



National  
Qualifications  
2018

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# **2018 History**

## **Advanced Higher**

### **Finalised Marking Instructions**

Scottish Qualifications Authority 2018

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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 this assessment.
- (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) If a specific candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed marking instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your team leader.
- (d) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of hand writing or a confused start.
- (e) Use the full range of marks available for each question.
- (f) 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.
- (g) 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.
- (h) 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 on next page guides markers in placing responses within an overall likely mark range, and indicates how to avoid 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 question – mark ranges and individual marking criteria

| Mark ranges      |           |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|------------------|-----------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Marking Criteria | Structure | 0-9   | 10-12  | 13-14  | 15-17  | 18-19  | 20-22  | 23-25  |
|                  |           | <p>No attempt to set out a structure for the essay.</p> <p>No relevant functional introduction.</p> | <p>An attempt to structure the essay, seen in at least one of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant functional introduction.</li> </ul> | <p>The structure displays a basic organisation but this may be loose. This would refer to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant functional introduction.</li> </ul> | <p>The structure is readily apparent with a competent presentation of the issues. This would include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant functional introduction <i>with main interpretations.</i></li> </ul> | <p>Clearly structured, perceptive, presentation of issues. This would be included in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant introduction with main interpretations <i>prioritised which looks at the debate and a suggested line of argument.</i></li> </ul> | <p>Well-defined structure displaying a very confident grasp of the demands of the question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant introduction with main interpretations <i>prioritised which looks at the debate and a clear line of argument.</i></li> </ul> | <p>Structured so that the argument convincingly builds and develops throughout:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant introduction with main interpretations <i>prioritised and clear direction of debate and a clear line of argument.</i></li> </ul> |
|                  |           | <p>No conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.</p>                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue, <i>bringing together the key issues.</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue <i>evaluating the key issues.</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue <i>based on synthesis and evaluation of key issues/points.</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue <i>based on direct synthesis and evaluation of key issues/points.</i></li> </ul>   |

|                  |  | Mark range                                      |  |   |  |   |  |  |
|------------------|--|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| Marking criteria | THOROUGHNESS/<br>RELEVANCE OF INFORMATION AND APPROACH | 0-9   | 10-12  | 13-14   | 15-17  | 18-19   | 20-22  | 23-25  |
|                  |  | No evidence of relevant knowledge of the issue. | <p>Treatment of the issue shows little relevant knowledge.</p> <p>Some elements of the factual content and approach relate only very loosely to the issue.</p> | <p>Treatment of the issue shows sufficient knowledge which reflects a basic understanding of the issue.</p> <p>The factual content links to the issue. The approach reflects some analysis.</p> | <p>Treatment of the issue shows an awareness of the width and depth of the knowledge required for a study of the issue.</p> <p>The factual content links to the issue. The approach reflects some analysis and evaluation.</p> | <p>Treatment of the issue is based on a fair quantity of research, demonstrating width and depth of knowledge.</p> <p>Evidence is linked to points of analysis or evaluation.</p> | <p>Treatment of the issue is based on wide research and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge.</p> <p>Evidence is linked to points of analysis or evaluation.</p> | <p>Treatment of the issue is clearly based on a wide range of serious reading and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge.</p> <p>Evidence is clearly linked to points of analysis or evaluation.</p> |

|                  |  | Mark range  |  |  |  |   |   |  |
|------------------|--|---|--|--|--|---|---|--|
| Marking criteria | ANALYSIS/EVALUATION/<br>LINE OF ARGUMENT | 0-9   | 10-12  | 13-14  | 15-17  | 18-19   | 20-22   | 23-25  |
|                  |  | <p>No evidence of analysis.</p> <p><b>OR</b></p> <p>Analysis is not relevant to the question.</p> | <p>There is much narrative and description rather than analysis or evaluation.</p> <p>There is a weak sense of argument.</p> | <p>There is an attempt to answer the evaluative aims of the question and analyse the issues involved. This is possibly not deep or sustained.</p> <p>Arguments are generally clear and accurate but there may be confusions.</p> | <p>There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and the candidate tackles it with a fairly sustained analysis.</p> <p>Arguments are clear and accurate, and comes to a suitable – largely summative – conclusions.</p> | <p>There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and an assured and consistent control of the arguments and issues.</p> <p>Arguments are clear and directed throughout the essay.</p> <p>The conclusions arise logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body, and attempts synthesis.</p> | <p>There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and a very assured and consistent control of all the arguments and issues.</p> <p>Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues and arguments. Clarity in direction of argument linking to evaluation.</p> <p>The conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.</p> | <p>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.</p> <p>The conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.</p> |

|                  |                                    | Mark range                                    |   |   |  |  |   |  |
|------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| Marking criteria | HISTORICAL SOURCES/INTERPRETATIONS | 0-9   | 10-12   | 13-14   | 15-17  | 18-19  | 20-22   | 23-25  |
|                  |                                    | No discernible reference to historical works. | No discernible reference to historical works. | There is a basic awareness of historians' interpretations in relation to the issue. Historians may be used as illustrative points of knowledge. | There is an awareness of historians' interpretations and arguments. Historians may be used as illustrative points of main lines of interpretation. | There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments.<br><br>There is some awareness of possible variations of these interpretations or connections between them. | There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments which is consistent.<br><br>There is some awareness of possible variations of these interpretations or connections between them. There may be an appreciation of the context which gives rise to these interpretations. | There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments and an engagement with current historiography.<br><br>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. |

