strength

- Trotsky, Commissar of War, who formed the Red Army, used oratory, propaganda machine and the train, to invoke unity and organisation and centralised communications.
- He showed the decisive and strong leadership needed through his inspirational leadership and tough management of the army, and by attaching political commissars to each unit, introducing the death penalty, military specialists, forming labour battalions and recruiting ex-Tsarist officers.
- Lenin’s support of Trotsky.
- Reds did have advantages but the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky should not be overstated.

Aspect 2 Weakness of others

- The main forces of the Whites — a mix of liberals, nationalists, former tsarists, nationalists separatists, SRs and moderates.
- At first Kornilov was inspiring, part of the Don Cossack army and, as Figes states, the growth of the Volunteer Army “was largely due to the charismatic presence of General Kornilov” — but he was killed in April 1918.
- At the beginning, the Volunteer Army (3,000) was largely an officers’ army, and much better organised, eg Denikin’s defeat of the Red Army in the Don region.
- But too often White leaders were at odds to the extent that it had an impact, eg Alexeev and Kornilov had to communicate by messenger (even though they had offices next to each other).
- Denikin condoned the “ethnic cleansing” practices of Cossacks and he helped landowners recover their estates, alienating the peasants.

Factor 2 Geographical advantage

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

Question

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

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to discuss the significance of the role of Trotsky in the outcome of the Civil War against other significant factors involved. It is possible to consider the nature of the Civil War itself; the political, social and economic aspects. It is also important to discuss the role of the Allies, the influence of geography and propaganda.
Factor 3 Political – what they were fighting for

Aspect 1 Bolsheviks
- Bolshevik actions alienated the other groups (Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, liberals and conservatives). But Whites associated with old system of government were considered worse.
- The Bolshevik cause was the patriotic one: to sustain the revolution from outside forces.
- “Peace, Bread, Land” was still the ideology and main policy focus.
- Peasant support was vital. The Bolsheviks made promises earlier than Whites, which helped get support from the peasants.

Aspect 2 Whites
- Whites were unsure if they were fighting for monarchism, republicanism or a Constituent Assembly.
- The spectrum of political cultures as represented by the different factions. These included, for example: the simple resistance — with the Greens, peasants and soldiers; the more sophisticated — with the Allied powers each having their own agenda about what should be done with Russia and what should emerge; the Komuch and the possibility of a third democratic phase with the Czechs as natural allies.

Aspect 3 Nationalities
- White leaders aimed to restore pre-1917 borders. Ukrainians and Georgians wanted autonomy.

Factor 4 Economic and social factors
- Evidence of the institutions of Bolshevism was seen in the Red Army and how it was created (breaking local groups).
- The Red Army managed healthcare and took care of dependants, hence they coped with resistance to grain requisitioning.
- Other institutions might be mentioned (Party, Cheka) — allowed talent to flourish, won allegiance; many did not want to return to the old order.
- The Whites had too many officers already to allow others to rise; the Greens were reactive to the situation, not permanent in their allegiance.

Factor 5 Other groups
- The cause of the Czech Legion hostilities.
- The motivation of the Greens and Makhno’s Insurgent Army.
- The issue of Allied intervention: aid to Whites tended to be ineffectual.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Mawdsley Emphasises the advantage of the “Aladdin’s cave” regarding the territory.
Swain Takes the view that “the Civil War became a war between Red Bolsheviks and the White Generals.”
Lincoln Emphasises the limited nature of White support: “Kilchak drew his main support from the British, the armourers and the financiers of his government... Here at last was a commander who spoke of legality, order, freedom and firm democratic foundations and did not consign capitalists to the purgatory of world revolution”.
Figes Takes the view that “The crucial advantage the Reds had (encouraging more Volunteers to be part of the fighting force), was the the claim that they were defending ‘the Revolution’.”
Factor 1 Luck

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

Factor 2 Opponents’ weaknesses

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

How valid is this assessment of the reasons for Stalin’s emergence as leader?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to address the main issues and arguments surrounding Stalin’s emergence as leader. The candidate should address the role of luck as a prevalent factor. They should also compare all the main contenders in the leadership struggle. By addressing the weaknesses AND strengths of the main contenders — Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, Bukharin and Stalin — candidates should also address ideological debates, policy, and the legacy of Lenin.
Factor 3  Stalin’s strengths

- Good administrator (Commissar for Nationalities).
- Pragmatist/opportunist (Lenin’s death, Stalin’s actions to producing the cult of Lenin and Stalin’s self-adopted role as Lenin’s disciple).
- Stalin stayed in the background — let “Old Bolsheviks” dig each others’ graves.
- Patron (as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment).
- The creator of the mass Party by 1925.
- Control of Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- Manipulated situations to his own benefit (eg during the “war scare” of 1927).
- His determination and ruthlessness.

Factor 4  Ideology

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

Historians  Perspective on the issue

McCauley  Takes the view that Stalin had luck on his side.

Deutscher  Emphasises the importance of Trotsky’s inability to recognise this wilful, sly but shabby and inarticulate man as his rival.

Conquest  Takes the view that Stalin simply outmanoeuvred his colleagues.

Lynch  Takes the view that Stalin was the moderate who refused to become involved in Party warfare.
Factor 1  Political

Aspect 1  Achieved its aims/positive impact
- End to peasant “petit bourgeois” kulaks’ influence which created enemies of the state ripe for purging.
- Socialist solution not to have private holdings (NEP), but “socialist agrotowns”.
- Strengthened control of Central Party apparatus over provinces such as Ukraine and central Asia.
- Exerted control of local Party cliques from above.
- Needed to prepare for potential war and to support industrial expansion.
- Aimed to compete with the USA as a superpower.

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

Factor 2  Economic

Aspect 1  Achieved its aims/positive impact
- 1930 was a bumper year in grain harvest — 83.5 million tons, compared to 73.3 million tons in 1928.
- NEP had failed to solve the eternal problem of feeding the people. Collectivisation had to work.
- Many crops were better suited to larger farms — small farms meant poor use of labour, unable to benefit from mechanisation. Too much consumed by the farm, not enough going to market.
- Larger units of land meant efficiency via mechanisation — tractors and machinery supplied through Machine and Tractor Station.
- Fewer peasants were needed to work the land — released labour for industry.
- Easier for state to take grain for cities and export — all controlled by Communist supporters.
However

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

Factor 3 Social
Aspect 1 Achieved its aims

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

However

- Famine 1932–34 because of high targets at a time of huge drop in grain production due to collectivisation — seven million people died from a manmade famine.
- The most successful peasant farmers were accused of being kulaks and were deported or killed. 25-30% of animals died due to starvation.
- Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) vicious. 1.73 million tons exported.
- 1932 — strict laws introduced to ensure grain was handed over, handing out ten-year sentences for stealing “socialised property”.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Cold War historians Take the view that a “cause” was necessary; today it is more likely to say the “cause” was economic modernisation itself and to that end it was effective... for them.

Moshe Lewin Takes the view that the aim was creating a “quicksand society” where the state was in control of everyone and all were “equal”.

R. Conquest Takes the view that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasants. The human toll was higher than the total deaths for all countries in WW1.

S. Cohen Takes the view 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.
Question 69  How significant was the contribution of the Soviet generals to victory in the Great Patriotic War?

Aim of the question  Candidates would be expected to debate the key factors which allowed Russia to prevail in WW II. They should debate the significance of Stalin’s generals against other relevant factors. These other factors may include heroism of individuals, the role of Stalin and the weaknesses of the enemy – which are the key points in the traditional viewpoint of the outcome of conflict.

Factor 1  The Generals

- General Zhukov’s defence of Moscow in the winter of 1941-42 was the Soviet forces’ first real successful counter-attack.
- Zhukov did have the benefit of calling on newly arrived Siberian shock troops, trained to fight in harsh winter conditions, unlike their German counterparts.
- General Chuikov’s role was vital in the defence of Stalingrad, especially in Operation Uranus when the German Sixth Army was captured.

However

- After Stalin’s purges, the Red Army had been left weakened and leaderless. The initial catastrophic defeats can be put down to the inexperience of the newly appointed Soviet officers and commanders.
- Chuikov’s successes relied too much on the Soviets’ sheer weight in numbers, rather than any tactical expertise. German officers were shocked at Chuikov’s careless counter-attacks and willingness to send his soldiers to near certain deaths in persistent counter-attacks.

Factor 2  Stalin’s leadership

- Stavka (General Staff) set up 23 June 1941 — responsible for military operations. On 30 June, GKO (State Committee of Defence) was set up, more important: military, political, economic life, highly centralised control.
- Stalin used “scorched earth policy” — nothing valuable left for the Germans if the Reds retreated.
- Gosplan (under Voznesensky) produced war plans, decisions went to small centralised GKO, met almost daily (Stalin was chairman).
- Stalin had able individuals such as Molotov (diplomacy), Voznesensky (economic planning), Kruschev (administration) and Zhukov (military). The latter commended Stalin on his readiness to learn about military strategy.