## Further general advice to markers – 25-mark question

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 the 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 sources 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

Marks are allocated as follows:

#### **6 marks:**

- comments on interpretations (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 code letters in the margins (I, P, WCD, H, etc) to show how they have awarded marks
- markers should comment 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 markers 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

## Section 1 – Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Question 1

##### **Evidence supporting the view that society was primarily agricultural:**

- 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 late pre-Roman Iron Age communities
- agricultural cycle underpinned ritual and religion – sacrificial deposits of animal bones with human cremations suggests intimate links between agriculture and religion
- although Cassius Dio wrote that northern tribes had, ‘no cultivated land ... living by pastoral pursuits and by hunting’, archaeological evidence refutes this and indicates agriculture was of utmost importance
- majority of land which was settled comprised undefended farmsteads – indicates universal importance of agriculture in Northern Britain
- underpinned all other elements of society – the ability to co-opt and redirect surplus production enabled social elite to come to prominence
- production of agricultural surplus was essential to support the existence of specialised craft-workers
- production of prestige goods was dependent upon the existence of agricultural surplus
- agricultural surplus production retained to serve and support the community
- agricultural surplus essential to enable the construction of homes and residences of power
- agricultural success underpinned profusion of monumental roundhouses in late pre-Roman Iron Age – essential to show wealth and status
- late pre-Roman Iron Age witnessed arable expansion in certain parts of Scotland – facilitated social development
- increased agricultural settlement into the uplands – whole valleys in the Cheviots cleared of trees.

##### **Evidence which suggests that society was not primarily agricultural:**

##### **Military society**

- warfare, feuding and raiding perceived as rife, especially on tribal fringes suggesting a militaristic society
- evidence from contemporary late pre-Roman Iron Age societies in England, France and Germany suggest emphasis on military
- 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
- status goods from burials emphasise military pursuits.

##### **Religious society**

- evidence from contemporary Germany and France shows central nature of religion
- evidence of human sacrifice specifically after military defeat in Denmark, Germany and France shows importance of religion. Taken further by Armit who speculates that there may have been human offerings to an underworld God, as payment for a good harvest
- sacrifice of prestigious goods also 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.

### Historical society

- Broch of Gurness
- Style of building evidenced in roundhouses suggests hierarchy
- Surplus storage evidenced by souterrains suggests payment of tribute/tax
- Prestigious items ie Mortonhall scabbard and Newbridge chariot.

| Historians | Perspective on the issue |
|------------|--------------------------|
|------------|--------------------------|

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Ian Armit | the agricultural economy underpinned all other elements of society |
|-----------|--|

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Ian Armit | argues for the overriding importance of religion across all aspects of life |
|-----------|---|

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Antony Kamm | argues that war and fighting was inherent and integral in Celtic society |
|-------------|--|

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Iron Age<br>Scotland<br>(ScARF Panel<br>Report) 2012 | society changed over time, and a more subtle analysis is needed of relations with external forces. |
|--|--|

## Question 2

### **Evidence suggesting that the Antonine Wall was mainly a symbol of Roman imperial power:**

- as a second choice emperor Antoninus Pius needed to establish credibility with the army and gain military prestige
- Antoninus Pius needed easily won military prestige which his advisers believed could be won in Britain, by a recovery of lands already overrun and briefly held by Agricola
- it was used to display an Emperor's career and demonstrate the extent of his influence
- the rapidity with which Antoninus Pius took the title 'imperator' in AD142. This bestowed prestige on previously weak emperor
- Hadrian, in AD122, needed to appear commanding and powerful in light of imperial unrest – frontier would bolster position in Britain and in Rome. This was taking his predecessor one step further
- it was as much propaganda statement as a functional facility
- it was a symbolic statement of Roman grandeur and technique
- it promoted Roman identity and power
- it confirmed barbarian impression of Roman might – both reassuring and cowing provincials.

### **Evidence to suggest the view that the Antonine Wall was about security:**

- Antoninus Pius had to send forces north in the face of unrest from the Novantae, Selgovae and Votadini in cAD142
- divide 'them' from 'us'
- effort to control unrest in northern province – historically 'The Britons could not be kept under Roman control'
- Antoninus Pius impelled to rely on Lollius Urbicus to 'thrust back the barbarians ... conquer the Britons' – suggests that the Antonine occupation was motivated by disturbances and unrest in Northern Britain and by military failure of Hadrian's Wall.