However

- Stalin was unwilling to believe that German forces were invading (despite intelligence reports from Fitin), ordering troops not to retaliate to “provocation” from German forces.
- The Wehrmacht enjoyed astounding successes during the summer of 1941, partly down to Stalin’s indecisiveness.
- Mistakes made in ruthless purging (especially in national groups) were compensated by his ability to command the loyalty of the nation to fight for “Mother Russia”.

Page one hundred fifty-nine
Factor 3  Geo-strategic issues

• The Russian traditional strategy of trading space for time and taking the Germans deeper into a Russian winter — when the Germans were far from prepared for a long war, the size of the country, climate, etc — made it difficult for the Wehrmacht.

• Stalingrad may be discussed in terms of the type of fighting required; suiting the Russians; the use of snipers; manipulating the war zone. Stalingrad is seen at this level as “a matter of prestige between Hitler and Stalin”.

Factor 4  German weaknesses

• Dealing with the Russian climate and land mass meant Germans were overstretched and could not apply the same tactics as in France, and so errors occurred — this altered the focus of the offensive and delayed the attack on Moscow.

• General Field Marshal Friedrich’s German Sixth Army failed to capture Stalingrad and became trapped and overrun by the Soviets, as Hitler refused to let them retreat.

• Effects of Allied bombing of Germany; Allied invasion in the West.

• German General Bock admitted “no further hope of strategic successes” remained.

Factor 5  Economic factors

• The relocation of industries to beyond the Urals (evacuation of approximately ten million people).

• The economic system was already suited to war because of established central planning, unlike Germany which did not have total war economy until 1942.

• Economic stability attained, allowing the supply of the military with adequate material; constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support.

However

• Victor Kravchenko criticised the view of relocation. He states that a minor part was moved, that Stalin had actually supplied Hitler during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and that the retreat after the invasion left Hitler rich resources and abandoned millions.

Historians  Perspective on the issue

Service  Takes the view that the contribution of generals in the Red Army was equally as important to the Soviet victory as Stalin’s.

Nove  Takes the view that Stalin can be held directly responsible for the loss of influential military leaders during the Purges. He can therefore be held, at least in part, responsible for the early military blunders.

Beevor  Takes the view that “they (the Russian generals) were severely hampered by the political demands of the state leadership and suffered a ‘basic fear of responsibility’”.

McCauley  Takes the view that the defence of Moscow was chiefly down to Zhukov’s leadership and tactical expertise. Argues it was down to an overstretched German army. Contrasts Germany’s military and political failures with Soviet Union’s tenacity and responsiveness in war.
Overy takes the view that the reasons for Soviet victory were popular patriotism encouraged to some extent by government, Stalin, political planning and mobilisation. The people and the government, though not trusting each other, were bound together “by mutual necessity”, and caused success. Soviet defence against German attack “could not have been worse,” defence belts not finished, reserve army just formed, poor organisation and preparation.

Medvedev criticises the Generalissimo as being “short-sighted and cruel, careless of losses”.

Page one hundred sixty-one
The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There was suspicion of treason in high places.</td>
<td>There was suspicion of treason on the part of the Empress Alexandra who was German by birth.</td>
<td>Tsarina played down events in the city in her letters to the Tsar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas assumed the responsibilities of commander-in-chief of the Russian Army, which took him away from the capital for long periods. Alexandra and Rasputin began to exercise a disastrous influence over ministerial appointments.</td>
<td>Nicholas’ absence in Petrograd led to huge problems as the Tsarina and Rasputin were left in charge to make disastrous ministerial appointments.</td>
<td>Increased unrest on the streets of Petrograd — 23 February Women’s Day protests turned to mass protest in two days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas seemed less like an upholder of the autocratic tradition than an unwitting satirist of it.</td>
<td>The personalities of Nicholas and Alexandra emphasised the inadequacies of Tsarism.</td>
<td>Heavy defeats at the Front and Tsar was inept as commander-in-chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political and bureaucratic structure was fragile and overstrained.</td>
<td>The Tsarist state was more fragile and overstrained than ever.</td>
<td>An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, diverse in motivation and coming from both upper and lower strata of society: the role of the elites, the alienated intelligentsia, the toothless Duma and the possible palace coup — Yusupov.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source**

- The candidate may review a range of explanations for why the different “props” for Tsarism over the ages were withdrawn under the pressures of the wartime situation; the role of the military leaders, the lower military ranks, the politicians and the political framework, the industrialist classes, the workers, the peasants, etc — all figure in this story of how Tsarist autocracy imploded.
- The Tsar was forced to abdicate by the Generals which supports “revolution from above”; role of Guchkov and Generals Krymov and Alexeev — ready to desert the Tsar, autocracy and their power being saved by his abdication.
- Economic change and its impact by 1917 — the case for modernisation at the turn of the century may be presented, with expansion in production and record harvests in 1913. Similarly, there were growth rates in industry yet this was not benefiting workers — hence strikes and protests, eg Lena goldfields evidence of discontent.
and brutal reaction. Increased problems by 1917, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen by the strikes, Putilov and others — the key was reform to address economic disaster as shown by food shortages, queuing and inflation.

- Impact on the Home Front, disruption in communications, second place to army, food shortages and need to increase productivity and it interrupted the development of the modern state.
- War highlighted the fight for power between the Army elites and the civilian elites.
- Heavy losses and retreat at Battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes.
- By 1915, Russian troops had retreated from Poland.
- Failure of Summer Offensive in 1916.
- Dire performance of War Ministry — lack of ammunition and resources.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

R. Pipes Takes the view that “rebellions happen, revolutions are made”.

P. Kenez Takes the view that “there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population... which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime”.

R. McKean Takes the view that the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight.

R. Wade Takes the view that the long-awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations.
Question 71  
Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of growing support for the Bolsheviks after July 1917.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Lenin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>12th September 1917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Point in Source B | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) | Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies of both capitals | Bolsheviks had control over the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets. | 23 September — Trotsky elected as chairman of Petrograd Soviet. |
| The active majority of revolutionary elements in the two chief cities are large enough to carry the people with it. | The time is right to overthrow the Provisional Government as Lenin is sure the people will support the Bolsheviks. | Even though the Bolsheviks were a majority in the cities, they were still a minority in the rest of Russia. |
| For the Bolsheviks, by immediately proposing a democratic peace, we will form a government which nobody will be able to overthrow. | By offering a democratic peace, the Bolsheviks could form a sustainable government. | Kerensky had arranged for Constituent Assembly elections so Lenin wanted to act before these happened. |
| The people are tired of the waverings of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. It is only our victory in the metropolitan cities that will carry the peasants with us. | The Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks have lost support to the Bolsheviks. | Membership of the Bolshevik party increased from 10,000 in February to 250,000 by October. |
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- By continuing with the war, the Provisional Government continued to lose support.
- The Provisional Government had failed to carry out their promises of elections, freedoms and land for the peasants.
- Mensheviks and SRs lost support after the June Offensive.
- Land — faced with a food shortage which fuelled unrest in the cities and at the Front, the government proclaimed a grain monopoly. The Minister of Agriculture was as unenthusiastic as the peasants and government prices failed to keep up with inflation, even in August. And the question of land was to be discussed after the Constituent Assembly was formed.
- For some, the Bolshevik Party played a key role in guiding the workers to success, under the vital leadership of Lenin — others highlight attitudes to police, army, banks, fraternisation.
- Masses did want to revolt but for a variety of reasons — fatigue, desire for “peace, bread and land” — and Lenin successfully tapped into this.
- The October Revolution was more against the Provisional Government than for Bolshevism.
- For some it was a coup d’état as Lenin and his “evil minority” took over — these views were not widely held within the Bolshevik Party in Petrograd before his return, hence limited support.
- Workers did not expect the Bolsheviks to run the state on their own — consternation in the ranks.
- There was an ambiguity of support. Workers seemed Bolshevik in mood, but it was apparent that they were only supporting them if certain conditions were to be met...the promise of peace and bread. The soldiers were war-weary, not Bolsheviks.
- The Constituent Assembly elections revealed the limited support of the Bolsheviks who gained 24% of the votes, with the SRs gaining 53%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Lenin was a key figure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figes</td>
<td>Takes the view that amidst a social revolution centred the popular realisation of Soviet power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>As a revisionist sees the active role of the lower ranks in pushing forward the revolution and Fitzpatrick takes this further by suggesting that the workers, peasants and soldiers created the revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shukman</td>
<td>Take the view that Trotsky realised they could not be sure of all the workers and soldiers in Petrograd, let alone the country at large.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The following day a special decree on terrorist offences gave the recently reorganised NKVD wide-ranging powers of trial and execution.</td>
<td>Nikolaev’s assassination of Kirov sparked off special powers for the NKVD an anti-terror decree.</td>
<td>Debatable who was behind the Kirov murder — the murder provided a good excuse for the Purges. If the Party leadership (Stalin) was behind it, Purges came from above, if not, Party members destroying each other — leadership forced to cover-up inner destruction of the Party and carry out the Purges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within a few weeks, 13 members of a supposed “Leningrad centre” (including Nikolaev) and at least 98 others scattered across the country had been shot for preparing “terrorist attacks against officials of the Soviet regime”.</td>
<td>Escalation across the country because of alleged threat from Leningrad terrorist centre.</td>
<td>Show trials not from thin air: Trotsky formed “bloc” threat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Central Committee circulated a letter instructing local organisations to hunt down “Trotskyites” and “Zinovievites”.</td>
<td>The Purge of the Party spread to local party groups at the behest of the central committee.</td>
<td>The “top down” view — Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power. Give details of high profile show trials such as Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bukharin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Party’s lack of control over local party branches.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
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<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It has been suggested that he sent the men of the old guard to their deaths as scapegoats for his economic failures.</td>
<td>The Purges started due to economic problems and high-ranking party members were made scapegoats to hide this.</td>
<td>The pace of industrialisation had to quicken and more workers/prisoners were needed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stalin’s real and much wider motive was to destroy the men who represented the potentiality of alternative government. | Stalin’s motive was to destroy any potential threat to his power. | By 1939, less than 1/5 of the membership at the beginning of 1921 remained — but, over 70% of 1939 members had been recruited since 1929.