### **Evidence to suggest the view that the Antonine Wall was about economics:**

- regiments on the wall were to protect the province from attack and to control the movement of people – indicative of desire for bureaucratic control to foster economic gain
- army collected custom duties and taxes in the frontier areas
- collected taxes in cash or in kind
- Tacitus relays information on the payment of tax. Unlikely to have changed under Antonine
- army did not necessarily pay for goods – dearth of coins and artefacts on native sites suggests Rome seized what they wanted. Backed up by descriptions in Juvenal of the uncouth behaviour of the army.

| Historians           | Perspective on the issue  |
|----------------------|---|
| G Maxwell & W Hanson | expansion coincides with the accession of a new emperor and North Britain as a remote province would fire the imaginations of the populace  |
| Antony Kamm          | frontiers were 'to mark the boundaries between former barbarians and permanent barbarians, with facilities for passage between the two'   |
| David Shotter        | the view that the frontiers were a method of infiltrating and control native society  |
| David Breeze         | 'advance under Antoninus Pius appears to have been engineered simply in order for the new emperor to gain military prestige' – did not even attempt to complete the conquest of the whole island. |

### Question 3

#### Evidence supporting the view that existing religious beliefs were main obstacle:

##### Native polytheism

- long held beliefs in an array of gods
- pagan Celts had a pantheon of gods and a supernatural other world; trees, hills, water, the sun and animals were all sacred to them, supported by a colourful imagery – loathe to give them up
- pagan Celts had a long existing annual round of festivals tied to the agricultural cycle and concept of fertility – little to immediately draw them to the Christian faith
- evidence of reluctance to give up old beliefs – some aspects of old religion even incorporated into Christian writings, Saints' Days often coincide with major Celtic festivals such as Samain (Halloween) and Beltane (May Day)
- St Patrick refers to the 'apostate Picts' (*Epistola ad Coroticum*)
- the provocative way that pagan temples became rededicated as Celtic churches and churches were built on pagan places of worship
- Celtic pagans maintained the practice of hanging relics (usually wool, string, ribbons, etc) in trees. This tradition was adopted by the Christian Celts to make Christianity more palatable
- the manner in which sacred places were repurposed as Christian. Sacred wells became holy wells, and sacred caves became holy caves, cf St Ninian's Cave in Whithorn.

#### Evidence supporting the view that there were other obstacles:

##### Geography

- travel across North Britain would be hard – especially after Rome's withdrawal
- the road network was far from comprehensive – more so after Rome's withdrawal
- mountainous spine of Druim Alban was a barrier to conversion
- it would be wrong to perceive North Britain as impenetrable. There is abundant evidence of sophisticated trading network encompassing Mediterranean and England. If trade was possible, so was the exchange of religious ideas of Christianity travelling along trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean in the first century AD.

##### Language barriers

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

##### Infrastructure

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

| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Sally Foster</b>   | highlights the continuity of pagan to Christian sites, indicative of the enduring hold of paganism  |
| <b>Alfred Smyth</b>   | highlights the slow, gradualist nature of conversion  |
| <b>Alex Woolf</b>     | the process of conversion may have been speedy but actual 'Christianisation' the adoption of a Christian way of life would be slow, subject to social obstacles |
| <b>Barry Cunliffe</b> | highlights the pagan connections between Scotland and Europe – especially Ireland and Gaul.   |



## Question 4

**Evidence to support the view that Pictish symbol stones were essentially political statements:**

- stones commissioned by secular chieftains to glorify the Christian god and the waning kingdom of the Picts
- the political and religious elites are perceived to have controlled the appearance of the symbol stones – stones were used by elites to establish/reinforce the position and status of key members in society
- individual symbols were representations of tribal names – for example ‘the people of the fish’, or ‘the wolf folk’
- anthropologist Antony Jackson suggests that the symbol stones identify lineages and the stones are public statements of marriage alliances between lineages – the mirror and comb (symbol) could be the endowment paid by one lineage to the other on the occasion of the marriage
- Jackson believed that animal symbols on stones represented lineages of the Southern Picts whilst geometric designs belonged to Northern Picts
- examples of stones showing lineages could include Aberlemno I which possibly records a marriage between a man of the Double disc and Z rod lineage with a woman of the Serpent lineage, with mirror and comb signifying bride wealth or gifts.

### **Military evidence**

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

### **Religious evidence**

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

### Memorial evidence

- Aberlemno I could represent a memorial to a member of the Serpent Group who was a king and had died (represented by a broken spear). The memorial could have been erected by his widow (mirror and comb). This is a different interpretation to the one mentioned above
- the Class II stone at Aberlemno would have been a memorial to an underking (crescent) who later became a king (double disc)
- V rods, representing a broken arrow, like Z rods, can be taken as indicators of death
- arguably the symbol stones are memorials to groups which resemble later Scottish clans – a type of early clan badge
- the symbols on the stones possibly related to historical divisions within the Picts (serpent, eagle, goose, fish, boar, all represented groups) yet he could find no demonstrable territorial value
- four kings and one king's brother (Nehtan, Oengus, Talorgan, Kenneth son of Fert an Drust) are all identifiable in symbol stones – indicates that the stones may have been memorials to kings
- the St Andrews Sarcophagus might be a memorial/tomb of Constantine son of Aed, 'the son of the last recorded King of the Picts'.

| Historians      | Perspective on the issue   |
|-----------------|--|
| Anthony Jackson | suggests that symbol stones are records of marriage treaties and symbols refer to families or kinship groups     |
| Charles Thomas  | symbols are memories of late Iron Age weapons and equipment, used as symbols of rank and to commemorate the dead |
| W Cummins       | argues Class I and II stones were memorials, as were some Class III stones                                       |
| Sally Foster    | designs needs to be looked at in the light of Celtic religious beliefs and practices.                            |

## Question 5

**Evidence to support the view that the formation of the kingdom of Alba was gradual:**

### **It was the Scots civilising the Picts**

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

### **Viking incursions**

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

### **Celtic inheritance**

- commonality bred through intermarriage between the ruling kindreds – attested to by the Gaelic names of some Pictish kings
- a common Christian faith which would have increased ties between peoples and reinforced existing cultural affinities
- the Viking threat as a common foe
- 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
- the maternal gene pool is more or less the same in Pictland, in Celtic Argyll and in the Highlands.

### **The myth of Kenneth MacAlpin**

- Ian Walker asserts that Kenneth 'almost certainly defeated or subdued any Pictish opposition' and led a successful takeover of the Picts
- 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'
- MacAlpin's treachery – the Prophecy of Berchan recounts Kenneth's invitation to the Pictish nobility for a feast at Scone, where they were then made drunk, trapped in pits and massacred – creating opportunity for Kenneth to claim Pictish throne
- Kenneth's role has been mythologised. Smyth claims that 'the sustained success [of his dynasty] over many centuries gave added posthumous glory to Kenneth'.

| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Ian Walker</b>     | argues for a slow fusion of two cultural groups over a long period of time |
| <b>Stuart McHardy</b> | Picts and Scots were entwined, both basically warrior societies            |
| <b>Sally Foster</b>   | disregard for Pictish characteristics and gaelicisation of Pictland        |
| <b>Anthony Smyth</b>  | Kenneth's role has been exaggerated.                                       |

## Section 1 – Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 6

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

| Point identified in Source A   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Problems elsewhere led to failure to follow up Roman victories and the withdrawal of troops.   | he argues that the Romans failed because of events occurring outside Scotland  |
| The invasion of the early 140s does not appear to have been an attempt to complete the conquest of the island, but the possibility of a political reason for the invasion. | he also points out that while the Antonine invasion occurred for political reasons, but here too it was for external reasons |
| Roman progress slowed by local resistance.   | there was also the combative nature of local tribes  |
| lack of economic riches in the north offered no temptation to the Romans to stay.  | and the lack of economic incentive.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Agricola pulled back because Domitian had different priorities – Legions (II Adiutrix) withdrawn to support Danube army and the camp at Inchtuthil abandoned
- the Antonine invasion originally happened to keep Hadrian's generals happy and on-side after his accession
- withdrawal and abandonment of the Antonine Wall happened almost as soon as Antoninus Pius died
- Caracalla headed back to Rome on Severus' death and abandoned any thoughts of Scotland because he had to get back to the capital to secure his position.

| Point identified in Source B  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| There was little chance for a second Mons Graupius.   | the tribes refused to give the Romans a pitched battle   |
| The Celts had worked out how to defend themselves against militarily superior forces using guerrilla tactics. | he argues that from the Agricolan invasion onwards, the Celtic tribes learned how to deal with the Roman military by using guerrilla tactics |
| In 210 the Maetae, followed by the Caledonians revolted.  | despite attempts to impose terms on the Britons, the Northern tribes rose up against Roman conquest  |
| Even though no pitched battle was fought, losses were high.   | Roman losses were particularly high.   |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the Celts under Calgacus had been widely defeated by Romans led by Agricola in the first century
- the surrender that the Scottish tribes were forced to sign with Rome during that invasion, was not because they had been defeated, rather it had been for other reasons
- death of Severus at York in 211 and subsequent rivalry of Caracalla and Geta in Rome.

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

- Guerrilla warfare – successful way to defeat militarily superior forces. Possible mention of Boudica or Arminius in the Roman World
- the Highlands were too daunting a prospect to invade. Mention the role of the Gask Ridge forts. Inchtuthil, for example, sits opposite the mouth of the Tay glen up which lie the only known substantial areas of settlement within the Highlands
- it was not economically worthwhile. ‘[The Romans] rule the most important part of it – more than half – and have no need of the rest; in fact the part they have brings them in little money’
- Appian. He also calls them ‘poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians’
- there was not enough food in Northern Britain to support the Roman army and Roman administrative structures with a lack of agricultural surplus
- Britain was a long way away from Rome, Scotland even more so.

| Historians                 | Perspective on the issue   |
|----------------------------|--|
| David Breeze               | argues that Scotland was a pawn in global politics of the time and Scotland was overtaken by more important events elsewhere |
| R O Ogilvie & I A Richmond | the terrain was too daunting   |
| F Millar                   | the geographical isolation of Britain.   |

## Question 7

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

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|--|--|
| In c500 a new kingdom was established in Argyll but there is no archaeological evidence for this.            | Fergus Mor mac Eirc established a kingdom  |
| Prehistoric artefacts and monument types are similar between NE Ireland and W Scotland from Neolithic times. | archaeology points to close contact between Scotland and Ireland from early on     |
| By 500 there were Irish settlements in SW Scotland, N Wales, Cornwall and Devon.                             | around 500 there were Irish settlements across the water                           |
| The foundation myth may have been created in response to a number of factors.                                | a foundation myth was created around Fergus Mor.                                   |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- there is fragmentary Irish evidence suggesting a close connection between Argyll and Scotland long before 500
- Ammianus Marcellinus wrote of raids in AD360 ‘... et Scoti per diversi vagantes multa populabantur’
- Archaeology from the site of Dunadd – jewellery there shows influences from Ireland such as Hunterston brooch
- linguistic evidence of similarities of language
- the lack of ring-forts or raths, in Argyll, though common in Ireland, is an argument against a close connection
- Bede writes: ‘In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudini; for, in their language, Dal signifies a part.’ (HE1.1)
- Dal Riata sculptural work: high crosses like St Martin’s Cross on Iona, or the Kildalton Cross on Islay
- St Columba shows a close connection – an Irish abbot and missionary spreading Christianity from Iona from AD563.