| Widespread though popular dissatisfaction may have been, it was too amorphous [lacking focus] to constitute any immediate threat to his position. | Many were unhappy with Stalin’s policies and potential social unrest was another possible cause. | External threats, reaction to the threat of war. Strong heavy-industry base needed for arms industry.

| There was also danger from abroad. | Fear of Nazi occupation. | Mid-1930s: Five-Year Plans falling behind schedule — downturn in the Soviet economy after 1936 because of technical problems, Stalin’s management of the economy, and a bad harvest that year. Purges sustained the importance of the NKVD, and they increased the scope of Purges.

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources**

- Purges used to push an unwilling population to work even harder, although already suffering from impact of First Five-Year Plan.
- Tension between workers and managers because of Stakhanovite campaign of 1936 — centre wanted to encourage workers to produce more and to put pressure on managers by demanding tools and materials: if managers did not respond they were denounced by workers.
- BUT, some did not denounce managers: did not want production rates to fall.
- Stalin’s personality — vengeful and paranoid, especially after suicide of his wife in 1932, as he believed others around him would try to betray him.
- Stalin’s self-image — hero of the revolution.
- Stalin thought he was acting in the interests of the Party.
- Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power.
- No master plan — response to circumstances in Soviet Russia.
- Stalin replaced Yagoda — criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough. Yezhov instigated period of terror called Yezhovshchina (known by Western historians as the Great Purge) — reached height in mid-1937 and lasted until 1938.
- People looked for personal gain from Purges — denounced others.
- Government worried about loss of support/control of the masses.
- Purges caused so much social instability that it was impossible for society to challenge government.
- Purges induced fear and submission, like under Lenin and the Tsars.
- Stalin simply followed Lenin’s lead from the Red Terror.
- Campaign encouraging people to criticise officials — to deflect criticism from government.

*Page one hundred sixty-seven*
• People forced to look after their own interests, making it difficult to unite with each other.
• In some ways hysteria was responsible for the spread of terror to such an extent as people were encouraged to denounce others.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Corin and Fiehn Take the view that Stalin was correct to blame NKVD and Yezhov for the extent of the terror

Fitzpatrick Takes the view that the Purges came from “below” — the Purges were the result of decisions made by the Communist leadership in reaction to a series of crises in the mid-1930s.

Cohen Takes the view that Stalin knew old Bolsheviks could see he was not Lenin’s equal. By the end of the 1930s, the party was completely different — most members had joined since 1929.

Deutscher Takes the view that, due to threat of war, Stalin purged the opposition who might interfere with his war plans — war could unite people against Stalin and overthrow him.
SECTION 10 — Spain: the Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

Question 73

How far does the desire to protect the crown explain Miguel Primo de Rivera’s attempts at social and economic reform in the 1920s?

Aim of the question

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

Factor 1 Aims

- A discussion of Primo’s initial motives.
- Protection of the Crown and the Army and of a single, unified Spain.
- Restoration of social order through social improvements, political progress and economic expansion.
- Opposition to growing Republicanism, liberalism and left-wing ideologies.

Factor 2 Economic

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

Factor 3 Political

- Monarch massively unpopular.
- Regionalism popular in Basque Region, Catalonia and several other regions.
- Caciques’ power base damaging to growth and creation of a modern economy.
- Widespread discontent with the Turno Pacifico.
- Possible opposition of Confederation National de Trabajo and Union General de Trabajadores and, in particular, Francisco Largo Caballero in his social crusade.
- Growing Liberal movement.
- Significant Anarchist movement.

Factor 4 Social

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

Factor 5 Military

- Backwards colonial army designed to occupy lost empire.
- Officer corps bloated, technology lacking, promotion class-based.
- Difficulties in Morocco — an issue which had divided Spain over two decades.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gerald Brennan</td>
<td>States that “his greatness — for he had a kind of greatness — came from being a typical Andalusian, drawn larger than life”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley Payne</td>
<td>Argues that (Primo’s) instincts were paternalistic and semi-liberal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolin</td>
<td>(Initially) There were no strikes, production attained new levels, private enterprise flourished. A network of roads, properly banked and well-surfaced, spread over the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>Neither fascist nor democratic, Primo de Rivera’s regime was anchored in the powerful Liberal tradition of Spain, but in its aimless drift towards nowhere it also looked to Fascism for inspiration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Factor 1 Background

Aspect 1 General issues
- Problems of Latifundias, although aristocracy only owned (the best) 6% of land.
- Conservatives believed reform was impossible and would be angered at any attempts.
- Leftists believed collectivisation held the solution and would be unhappy with less.
- Middle-class Republicans believed in reform but baulked at potential sacrifices.
- Bad weather in the year 1930-1931.

Aspect 2 Agrarian Reform Law, September 1932
- Accepted principle of ownership: non-revolutionary.
- Recompensed all but “Grande”.
- However, a huge amount of (potentially pro-Republican) small-holders were involved.
- Some argue it was complicated, ineffective and expensive.
- Reforms’ limited nature gained no new friends on the Left but alienated Centre and Right.
- Caballero — “An aspirin to cure appendicitis”.

Aspect 3 Agrarian issues — covered by Caballero’s “Eight Laws”
- Security of tenure.
- Security of occupation.
- Working conditions.
- Inefficient land use.
- Centuries of neglect had left a hugely inefficient rural sector, often unable to meet the demands of its population. Polarisation of rich and poor had carried on apace. South was mainly large estates in the hands of a few wealthy people. North had more small-holdings.

Factor 2 Failure due to lack of finance
- Spain suffered from the world economic collapse post-1929, therefore any government in 1931-33 would lack finance.
- Morgan’s Bank cancelled a loan of 60 million dollars agreed prior to the Republic.
- Massive debts were inherited and the value of the peseta had collapsed.
- There was a flight of capital in anticipation of wealth taxes.
- The budget given to the Institute of Agrarian Reform was only 50 million pesetas — intended to resettle between 60,000 and 75,000 families a year.
- Money was used to retire generals and officers on full pay (could also argue this was not lack of finance but incorrect priorities).

Question 74

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

Aim of the question
The question highlights finance as one issue preventing the success of Azaña’s agrarian reforms. Candidates might assess the reasons why the reforms failed, or indeed question the extent to which they did fail. The candidate may discuss the level to which the reforms did succeed and the other factors affecting this.
Factor 3  Failure due to other reasons:
- The Agrarian Reform Law of 1932 was too timid and could never have tackled Spain’s deep-rooted problems.
- Compensation was paid to most landowners.
- Azaña was more interested in attacking the Church and reorganising the Army.
- In many places, the new laws were simply ignored by the landowners and law enforcement was weak.
- The reforms showed the failures in the coalition — Azaña did not want revolutionary reforms which angered the trade unions and the Left. Caballero’s reforms as Minister of Labour were much more effective.
- Many on the Left would never have accepted reforms as they wanted revolution and collectivisation.

Factor 4  Effect
- At a local level, landlords simply ignored the new legislation and employed armed retainers.
- Latifundias remained — many were recompensed for land; minifundias and other small-holders also suffered, despite many being pro-Republic.
- Prieto’s reforms on irrigation and railroads were hampered by fiscal restrictions.
- Outside labour legislation “punished” braceros (manual labourers) from high unemployment areas.
- Revolutionary measures.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Payne  Caballero’s eight laws gave better pay, power, conditions and respect and constituted an impressive achievement. However, Caballero stated it would be unreasonable to go beyond the limits established in the most advanced countries of Western Europe. Republican reforms tended to reflect fragmentation rather than provide the means to overcome it.

Malfeiks  States that “… the nature of the rural oligarchy and its operation of the large estates may have made land reform economically justifiable… they did not thereby make it especially practicable in economic or political terms”.

Preston  States that “the response of big landowners… had been rapid… Their press networks spouted prophecies of doom… and further… the law of obligatory cultivation was effectively ignored and… it did nothing to help the smallholders of the north”.

Thomas “…the law of Términos municipales adversely affected migrant workers. Its effect was to prevent a further drift of labour to the cities… if it had been carried out fairly… it might have had a startling effect… But the reform was not properly introduced at all… the only real solution to the agrarian problem was to find a way to reduce the population on the land by encouraging industry”.

Page one hundred seventy-two
How far can the Asturias Rising of 1934 be described as the “first battle of the Civil War”?