| Historians        | Perspective on the issue  |
|-------------------|---|
| E Campbell        | Saints and Sea-kings – emphasises the connections that Dalriada had   |
| A Smyth           | Warlords and Holy men – underlines the interaction between the kingdom of Dalriada and the Picts, suggesting shared cultural and religious influences, a common Celtic inheritance shaping both |
| Alan Orr Anderson | looks at the sources and traditions   |
| Sally Foster      | ‘Stories of Dalriadic origins cannot be held to be worthy of acceptance as history’.  |

## Question 8

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.

| Aspect of Source D |   | Possible comment on the provenance of the source                         |
|--------------------|---|--|
| Author/ location   | Anonymous, possibly a monk                | location identified as an area associated with the earliest Viking raids |
| Purpose            | a sketch                                  | to record an account of a Viking raid                                    |
| Timing             | c9 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> century | possibly contemporary with the Viking raids.                             |

| Point identified in Source D   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|--|--|
| There is a Viking ship.  | the Vikings raided North Britain   |
| It shows the traditional view of a Viking raid.  | developing thoughts about how the Viking raids happened                            |
| In the foreground, a long-haired Viking raider is dragging a hunched figure by a rope, towards a ship. | the Viking is wearing chain mail and has taken a prisoner                          |
| The second figure (may be a monk), is holding a box.   | some have interpreted this as a reliquary.   |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the ship suggests that the event depicted was by the sea/river. Wider development to discuss the raids on and how they developed. Initially Orkney and Shetland, which were used as a jumping off point to attack northern Britain
- the source does not show any of the more peaceful evidence – archaeological evidence of farming, agricultural tools, domestic items
- evidence that Vikings traded and interacted with the Picts
- Vikings chose to attack monasteries and the church to not only gain material wealth but these areas were isolated, poorly defended and valuable treasure houses
- Orkneyinga Saga tells 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
- the islands off the northern coast of Scotland were at the centre of the Viking 'sea roads', made them the obvious choice as a base for further expansion and raids into Scotland and Ireland
- logistics were perfect – the prevailing winds blew the Vikings west in the Spring and east in the Autumn
- 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
- gold and silver treasures from monasteries could be converted into personal wealth.

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

- discussion of archaeological evidence on Orkney and the Shetlands
- discussion of place names
- the long Viking heritage that remained – the islands were effectively Norse
- the more peaceful interpretations of the Vikings, via intermarriage
- the desire for good land in the right coastal environment was a key factor in Vikings' choice of target
- greatest Viking influence was Orkney and Shetland, followed by Hebrides and western seaboard
- array of Viking evidence – farming settlements such as Skaill, Birsay, Pool, Jarlshof, burials such as Scar and Westness, artefacts such as Scandinavian bone pins and combs, weaving tablets
- plethora of grave evidence for Viking presence in Western Isles – such as on Kiloran Bay on Colonsay as well as graves on Islay and Oronsay
- marriage alliances embraced by Norse and natives, such as native lord Dungadr profiting from a marriage alliance with his new Norse neighbours in Caithness. Intermingling of incomer and native leads to the development of a ruling class of mixed Norse and Gaelic heritage, Gall – Gaedhill, Scandinavian Gaels
- excavation of major sites at Buckquoy and Birsay suggests intermingling or integration – Pictish artefacts found in Norse homes
- political impact in Orkney and leading to the formation of Alba.

| <b>Historians</b>                 | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <b>A Richie</b>                   | argues that the main impact of the Vikings was on the Western and Northern Isles                             |
| <b>J Graham Campbell, C Batey</b> | argues that Vikings essentially replaced native culture in some parts of Western Isles and Northern Scotland |
| <b>F Watson</b>                   | discusses the devastation of northern Scotland and the western seaboard by the Vikings                       |
| <b>Barbara Crawford</b>           | emphasis on the importance of maritime links and extent to which North was familiar environment.             |



## Section 2 – Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Question 9

**Evidence that King Alexander does deserve his golden reputation:**

##### **Internal problems within Scotland**

- Alexander successfully ended the factionalism which dominated his minority once he took personal control over his kingdoms
- Alexander recognised that his authority depended on establishing a working partnership with his political community which would benefit both sides. For the magnates this brought stability, reward of office, influence and territory
- Alexander was able to successfully deal with disputes between his nobles, preventing issues escalating eg John Comyn Lord of Badenoch against the Earl of Atholl in 1269
- the king was able to establish and enforce his laws using the Office of the Chancery
- the king relied on officers of state to govern eg the Chamberlain, the Chancellor, the Steward
- evidence of regular ‘colloquia’ called by the king to advise on important matters; these developed into parliaments
- Alexander governed through the effective use of a number of offices across the country, including three justiciars who dispensed justice in the name of the king, while locally, sheriffs collected royal revenues, mustered royal armies, and dispensed royal justice
- the sheriffdom of Argyll was carved out of the vast sheriffdom of Perth
- between 1261 and 1264, the king and his nobles raised and led forces to defend and extend royal authority. For example, in 1261 and 1262, the earls of Ross and Menteith led two separate armies to extract land and submissions from the Isles and the far west
- important noble families, like the Stewarts and the Comyns, held vital posts like sheriff or justiciar, backing royal authority throughout Scotland.