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

**Factor 1 Evidence which agrees with the view that it was the “first battle” of the Civil War**
- Left had good reason to fear Robles’ rhetoric.
- Asturias Rising was inspired by legal inclusion of elected members, therefore it was an illegal attack on government. Short-term devastation over and above that required to restore order, therefore an attack on workers by the forces of reaction.
- Asturias not alone, there were strikes all over Spain.
- Declaration of Catalan State on announcement of Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA) delegates — undemocratic.
- Insurrectionary behaviour of Confederation National de Trabajo (CNT), Union General de Trabajadores (UGT), Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI).
- Reactions to Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Tierra (FNTT) strikes, banned on grounds of harvest being “sacred”.
- Suspension of El Obrera de la Tierra.
- Suspension of strike meetings.
- Azaña, Companys, Caballero imprisoned.
- Government of Catalonia disbanded.
- Statute of autonomy suspended.
- Martial law.

**Factor 2 Evidence which contradicts the view that it was the “first battle” of the Civil War**
- Coordinated by trades unions therefore a “normal strike”.
- The Civil War did not break out until 1936 and when it did, it was initiated by the Right.
- Labour conditions in Asturias were horrendous and strike action was justified.
- Brutality of Casas Viejas.
- Cortes not disbanded.
- No right-wing coup.
- Socialist Party and trade unions not proscribed.
- Both sides participated in the 1936 election and initially accepted the results.
- It was election defeat which persuaded the Right to rebel.

**Factor 2 Evidence which suggests this increased tension, but was not the “first battle”**
- Convinced Right that Left had abandoned democracy. War was closer.
- Convinced Left that any gains made in 1931-33 were doomed.
- Left knew that unity was essential.
- Polarisation between Right and Left.
Historians Perspective on the issue:
Carr: States that “Robles had declared... that socialism must be defeated at all costs. When it (the Asturias Rising) was over the nation was morally divided between those who favoured repression and those who did not”.

Preston: Emphasises the increasing mimicking of Fascist tactics: “A crowd of 20,000 gathered and shouted ‘¡jefe!¡jefe!¡jefe!’ and ‘Our Leaders never make mistakes!’”

Thomas: States that: “Largo reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of preparing a proletarian rising... describes this as a fatal error of judgement. Political feelings were... worsened beyond cure (during Bienio Negro) Where lay the difference between Dollfuss and Gil Robles? Gil Robles did nothing to make it clear.”

Brenan: Asturias “first battle of the Civil War” (left united against CEDA).
Factor 1 Evidence which suggests that Franco’s rise was a result of his ability to manage political rivals

- Franco was revered by the Army of Africa and viewed by them as the leader; Franco used this against other generals.
- Franco skilfully manipulated the political vacuum to become the undisputed leader.
- Military tactics: Franco argued that the delayed military victory was deliberate in order to ensure complete political control of the country.
- Franco’s skill in negotiating with Hitler and Mussolini to deliver foreign aid meant that he was unchallengeable as the conduit for aid.

Factor 2 Evidence which suggests that Franco’s rise was due to other factors

- Deaths of Sotelo, Sanjurjo and Primo de Rivera meant that Franco was placed in a fortunate position.
- Franco had resources at his disposal, including aid from Germany and Italy not available to anyone else.
- Franco made military mistakes including at Alcazar, Madrid and Brunette, which did not prove crucial, leaving his reputation largely intact.
- The need of various groups on the Right to find a unifying leader.

Historians Perspectives on the issue

Thomas Argues that (before the rising), on the mainland, “Franco remained for some time a myth. He was spoken of incessantly, but no one seemed to know where he was.”; “He established himself as the political leader of the most passionately concerned country in the world by a contempt for political passions.”; “…no doubt he was assisted…by Serrano Súñer.”; “(There were) many opportunities for the Nationalist Alliance to collapse.”; “Franco’s calm, effortless, professional superiority first obtained him the leadership.”

Beevor States that “(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command.”

Preston States that “With his major political rivals all dead, Franco was free to control... the political direction of the Nationalists.”; “Franco (was) profligate with the lives of his troops — questionable strategic wisdom.”

Ellwood Argues that “inhibition on behalf of the western democracies, together with the active involvement of Italy and Germany, undoubtedly swung the balance decisively in favour of Franco.”
To what extent did Soviet aid make a positive contribution to the defence of the Spanish Republic between 1936 and 1939?

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

**Factor 1 Positive aspects to Soviet support**

**Aspect 1 Military**
- Only substantial support available.
- Imposed necessary military discipline on a disorganised Republic.
- If Fascist support had been unopposed, the Republic would have been defeated sooner.
- International Brigades and associated triumphs and advantages.

**Aspect 2 Economic**
- Argument that “accounting deficit” was small.
- Specific reference to “good”aid (tanks — excellent, “Mosca” significant in aerial defence, logistics important).

**Aspect 3 Psychological**
- Huge boost to morale.

**Factor 2 Negative aspects to Soviet support**

**Aspect 1 Military**
- Less than Italians and Germans.

**Aspect 2 Political**
- Nature of support aimed at continuation, not victory.
- Communist control of Republic inevitable.
- Accusations of political sectarianism against anarchists and Part of Marxist Unification (POUM).
- Distancing from western democracies.
- Ultimately unreliable – Nazi-Soviet Pact.
- Communisation of cause.

**Aspect 3 Economic**
- Argument that accountancy deficit was large and gold was lost to Moscow.

**Aspect 4 Psychological**
- Attacks on collectivisation led to demoralising effect on militias.
Historians Perspective on the issue
Esenwein States that “…the communists were determined put the Popular Front policy to… the collective security of the Soviet Union. For many, the foreign volunteers who had come to Spain embodied the international spirit of anti-fascism.”

Brenan “Stalin saw to it that the arms which he supplied… should secure the predominance of the communist party.”

Carr Argues that “The war was kept going by Soviet supplies and the Popular Army, (del Vayo)...was unconditionally in the service of the communist party. ...The International Brigades were shock troops whose losses were among the heaviest in military history... very few Russians actually in Spain. ... the communists... virtually controlled the destinies of the left camp. Many conservatives (in Britain)... because of their fear of Bolshevism privately hoped Franco would win.”

Beevor States that “The arrival of the Russian Mosca made the Heinkel 51 obsolete.”; “(In 1937) Stalinist spy mania was reaching a peak.”
Candidates may be awarded a total of 5 marks for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Alfonso was held responsible by many for his own downfall due to his incompetence, lifestyle and, latterly, his alliance with Primo di Rivera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Speech Made to announce his departure and to attempt to retain some credibility and leave the possibility of his return open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>1931 Alfonso’s farewell speech following the elections which returned a majority of anti-monarchical parties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The elections held on Sunday proved to me that I no longer hold the love and affection of my people.</td>
<td>The elections are mentioned at the outset. These were the immediate reason for his demise.</td>
<td>Specific analysis of the electoral results which gave sweeping gains to anti-monarchical parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A king may make mistakes.</td>
<td>Alfonso also mentions his own “mistakes”.</td>
<td>His own “mistakes” were manifold, but chiefly his alliance with the dictator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that I am fulfilling the duty which the love of my country dictates.</td>
<td>He claims this is voluntary for the love of his country.</td>
<td>Reference to details of Alfonso’s playboy lifestyle throughout his reign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I prefer to stand resolutely aside rather than to provoke a conflict which might array my compatriots against one another in civil war and patricidal strife.</td>
<td>He also claims his motives are to avoid civil war.</td>
<td>Growth of political extremes in Spain had indeed led to some civil strife and it is possible his presence could have prompted more. Alfonso was the subject of several assassination attempts during his reign including on his wedding day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

Historians Perspective on the issue

Carr  Argues that “The Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch... The Socialists considered (it) reactionary... The anarchists rejected it in toto. To the regionalists it... strangled local interests... the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform... The destruction of the historic provinces and their replacement by artificial entities... was at the root of the regionalist movements. (it was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy)... the conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy.”

Brenan  States that “Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another. ...the corruption of all the upper layers of society. The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes... to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too. Since 1788, not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign.”

Preston  Argues that “(the monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power.”
The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The new government seemed obsessively biased against the Right [as shown when] Prime Minister Azaña pardoned those workers and left-wing soldiers involved in the Asturias and other risings.</td>
<td>Perception of some that the government were “biased against the Right”.</td>
<td>Plotting had been going on for some time, not directly linked to Popular Front for many. The government had little time to show its bias before the uprising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franco and Mola were redeployed, with the aim of neutralising their potential as plotters. Right-wing newspapers were promoting an atmosphere of impending doom, encouraging the Right wing of the army in its plots.</td>
<td>Franco and Mola’s redeployment looked like another attack on the Army, to many people on the Right.</td>
<td>Popular Front campaign based around the “political prisoners”, therefore an issue for both Left and Right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right-wing newspapers were promoting an atmosphere of impending doom.</td>
<td>Press were producing propaganda designed to provoke the Right wing/conservatives</td>
<td>Newspapers were rife with stories of murder and assassinations by the “Reds”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The month of May began with a general strike invoked by the anarchist CNT.</td>
<td>Behaviour of Left would frighten many on the Right.</td>
<td>By 1936, the Left were in little mood for restraint and there was an outburst of demands from the Left.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

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

Beevor Emphasis that the Carlists were famous for their ferocious rejection of modernity.