##### **Relations with other countries**

- in 1260, Alexander was able to press the English king for payment of outstanding dowry instalments, by then ten years in arrears, even threatening to resurrect his claim to Northumberland if his demands were not satisfied
- Alexander was secure enough in his position and relationship with his neighbours that he could allow his wife to give birth in England
- when a crisis arose in England in 1264, Alexander resisted demands from the enemies of the English King, and instead aided Henry III
- in 1263, the King was able to defend his country against the Norwegians using a ‘common army’ and creating new defences at ports throughout Scotland
- Alexander III controlled the situation over the Western Isles, ignoring attempts by King Henry III of England to mediate between the Scots and the Norwegians in 1262, instead negotiating with the Norwegians to create the Treaty of Perth (1266)
- gaining the Isles extended Alexander’s power dramatically, shifting the balance of power between Scotland and England in the region
- in 1272, Alexander resisted demands to recognise English kingly rights over Scotland and only paid homage for his lands in England when he attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I
- in the later 1270s, Alexander stood up to the English over a dispute on the Anglo-Scottish border near Berwick.

### **The Scottish Economy**

- Alexander was able to take advantage of improving economies across Europe to develop the Scottish economy
- Alexander was able to maintain a body of household knights and sergeants for defence, suggesting he had a similar status to the kings of France or England, and was able to defend his kingdom from threats
- Alexander paid to strengthen his castles, including the equipment and men to serve within them. New ships, crossbows and siege engines were also built
- Alexander was able to pay for his war against the Norwegians from crown revenues rather than raising a tax
- overall, Alexander asked for very modest taxation throughout his reign, which would have garnered support throughout his realm, particularly from those used to heavy taxation as landowners in other countries
- under Alexander III, Berwick became one of the most important ports on the North Sea, enabling the Scots to export goods such as wool and hides to Europe
- increased exports led to an increase of wealth in Scotland which spurred building by Scottish magnates.

### **The Royal Succession**

- Alexander was the first king for three generations to have created a secure succession early in his reign, producing three legitimate children with his first wife, Margaret
- Alexander used his family to develop strong links with Europe, marrying his eldest son, Prince Alexander, to the daughter of the count of Flanders in November 1282, and his daughter, Princess Margaret, to King Eric II of Norway
- upon the death of his eldest son and heir, Alexander called a parliament to deal with the succession crisis and made his political community recognise his infant granddaughter, Margaret Maid of Norway, as his heir-presumptive
- the acceptance of the tailzie of 1284 to secure the succession of a young female, rather than an alternative adult male, suggests the king's authority was well established
- Alexander immediately began looking for a new wife with the aim of producing more children, marrying Yolande of Dreux on 1 November 1285. She was possibly pregnant when he died, which would have provided the kingdom with a new heir.

### **Evidence that King Alexander does not deserve his golden reputation:**

#### **Internal problems within Scotland**

- Alexander had little definitive authority of his own. Instead, he had to rely on his nobles, particularly the Comyns, Stewarts and Morays, to enforce his laws or defend the kingdom
- Alexander delegated royal authority to his great lords around his kingdom, diluting his authority still further. For example, he gave his earls the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Wigtown and Dumbarton
- the new sheriffdom of Argyll was never really operative during King Alexander III's reign
- Alexander's control over the Western Isles remained largely nominal throughout his reign
- Alexander only employed a handful of professional clerics – families of his magnates filled all other royal offices, increasing his reliance on his nobles
- Alexander's attempts to deal with the magnate factionalism of his minority was based upon his own personal control rather than the creation of a lasting solution. Disputes were able to resurface once Alexander died
- by 1286, government was largely dominated by the Comyn family, to the exclusion of other factions, notably the Bruces
- 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
- Alexander was prepared to use force to quell his subjects, eg in 1275 he sent an army against the illegitimate son of the last Manx king to ensure continued royal control over the island.

### Relations with other countries

- Alexander left the issue of English overlordship largely unresolved in 1272 which meant Edward I was able to register the claim again in 1278 as well as during the Interregnum
- Alexander possibly acted to reduce his ties with England by marrying Yolande of Dreux in 1285
- Alexander may have discussed marrying his granddaughter to Edward I's son once his succession crises began in 1284. However, his failure to negotiate an alliance before his death left the Maid's future ambiguous, creating further problems for the Scottish political community after 1286.

### The Scottish Economy

- Alexander bound the Scots to pay the Norwegians 4000 marks in 1266 for The Treaty of Perth as well as 100 marks per year — a huge financial commitment which put tremendous strain on the Scottish economy
- Alexander's majority coincided with a period of poor harvests, famine and price inflation
- Although the economy did prosper, it was due to widespread economic improvement across Western Europe, rather than the actions of the Scottish King himself
- Alexander was lucky that his war with Norway was short and his relations with England remained peaceful — ensuring the necessary stability for economic prosperity.