Robinson States that “Sotelo (believed) that the revolution of 1934 proved that the Left were not willing to accept a parliamentary system which allowed the Right to govern.”

Thomas Argues that “Between February and June 1936 (according to Robles)... 160 churches had been burned to the ground, 269 mainly political murders and 1,287 assaults... 69 political centres had been wrecked, there had been 113 general strikes and 228 partial strikes, while ten newspaper offices had been sacked. The conditions in the country and the regime were as grave as Robles described them. This unified the Right behind the ‘Crusade’.”

Payne States that “… a very large number of people wanted a new Spain—which would be worthy of Spain’s great past... Murders for political reasons (in 1936) were reported almost daily.”
Question 80 How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the role of the Barcelona rising in the growing disunity amongst Republican forces after 1937?

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source C</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fighting in the streets of Barcelona between supporters of the POUM aided by some anarchists, on the one hand, and government forces on the other.</td>
<td>Long-standing nature of divisions on the Left.</td>
<td>Fighting was initiated by government forces in reaction to trivial incident. Anarchist occupation of the telephone exchange was unacceptable to their “allies”. Animosity between POUM and the Communist Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The POUM, who had always been hostile to unity, talked of beginning the struggle for working-class power.</td>
<td>The POUM were pursuing their own agenda.</td>
<td>Anarchists believed they had been starved of resources by the Communists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News of the fighting was greeted with incredulity, consternation and then extreme anger by the International Brigades.</td>
<td>International Brigaders wanted to fight international fascism rather than internal fighting.</td>
<td>The International Brigades were not universally welcomed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source D</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The distance between the base and the leadership widened even further, for example... in May 1937.</td>
<td>Political extreme led to divisions within the anarchists and the left in general.</td>
<td>Accounts of the early days of the conflict, including Orwell’s, highlight the popular enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of many of the working class anarchists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This provoked the key event that brought down the government of Largo Caballero.</td>
<td>May Days, when CNT and FAI leadership ordered their militants to lay down their arms were key in bringing down the government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It finally broke the tremendous moral influence of the CNT-FAI on its main stronghold — Catalonia.</td>
<td>The laying down of arms meant that the CNT-FAI lost its influence in its main power base of Catalonia — this weakened it overall.</td>
<td>The conflict which exploded in May 1937 in Barcelona is believed by many to have been engineered by the Stalin-led Communists who sought to conceal any evidence of revolutionary behaviour due to their need for western alliances.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The way was now open for the pro-Russian government of Juan Negrín to destroy... the anarchist-dominated “Council of Aragón”.

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

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

**Brenan** States that “By the end of 1936 the period of social revolution was over; (the Communists) stood for a regular army instead of party militias, for an end to all revolutionary measures, for greater centralisation and a more efficient conduct of the war. In this, Prieto and Negrín with about half of the socialists and all the Republicans supported them. On the other side stood the Prime Minister, Largo Caballero, with his group of Left-wing Socialists and all the CNT.”

**Esenwein** States that “Up to the May events of 1937, the main rivals of the Communists were to be found on the far Left... Yet not long after (they) were challenged not only by the caballeristas, the anarcho-syndicalists and the poumistas, but also by high-ranking members of the government itself (Including Azaña). ... The CNT-FAI was not called to account for its role in the disturbances... partly because its relative power and strength was still considerable.”

**Preston** States that “...after the May Days (there were complaints) about (Caballero’s) ineptitude, lack of control... In large part because of Communist pressure (he) was replaced on 17 May.”
Question 81
To what extent was Chamberlain’s resignation due to his inability to gear the economy effectively for “total war”?

Aim of the question
The objective of the question is to evaluate to what extent the state of the economy was responsible for Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s resignation in May 1940. The candidate will be expected to give an analysis of the isolated factor as well as evaluate its significance in regard to Chamberlain’s downfall. Candidates should offer other reasons for Chamberlain’s resignation and compare their relative importance to that of the economy.

Factor 1 The economy
Aspect 1 Throughout his tenure as Prime Minister, Chamberlain’s management of the economy has been criticised
- There was concern that, to prepare for war, the workforce of Britain had to be organised in such a way as to maximise its potential. One of the major criticisms of Chamberlain was his inability to organise the workforce with any specific focus – domestically or militaristically.
- Chamberlain’s government was ideologically opposed to extensive state intervention in the economy.
- Whilst there was a demand and a need for extra workers to provide the manpower for re-armament, there was still an estimated one million unemployed by 1940. This reflected badly on Chamberlain’s organisational skills at a time of national emergency, when commentators thought that full employment was not only achievable but necessary.
- The consequence of this economic mismanagement was the failure of essential industries to work at peak capacity due to a lack of manpower.
- Chamberlain’s relationship with the unions has also to be scrutinised when we consider the economy as a factor in his resignation. Throughout the 1930s, industrial relations were poor between Chamberlain (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer) and the trades union movement, due to the austere government policies and the high unemployment of the hungry ’30s. When Chamberlain needed their cooperation to fulfil his economic targets, they refused to work with the man that they believed responsible for so much misery in the recent past.
- The trades unions were supported by the parliamentary Labour Party.
- There was a concern that the government would limit access to resources and goods usually needed by the domestic market. The consequence of this was a serious threat of uncontrolled inflation which would ultimately increase the cost of living, thereby making people poorer. After the lean years of the early ’30s, this was not popular.
- Perhaps Chamberlain’s overall failure in the management of the economy before the war was his inability to appoint a cabinet member with overall control of the economy. The result was that a holistic view of the economy was not realised. Therefore, the transition from a peacetime economy to wartime economy was slow and uncoordinated.
- These issues exposed failings in Chamberlain’s office at a time of national emergency, thereby putting his leadership skills under increasing scrutiny.
Aspect 2 Mitigating factors in Chamberlain’s management of the economy
- To allow the government to control inflation they restricted the supply of foodstuffs and, more importantly, raised taxation. These policies were not popular with the general public. Nevertheless, there was some understanding concerning the need for more monies to be generated to pay for future conflict.

Factor 2 Chamberlain’s resignation was due to his policy of appeasement

Aspect 1 Appeasement as the cause of resignation
- Chamberlain was criticised for his policy of appeasement as it gave Germany and her allies time to re-arm and prepare for war, whilst at this time Britain was struggling to do so itself.
- The policy was criticised as an attempt to avoid conflict by using inappropriate concession and negotiation that led the country to the edge of annihilation.
- Chamberlain was ultimately associated with this policy which is given as one of the main reasons for his downfall and, consequently, his resignation.

Aspect 2 Appeasement was a reasonable policy
- Nevertheless it was a popular policy at the time and was endorsed by both sides in parliament.
- In retrospect the policy of appeasement was seen by some as a farsighted policy which was Britain’s only realistic option which allowed Britain time to rearm.
- Whilst the argument about the importance of appeasement continues, we need to consider the fact that at that time it was not the policy of appeasement which was the issue, because it had cross-party support — it was the leadership style or the lack of leadership of Chamberlain himself.
- Arguably, the policy of appeasement continued by Chamberlain demonstrated to the empire that Britain had done everything possible to avoid another war — therefore when war did come, the empire quickly came to Britain’s aid.

Factor 3 Lack of allies caused Chamberlain’s resignation

Aspect 1 Lack of allies
- With the real possibility of war looming, Chamberlain tried but was unsuccessful in gaining meaningful alliances to fight a successful war in Europe.
- The USA confirmed its isolationist policy towards conflict in Europe.
- Czechoslovakia was conceded after the Munich agreement of September 1938.
- Chamberlain’s distrust of the USSR prevented any alliance in the East against Germany.
- This left France with her heavily defended border and her unstable government as Britain’s only viable option.

Aspect 2 Support of allies
- France had large armed forces and had built the Maginot Line to guard against German aggression.
Factor 3 The Phoney War, the Norway Campaign and subsequent parliamentary debates caused Chamberlain’s resignation.

Aspect 1 Issues arising from Chamberlain’s handling of the Phoney War

- Once Germany violated the ultimatum over Poland, there was a two-day silence from the government which led Chamberlain’s opponents to believe that he was preparing for another negotiation with Germany. This act reduced his credibility even with his own party.
- Whilst fears were allayed on 3 September, the preceding weeks and months of inactivity led his critics to question his appetite for war.
- This appetite may have been sated by the Army’s first taste of combat in Norway. However, the shambolic sortie to Norway — and Chamberlain’s association with it — perhaps for some illustrated his inability to plan, equip and execute a basic military strategy. This lack of ability is seen as a metaphor not only for his leadership so far but also for his ability to sustain coherent leadership for the duration of the war.
- Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that politicians such as Churchill, who was the instigator of the Norway Campaign, emerged blameless.
- Indeed, it was the resultant vote of no confidence in parliament after this event that persuaded him to resign, as a huge majority of over 200 seats was reduced to 80.
- Ultimately, it needs to be realised that the Norway Campaign was indeed one of the factors responsible for his resignation.