### The Royal Succession

- had Alexander remarried sooner after the death of his first wife in 1275, the succession crisis might never have arisen
- Alexander's failure to establish clear, detailed provisions for a minority, either for his infant granddaughter or for any new heir born of Yolande, was a serious concern for the Scots given the disruption which had occurred during his own minority and events after 1286
- Alexander failed to establish an alternative line of succession should he fail to provide a new heir and his granddaughter died. Given the infancy of his granddaughter, this was a serious failing of the 1284 settlement
- 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.

| Historians      | Perspective on the issue   |
|-----------------|--|
| David Santiuste | takes the view that Alexander wanted to establish himself as an effective medieval king  |
| Richard Oram    | takes the view that although Alexander was human, his personal abilities and talent ensured a prosperous reign under strong monarchical rule   |
| Michael Penman  | takes the view that while Alexander tried to prevent the resumption of factionalism over the succession crisis, the oath of 1284 was insufficient to prevent noble divisions from resurfacing after 1286 |
| Michael Brown   | takes the view that under Alexander III, Scotland remained united, even expanding their authority over the Isles, but that this depended on Alexander III himself.                                       |

## Question 10

**Evidence that John could have been a successful king and he had weathered the worst of his problems by 1295:**

### **Situation in Scotland**

- John had been the last of the claimants to accept the overlordship of King Edward during the Great Cause, improving his status for the Scots
- John was able to withstand attempts by the Bruce family to refuse homage, quelling trouble and eventually forcing the youngest Robert Bruce to give homage to him as king
- John governed using the established systems of Scottish government, working with the politically-experienced nobility, particularly the Comyn family
- King John summoned at least seven parliaments across his short reign, resurrecting royal government
- he extended royal authority by creating a new sheriffdom in the west of Scotland
- he made an anti-English alliance with France in 1295
- King John withdrew his homage in 1296, rejecting the basis of King Edward's claim of overlordship.

### **Relations with England**

- at the English parliament at Westminster in September 1293 regarding the MacDuff case, John tried to defend his authority when he argued that Edward had no right to judge the Scottish legal case
- John tried to refuse to answer Edward in the English parliament without seeking the advice of his 'chief men'. When this was refused, John tried to use a proxy
- when starting their rebellion against Edward in 1295, John sought absolution from the Pope for all promises that had been made to Edward, which he claimed had been made under duress
- in May 1295, John failed to appear in England for the next stage of the MacDuff case
- in July 1295 the Scots refused to receive English envoys – the Earl of Warenne and Bishop Bek
- John decided to resist Edward I despite Edward's threat that English lands belonging to the rebels would be seized if John failed to appear at his next parliament.

### **International Relationships**

- King John proved that he was ready to defend his kingdom when he sent an embassy to the King of France to negotiate an alliance between the two countries. Within the treaty the Scots agreed to help the French in any war against England while the French promised not to negotiate a truce or peace with the king of England without including the Scots
- by allying with England's enemy, John showed he was strong enough to disobey his overlord and risk war with England
- the king and a broad cross-section of Scottish society, including burgesses, ratified the treaty with France to validate the arrangement and began to prepare the country for a likely war against England.

**Evidence that John had not weathered the worst of his problems by 1295 and would never have been a successful king:**

#### **Situation in Scotland**

- John was unable to unify Scottish society and restore royal authority after the eight-year absence of an adult monarch
- the political community had grown accustomed to their increased role in government during the absence of a king. John failed in the impossible task of trying to reassert royal authority while retaining the support of his nobles
- the two elder Robert Bruces refused to pay homage to John as king. Robert Bruce the younger only performed his duty after a significant delay, undermining John's position
- it is doubtful how successful John's attempt to extend royal authority into the Western Isles was during his reign
- John was seen by many as inexperienced and a mere puppet of his Comyn relations. In particular, John failed to administer royal justice himself, and instead delegated this to others, particularly the Comyns
- John's inability to maintain his early attempts to stand up to Edward over the legal appeals annoyed and frustrated his political community
- John's initial agreement to undertake military service in France when Edward demanded it angered his political community
- John's perceived weakness as a ruler led to the creation of the Council of Twelve to replace or at best support John in rebelling against Edward.

#### **Relations with England**

- Edward forced John to pay fealty once and homage for his kingdom twice, including homage and fealty each within the first months of his reign
- Edward forced John to renounce the terms of the Treaty of Birgham which might have been used to protect Scottish independence
- Edward encouraged Scots to bring legal appeals to English courts, further undermining John's authority as king in Scotland and testing the limits of his 'overlordship' over Scotland
- Edward billed John for the costs of the Great Cause and inheritance fees once he was crowned king
- Edward humiliated John over the legal appeals, particularly the MacDuff case which dragged on throughout John's reign
- Edward refused to treat John like an equal and a king in his own right, for instance forcing John to speak at court directly rather than replying through a proxy
- Edward insisted John, along with his magnates, should provide military service for his war against France – treating the Scottish king like a mere magnate
- creating an alliance with France was an act of open rebellion and forced Edward to react, bringing his superior force to attack Scotland
- John failed to get vital military aid from France against Edward's invasion in 1296
- Edward came north to deal with a 'contumacious vassal' in 1296
- Edward was already travelling to Scotland to deal with John's failure to attend the muster for his French war when he heard about the alliance Scotland had negotiated with France, suggesting Anglo-Scottish relations had already deteriorated.