Aspect 2 Issues beyond Chamberlain’s control

- Changing attitudes of many members of the Conservative Party towards Chamberlain by May 1940.
- Long-standing Labour Party criticisms of Chamberlain.
- Labour Party’s refusal to serve under Chamberlain in a coalition government.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Angus Calder Suggests that it was not Chamberlain alone who contributed to difficulties faced by Britain but that: “His optimism, which now seems so feckless, was shared by other leaders of both major parties.”

Robert MacKay Contends that: “Absolute readiness for war is probably an unattainable ideal for any country, not least because of the uncertainty about the exact circumstances in which a future war might take place.”

A.J.P. Taylor Concludes that the policy of appeasement was “both logical and realistic, although it was not well executed”.

Feiling States that: “Appeasement was not his (Chamberlain’s) personal policy. Not only was it supported by his colleagues; it expressed the general desire of the British people.”
Factor 1 To evaluate its success candidates may use evidence such as:

Aspect 1 Military

- The reasons for bombing Germany were to disrupt industrial production of weapons, to wear down German morale and to force the German army and air force to defend against the bombing over a wide area.
- Repeated attacks on Germany caused the diversion of industrial war production to defensive rather than offensive weapons.
- Forcing the Germans onto the defensive was a critical factor in the liberation of Europe and the concomitant defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945.
- The bombing campaign diverted a great deal of Germany’s war effort away from the war at sea or the main fighting fronts. German bomber production was cut back and one-third of the production of heavy guns, electrical and radar equipment went to anti-aircraft defences.
- Bombing was vital to British victory as “bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential”. Germany mounted a huge effort to protect itself from Bomber Command and this, in turn, deprived its army and air force of men and equipment. 75% of its heavy anti-tank guns, manned by 900,000 soldiers, had to be used as anti-aircraft guns, scattered across Germany.
- German factories had to concentrate on producing aircraft which were used in a defensive role.
- Erhard Milch, a German field marshal, commented that “The British inflicted grievous and bloody injuries upon us, but the Americans stabbed us to the heart.”
- Bombing was a component part of the wider strategy, complementary to land invasion and to the exercise of tactical air power. In October 1940, the War Cabinet agreed “the civilian population around the target areas must be made to feel the weight of the war”. Weeks later, it sanctioned an experimental “terror raid” on Manheim. “Thru British and Germans alike”, asserts Basil Collier, “believed that destroying cathedrals and hospitals and killing non-combatants of all ages and both sexes, either in the course of impracticable attempts to bomb strictly military objectives...[was]...both legitimate and sound.”

Aspect 2 Economy

- A key objective of the bombing offensive was ultimately to weaken the German war effort by disrupting its economy. The defeat of the German air force coincided with improvements in bombing accuracy which made the bomber force a valuable wartime weapon.
Churchill, in the final volume of his memoirs, said: “In judging the contribution to victory of strategic air power... before the end, we and the US had developed striking forces so powerful that they played a major part in the economic collapse of Germany.”

Aspect 3 Propaganda
- Bombing was justified on the grounds that the Germans had employed similar tactics against Britain (the Blitz), and retaliation in kind was a morale booster for the British public.

Factor 2 For balance, the candidate might offer the counter-argument that the bombing campaign was not successful

Aspect 1 Military
- By August 1941, “only about one in five of Bomber Command’s aircraft was putting its bombs within five miles of its target” due to difficulties encountered in flying in darkness and in bad weather.
- In the autumn of 1941, the decision was taken by Air Ministry planners to switch the order of target priority. Area bombing was to be the first priority and precision raids would be carried out when appropriate. The bomber force needed more aircrews, bigger bombers and better navigation equipment to be effective.

Aspect 2 Economy
- There was further criticism of the bombing strategy when economists looked at the amount of men and material involved. They claimed that the immense resources devoted to Bomber Command could have been better employed during the war.

Aspect 3 Propaganda
- German morale may even have been strengthened rather than damaged. Wholesale defiance on the part of the German civilian population was not expected. Analysts thought the German population would capitulate.
- They may have been arrogant to think that the reaction of the German civilian population would be any less patriotic than the reaction of Londoners during the Blitz.
- This strategy was further compromised by the moral issue that area bombing would ultimately lead to what we now call collateral damage.
- As the war was nearing an end, it became harder to argue that raids were saving the lives of Allied soldiers.
- Churchill’s attitude towards the morality of bombing changed after the destruction of Dresden (February 1945).
- Germany’s losses in the bombing offensive are estimated to be as high as 600,000, most of them civilians. A further five million were “de-housed”.
- By 1945, the major cities of the Third Reich had been razed to rubble.

Historians Perspective on the issue
Richard Overy Argues that bombing was vital to British victory. “Bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential.” Germany mounted a huge effort to protect itself from Bomber Command and this, in turn, deprived its army and air force of men and equipment. “The bombing campaign diverted a great deal of Germany’s war effort away from the war at sea or the main
Archibald Sinclair comments that: “The objective of our bombing offensive in Germany is to destroy the capacity of Germany to make war.”

Max Hastings argues in the aspect of denting German morale Britain failed: “It was a terrible experience to be bombed, but German morale never came near to collapse until the very end.” If anything, the continuous bombings of German cities only strengthened morale.

Detlef Siebert is equally sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production and its population, as is Martin Kitchen.
**Question 83**

“Only the Lend-Lease programme prevented the collapse of the British economy.”

How valid is this view of the impact of the war on the British economy?

**Aim of the question**

This question calls for an analysis of the impact of the war on the British economy, and hence some appreciation of the country’s finances and economic position at the beginning of the war may be a useful starting point. However, the essay should concentrate on the war years, assessing how much the war cost Britain in lost exports and its impact on the industrial infrastructure of the country. The candidate should have a clear knowledge of government strategies for paying for the war and the value of US Lend-Lease to the British economy.

**Factor 1** Lend Lease played a crucial role in Britain’s wartime economy

**Aspect 1** State of British economy before Lend Lease

- A brief explanation of the shortcomings of the British economy at the outbreak of war.
- Roosevelt instigated Lend-Lease in March 1941, nine months before the USA entered World War 2, as Britain was running out of money to pay for the war.
- Britain was the greatest recipient of Lend-Lease.
- The origins, nature and extent of the Lend-Lease programme.
- Canada gave Britain a gift of a considerable amount of money during the war.
- Reverse Lend-Lease supplied equipment and food to US forces, eg Spitfires to the US Air Force.

**Aspect 2** Consequences

- Arguably, Lend-Lease merely postponed an ongoing decline — the level of debt incurred by Britain and the reliance on the USA for machine tools and other essential production tools even prior to the programme.
- Lend-Lease ended suddenly after the defeat of Japan which left Britain facing a “financial Dunkirk” (Keynes).

**Factor 2** Government policies

**Aspect 1** Economic

- Income tax was raised to 50% in 1941.
- 1941 Budget promoted saving to prevent inflation.
- Restriction of civilian consumption kept inflation in check.
- The Board of Trade managed a reduction in the output of civilian goods. Production of consumer goods fell to half its pre-war level, leading to shortages of household goods such as furniture and clothing.
- Government controlled imports through shipping licenses.
- Reduction of imports by 40% during the war.
- Rationing was introduced in January 1940. It was generally considered to be a fair policy and was therefore quite popular.
- Alcohol and cigarettes were not rationed, but were heavily taxed to increase government revenue.
• Food was subsidised — much of the money came from tax revenues from alcohol and cigarettes.
• Ministry of Supply supplied the army, Ministry of Aircraft Production supplied the RAF, Admiralty supplied the navy.

Aspect 2  Rationing
• Shortages of some foods and consumer goods due to restriction of imports.
• Rationing — complaints that individuals involved in heavy manual work did not have sufficient rations.
• There was a large black market in rationed goods and items. These were affordable by the wealthy whilst the poor had to do without.
• The impact of the war on the balance of payments.

Factor 3  Organising the workforce
Aspect 1  War work
• Minister of Labour and National Service, Ernest Bevin, was responsible for organising the nation’s workers.
• Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940 gave Bevin the authority to force individuals to do war work.
• 10,000,000 people employed in active service or employed in the munitions industries.
• Key workers were prevented from joining the armed forces to ensure war materials were produced.
• Unions reluctantly accepted dilution to ensure productivity.
• Bevin consulted both unions and employers over policy to avoid industrial unrest.

Aspect 2  Industrial disputes
• 250,000 men and 90,000 women were directed into wartime industrial work.
• Industrial disputes continued throughout the war.

Historians
Paul Addison, Angus Calder, Jefferys and Mackay

Perspective on the issue
Argue that the government fiscal policies (even a 50% basic income tax rate), the returns from indirect taxation and the seven-fold increase in personal savings would not, as stated in the Test of War, “taken together, have been sufficient to finance the protracted war in which Britain was engaged”.

Cairncross and Cole
Barnett and Tomlinson

May offer a different angle on the issue.

In particular, note Barnett’s thesis that the British economy was a rotting Victorian hulk anyway and unlikely to have stood on its own two feet for very long within a total war effort.
Factor 1 Evidence of a “New Jerusalem” which may include:

Aspect 1 Economy
- An examination of the principles and workings of the welfare state as a system of universal and comprehensive services, and the degree to which this found acceptance with the public.
- An appraisal of Labour domestic policies, such as nationalisation.
- The extent to which there was a redistribution of wealth within the country. An indicator of change might be that a high proportion of its wealth is shared amongst most of its people. This is unlike a traditional capitalist state, where most of the wealth is in the hands of a few of its people. This might be one of the performance indicators used by candidates to establish the true extent of socialist change within a “New Jerusalem”.
- Some attempt at public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy was made.
- The most exhaustive study of Labour’s economic policy concludes that it was difficult to see how this performance could have been improved upon.
- When judged against a range of contemporary yardsticks — the performance of previous governments, the aims of Labour compared with the Conservative Party, and the economic circumstances inherited in 1945 — Attlee’s record emerges in a far more positive light.

Aspect 2 Health
- The development of the NHS and an evaluation of its worth as a policy of equality.
- Bevan built an NHS system from scratch, despite the formidable opposition of the BMA.
- Universality meant an end to the hated means test.

Aspect 3 Housing
- Provision of quality, affordable council housing.

Aspect 4 Welfare
- Labour went beyond even Beveridge’s ideas on welfare.

Aspect 5 Education
- The extension of educational provision can also be used to establish a baseline of provision which can be linked to the ideal of a social meritocracy.

Factor 2 Arguments which think that a “New Jerusalem” was not achieved
Aspect 1 Economy

- Labour ministers, it has been argued, may have introduced long-overdue social reforms but they failed to redistribute wealth or to break down rigid class barriers, eg 1% of the population still owned 50% of private capital.
- There is debate over how popular and how effective the policy of nationalisation was. Was it popular at the polls?

Aspect 2 Health

- The NHS did not eliminate private medicine, nor discourage its use in NHS hospitals.
- Consultants could work for both the NHS and also have private patients.

Aspect 3 Housing

- Disappointment at Labour’s record on the housing issue which arguably led to their electoral defeat in 1951.

Aspect 4 Welfare

- A benefit system based on flat-rated insurance payments was hardly equal in nature. Some even saw it as a stealth tax on the least well off.
- The principle of universal benefits might aid those most well off who didn’t need them.

Aspect 5 Education

- Little was done to promote educational equality.

Aspect 6 Political change

- For left-wing critics, the immediate post-war years were marked by a betrayal of socialist idealism and by wasted opportunities. Instead of using public backing as evidence in 1945 to introduce wholesale socialist change, Labour instead opted for cautious reformism — eg failing to break down entrenched class barriers.
- The major complaint of left-wing critics has been that the Attlee years did not see enough socialism to create a “New Jerusalem”.
- However, it needs to be considered that any government can be criticised for not going far enough, and for those hoping to see the elimination of capitalism, Attlee's ministry proved to be profoundly disappointing.

Historians Perspective on the issue

Kenneth Morgan, Henry Pelling, Alec Cairncross and Peter Hennessy

Supporters of the Attlee reforms, they feel that the Attlee era constituted Labour’s finest hour. This period went some way towards satisfying wartime demands for a “New Jerusalem”: the economy recovered from the ravages of war while avoiding a return to mass unemployment, and ministers never wavered in their determination to fulfil the Beveridge promise of social protection “from the cradle to the grave”.

Jim Fyrth and John Saville

Claims that the Attlee government “disillusioned its own militants by achieving only modest reform, so providing a springboard for the rich to take off into the profiteers’ paradise of the 1950s.”

Correlli Barnett

Is highly critical of wartime evangelists of a “Brave New World”, such as Beveridge, who were allowed to prevail over those aware of the “Cruel Real World” of lost exports and vanished overseas investment.

Kevin Jeffreys

Calls the Attlee reforms “a revolution without tears”.

Page one hundred ninety-three
Question 85  To what extent did the war hasten Britain's imperial decline?

Aim of the question  The candidate would be expected to review the extent of decolonisation that had taken place by 1951, setting it within the context of imperial decline, and offering an appreciation of the factors at work in hastening decolonisation and a degree of analysis of whether the war was the primary agent in bringing about this process or merely an accelerating factor.

Factor 1  Economic
Aspect 1  Impact of the War
• Reference to specific examples of decolonisation, in particular India and Pakistan independence (1947), but also Transjordan (1946), Burma and Ceylon (1948), Palestine (1948) and Libya (1951).
• The loss of India was a major blow to Britain’s military and political presence East of Suez.
• Question of whether Indian independence and further decolonisation was a noble foreign policy initiative or an abandonment of the Indian sub-continent to civil war with undue haste. An analysis of the cost of the war and Britain’s additional military and financial obligations as a reason for decolonisation.
• However, Britain continued to see itself as the world’s third greatest power, and to that end retained a military presence in significant and strategic areas of the world which it could ill afford.

Aspect 2  Longer-term economic reasons
• From being a great creditor nation with the world’s most powerful currency, Britain ended the war in debt to the tune of £3,500 million, a huge balance of payments deficit and an enormous loss of overseas markets.
• By July 1947, sterling was freely convertible to dollars, threatening to wipe out Britain’s dollar reserve and virtually destroying the £ as a trading currency.
• However the sterling area still accounted for over half the world’s trade in the immediate post-war years, and Britain retained close commercial ties with her dominions — despite interference from the USA.
• After the financial crises of 1947, 1949 and 1951, Britain’s economic capacity to remain a world power, even with US aid, was severely challenged by the fragility of her trading and financial position.

Factor 2  Political
Aspect 1  Domestic political pressures
• The attitude of the Labour party to the issue of decolonisation.
• Pressure from anti-colonial movements during and after the war.

Aspect 2  Changing perception of status
• Britain’s decolonisation can be attributed to pragmatism and prestige, with officials convinced that refusing to decolonise would tarnish Britain’s image forever, or even that decolonising required strength.
• Britain’s self-interest was still served in large parts of Africa as well as the Caribbean and Hong Kong.
• Britain’s concept of “an informal empire”, post 1947.
• Britain’s retreat from her status as an imperial power in the Middle East
and the reasons for that.

- Financial constraints forced Britain to reduce some of her overseas commitments resulting in military withdrawal from Greece, Turkey and Palestine.

**Factor 3  Changing International position**

**Aspect 1  Relations with empire**

- Two forces accelerated the end of the empire as Britain sought to salvage its international image: criticism at the United Nations and decolonisation by the other European powers.
- Influence of other decolonising nations such as the French and Dutch.
- Nationalism, economic constraints, and Britain's relative decline all played a part.
- British governments had to face the imperative of economic recovery and the threat of communist expansion during the Cold War.
- The so-called special relationship with the United States and Britain’s support of its Cold War policies.
- The Commonwealth and the emerging European Community as potentially conflicting circles of interest influenced the pace of decolonisation and Britain's relations with its former territories.
- By 1951, Commonwealth relationships had undergone a fundamental transformation, the full effects of which were only just becoming apparent. In Malaya and Iran, the emerging conflicts there clearly marked out some of the limits of British world power status in the post-war world.

**Aspect 2  Relations with the USA, UN and NATO**

- The pressure placed on Britain by the superpowers to decolonise, and in particular the desire of the USA to gain access to British colonial markets.
- The possession of an independent nuclear deterrent was a significant factor in allowing the British to see themselves as the third world power, and, if nothing else, the gap between Britain’s status in the world and any other countries apart from the USA and USSR was enormous.
- British diplomacy brought the USA into NATO — this demonstrated to others that they still had considerable global influence.
- As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Britain had a successful influence.

**Historians Perspective on the issue**

- Jefferys, Morgan, Pearce and Tomlinson: All generally agreed on the importance of the war as a precipitating factor.
- John Darwin: Cites the changing economic relationship between Britain and her colonies/dominions brought about by the war as a vital reason for their desire to extend economic independence to a full political one. He refers to “the convulsive moment in Asia” in 1947-48 as a fundamental harbinger of change.
- Correlli Barnett: Produces the most savage critique of global overstretch and the pursuit of the illusion of power as a primary cause of British imperial decline in the post-war period.
- Roger Lewis: Is more specific and attributes the process to specific decisions taken by the Attlee government of 1947-1948. Others blur the focus and describe a more gradual and spasmodic process.
Question 86

How fully does Source A explain the impact of the Blitz?

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from the source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Mark Connelly Professional historian so likely to be well-researched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Historical account by a professional historian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point in Source A</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The myth of the Blitz is vital to British national identity.</td>
<td>The Blitz was vital in helping to create a British national identity.</td>
<td>The Blitz was crucial in bringing the British people together at a time when the very survival of the country was seriously in doubt. The source certainly typifies those views expressed by many at the time and which were taken up by the Ministry of Information newsreel films for public consumption in cinemas, both home and abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King and Queen came to know their people and their people them, as all did their bit without murmur.</td>
<td>The unity created in society at this time was unique.</td>
<td>The many who advocate that a “spirit of the Blitz” did certainly exist claim that the British people were at their best in this period of extreme adversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instead of buckling, the people laughed and joked their way through it, full of wonderful British self-control</td>
<td>The British people showed improvisation in the face of a powerful enemy.</td>
<td>The fact that there was no wide-scale collapse of civilian morale would suggest a fair element of truth in the source’s interpretation of people’s resolute reaction to the Blitz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like most events of 1940, the Blitz is something the British people can look upon with pride, and the endurance and fortitude of the nation in the face of it is something the world should thank us for, now and for ever more.</td>
<td>It raised Britain’s standing in the world and earned the world’s gratitude.</td>
<td>This is certainly the image that the government wished to convey to the public at large and (just as vitally) to the American press and public.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Examples of physical destruction caused by the Blitz; candidates may refer to the loss of life, the extent of damage and destruction caused, and specific examples of towns and cities, and industries that were hard hit.
- Approximately 60,000 civilians were killed during the Blitz.
- However, prior to the war the British government calculated that the number of deaths caused by German bombing would be far higher than was actually the case.
- Some would argue that the theory that there was unity at this time was indeed a myth.
- Class was used as a barrier for people to access air raid shelters in the more expensive London hotels, where only customers and guests were allowed to use the safer facilities.
- Under the cloak of the blackout, crime rates increased and criminals used it to organise robberies.
- Critics have claimed that the government were slow to make available Anderson shelters to those who couldn’t afford them.
- Claim that overall shelter provision was poor in the areas most affected by German bombing.
- The Blitz caused widespread homelessness.
- In areas of extensive bombing — London, Clydebank and Coventry — people had to be recruited as fire crews and air raid wardens to prevent large-scale damage to infrastructure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historians</th>
<th>Perspective on the issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Roberts</td>
<td>Remains steadfast in his adherence to the “finest hour” argument and insists that the British people were indeed at their best in this period of crisis and that morale was rock solid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Nick Tiratsoo and Stuart Hylton</td>
<td>Take a more sceptical view of this thesis, asserting that morale was nowhere near as high as suggested, citing widespread panic and anger in the east end of London at inadequate shelter provision, as well as the widespread incidence of industrial unrest — especially on the Clyde where workers often saw their employers as a greater enemy than Hitler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.L. Smith</td>
<td>Makes several references to the huge increase in opportunistic crime during the Blitz, as does Angus Calder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mackay</td>
<td>Does his best to drag the argument back into the middle ground and suggests clearly in his work that there is considerable foundation to the notion that morale did indeed remain strong during the Blitz. The adherents to the “spirit of the Blitz” as a traditional view are not prepared to concede that more modern evidence cited by the revisionists named above outweighs the heroism, altruism and solidarity of the many.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 87 Evaluate the usefulness of Source B in explaining why the Labour Party lost the 1951 general election.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment on the provenance of the source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Morrison</td>
</tr>
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<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Autobiography</td>
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<td>Timing</td>
<td>1960</td>
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<tr>
<th>Point in Source B</th>
<th>Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)</th>
<th>Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butler’s consensus policies hindered the Labour Party at the General Election.</td>
<td>Labour had previously done well because there was a clear divide between Conservative and Labour policies, and people favoured socialist policies at that time.</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rab Butler can be regarded as the architect of the policies which helped to produce victory in 1951.</td>
<td>Conservative policies changed at this time, aiming to respond to the new demands of post-war society. They realised that they needed to change in order to win back voters.</td>
<td>In 1949, the “Right Road for Britain” policy document pledged to preserve the welfare state and the continuation of a mixed economy, whilst also promising to build 300,000 new homes.</td>
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<td>Learnt the lessons of the</td>
<td>Learnt that it was more effective to present a</td>
<td>The work done by Lord Woolton as chairman of the party in reorganising</td>
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Page one hundred ninety-eight
Conservative’s 1945 negative campaign, Gestapo speech, ruin under socialism, state control — and changed from this approach.

positive vision to voters than to focus on negativity about other parties.

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 three million and funding was vastly improved through local constituency efforts and donations from big business and from abroad.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of 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 its support had held up reasonably well.

Historians Perspective on the issue

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 may be awarded **up to a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

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<tr>
<td>During the happy, beaming honeymoon of Anglo-American relations, the two groups of Joint Chiefs were fused into a Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee with a permanent apparatus. This body became the ultimate strategy-making institution for the two Western Allies.</td>
<td>The challenge was how to coordinate Britain’s military plans with the USA.</td>
<td>Detail on the appointment of different Supreme Commanders, their theatres of war and their success in them, and the challenges facing them in pursuit of their strategies.</td>
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<td>National differences [what often looked like the contest between American dogmatism and British pragmatism] inevitably caused disagreements.</td>
<td>There were disagreements inside the Committee, especially between the British and Americans, on their views over how the war should be fought [ie American dogmatism versus British pragmatism].</td>
<td>Examples of dogmatism versus pragmatism in different theatres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>… the very beginning when it took the bold decision to treat Germany as the main enemy, although it was Japan that had attacked America…</td>
<td>The challenge for the British was to keep the Americans focused on Europe.</td>
<td>Britain’s desire to ensure allocation of US naval forces in the Atlantic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Above all, there were the personalities of the two great leaders, Roosevelt and Churchill, both of them liable, in the eyes of their military advisors, to take up far-fetched schemes and fly off at tangents.</td>
<td>There were problems which arose from the personalities of the two great wartime leaders who were involved in the Committee; they often had far-fetched schemes.</td>
<td>Details on the challenges facing the British military leaders in pursuit of their strategies, eg Casablanca Conference, DD planning, demand for unconditional German surrender.</td>
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<td>Point in Source D</td>
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<td>Until March 1943, Enigma decrypts were primarily used defensively, so that convoys could be diverted away from waiting wolf packs. By the end of March there were so many U-boats in the North Atlantic that, even when Enigma decrypts revealed their whereabouts, there were often other U-boats waiting on any diverted route.</td>
<td>The problem was how to best handle the information that Britain was getting from its decryption of the German naval Enigma codes. Britain used the information defensively to move convoys out of the way of German U-boats, but that wasn’t working now since there were so many German U-boats that you just moved the convoy into the path of another wolf pack.</td>
<td>Loss of shipping in the Atlantic as a result of U-boat activity, eg Happy Time.</td>
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<td>Admiral King of the US Navy tried to convince the British to use Enigma offensively, particularly against German U-tankers.</td>
<td>The view of the US Navy was that the Enigma decrypts should be used offensively rather than defensively to actually get at the German U-tankers which were refuelling the rest of the German U-boats.</td>
<td>Detail on Enigma decoding, Bletchley Park, Churchill’s views on its importance, its influence on the Battle of the Atlantic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>King’s proposals were strongly opposed by Sir Dudley Pound, the First Sea Lord, on the grounds that aggressive use of Enigma would compromise its source.</td>
<td>The view of British naval leaders was that, by using Enigma offensively, they would risk compromising the source [and make the Germans suspicious about whether Enigma had been broken] and this could lead to a drastic increase in shipping losses.</td>
<td>Other exemplification of British military decision-making in the Battle of the Atlantic; the convoy system, the use of corvettes, the deployment of the Canadian navy, long-range air patrols with ASV radar, closing the mid-Atlantic gap, decisions over use of military technology [centimetric radar, Hedgehog, Huff-duff, etc].</td>
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<tr>
<td>The reason why Pound was anxious not to compromise the Naval Enigma was that it still had an important tactical role to play in giving information about improvements being made to U-boats and their torpedoes and it revealed their attacking strategies.</td>
<td>The British First Sea Lord also believed that Enigma decrypts were also giving valuable evidence on Germany’s tactical decisions in the U-boat war [and that might be lost].</td>
<td>Challenge was to ensure Britain’s continued use of Enigma to keep informed of German naval technological improvements and tactics.</td>
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</table>
Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- British and US commanders often personally disliked each other, eg Montgomery and Patten.
- Problems of maintaining the Mediterranean supply route to the Near and Far East.
- Britain’s commitment to help the Soviet Union, eg Arctic Convoys.
- Efficiency and effectiveness of the German armed forces.
- Disagreements over the timing and location of the Second Front.
- These sources cover two main aspects: the umbrella control of the allied forces under western command, and the way the military leaders conducted the Battle of the Atlantic. Candidates may offer an evaluation of the challenges facing Britain’s military leaders in their decision-making in other Western theatres of war — North Africa/Italy, D-Day and mainland Europe post-invasion.
- They might make an evaluation of Britain’s military contribution in the Asian theatre of war; decisions that were made there regarding appointments (ie Slim, Mountbatten), deployment of resources, co-operation between allies and introduction of innovative methods of fighting.
- Candidates may consider the issue of relations with and contacts with Soviet Russia, and how best use could be made of that ally.

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<tr>
<td>D. Syrett</td>
<td>Stresses the huge importance of the use of intelligence in winning the Battle of the Atlantic, and, in particular, the cracking of the Enigma code.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Correlli Barnett</td>
<td>Stresses the importance of the navy and how key decisions taken there were fundamental to Britain’s ultimate victory in the war.</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Keegan</td>
<td>Overall survey of the war; places only limited emphasis on British military contribution (and presumably downgrades the significance of any decisions taken by Britain’s military leaders). However, he stresses the importance of the revamped convoy system as an integral part of the success against the submarine menace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Overy</td>
<td>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.</td>
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