| <b>Historians</b>       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <b>Fiona Watson</b>     | takes the view that Edward had always intended to provoke a violent reaction from the Scots to justify taking direct control over Scotland         |
| <b>Ranald Nicholson</b> | takes the view that John Balliol set out to be no less a king than his predecessors  |
| <b>Amanda Beam</b>      | takes the view that John can be seen as a figurehead as early as 1293, well before the Council of Twelve was established                           |
| <b>David Santiuste</b>  | takes the view that the collapse of Scottish resistance was due more to John Balliol's failure of leadership than Edward I's qualities of command. |

## Question 11

**Evidence which suggests that King Edward I's military campaigns were the most important factor in overcoming Scottish resistance:**

### **Edward's military tactics**

- Edward concentrated his fighting in south-west Scotland, around castles such as Caerlaverock, rather than key central positions such as Stirling Castle
- although Edward consolidated his hold by appointing sheriffs and turning Berwick into the focus of his administration, this was only in the south-east of Scotland
- areas where English garrisons were less concentrated had difficulties collecting levies or garrisoning castles
- Edward conducted three invasions of Scotland throughout 1300-1302, each escalating in scale but never fully engaging or defeating the Scots
- Edward was unable to keep his men in the field over winter, for example the men of Durham left en masse who were in open revolt
- annual English problems with logistics and in finding money and men for near-mutinous garrisons made an outright English victory an impossibility
- as the Scots remained an ally of the French King Philip IV, who promised to include the Scots in any Anglo-French truce, Edward was limited in his ability to entirely defeat the Scots
- Edward was not always successful against the Scots across this period, for instance losing at Roslin in 1303
- even when Edward finally defeated the Scots, it required an 18-month campaign and a 3-pronged attack
- Edward had to adapt to Scottish tactics, which avoided pitched battles or the chivalric code, under Scottish captains who were galvanised to fight due to fears of attacks on their own lands and goods by the English
- Edward had over-extended himself trying to deal with problems in Scotland and France simultaneously
- freed from his conflict with France, Edward mounted a winter campaign by providing his men with extra pay
- Edward was able to make use of Scots who sided with him, such as Robert Bruce
- Edward learned to split his army to attack several areas of Scotland simultaneously, with his son leading the second expedition and increase his role in the English government
- Edward aimed to keep a smaller army in Scotland for longer in order to counter his military problems, employing scorched earth tactics against his enemies
- Edward was prepared to punish and humiliate the Scots, for example continuing to fight even after John Comyn had surrendered on 9 February 1304, bombing Stirling Castle with his new trebuchet – the 'warwolf'
- Edward would only deal with the Scots once they brought in William Wallace, who he refused to pardon
- Wallace's grisly death of hanging, disembowelling, beheading and quartering was designed to deter others from future rebellions.

## **Evidence which suggests that other factors were important in overcoming Scottish resistance:**

### **Diplomacy**

- Edward was able to counter Scottish propaganda in the curia, claiming overlordship of Scotland through proprietas as well as possession
- Edward secured propaganda from John Balliol, extracting an oath that he would not return to Scotland, depriving the Scots of their leader and resistance figurehead
- on 11 July 1302, an army of French cavalry was destroyed by the spearmen of Courtrai, leaving the French in desperate need of peace with England, to the extent that they would abandon their Scottish allies. Edward was now free to focus all of his resources on re-conquering Scotland
- by 1303, the Papacy had abandoned the French, and thus the Scots, freeing Edward to act at will
- Edward was willing to abandon his allies – the Flemings – in order to make peace with France so that he could focus his energies on fighting the Scots
- Edward was forced to give in to international pressure and release John from captivity in London, first into papal custody and then into the hands of Philip IV. However, he did not return to Scotland.

### **Ordinance of Scotland, 1305**

- although Edward allowed Scots to retain positions in his new administration, key positions were retained for the English, including the lieutenant who held overall control over the government
- Edward tightened his grip on Scotland, with the countryside bristling with troops
- Edward outlawed the irreconcilables: Simon Fraser, William Wallace, and the Stirling garrison, although Fraser was later treated leniently on his surrender
- Scotland would now be ruled as a land, not realm
- Edward's cousin, John of Brittany earl of Richmond became lieutenant with a salary of £2,000
- four sets of justices were appointed, with each Scot paired with an Englishman who retained the ultimate authority. Although many Scots became sheriffs, key military points were retained for the English
- this was the settlement of a conquered country, with key appointments of lieutenant, chamberlain (John de Sandale), chancellor (William de Bevercotes) and controller (Robert Heron) all held by Englishmen
- Edward was prepared to talk terms with the Scots, highlighting his need to alter his approach to controlling Scotland from the way he acted in 1296
- Edward needed to come to an understanding with the Comyns and their allies as without their acceptance of his rule, controlling Scotland would be too hostile and expensive
- Edward was prepared to concede that the laws, customs and institutions of Scotland would be upheld, and that his Scottish enemies would need to pay penance of only a year or so in exile (or pay fines) before they would have their lands and offices returned
- Edward had to break his word to his untrustworthy ally, Bruce, to take control over Scotland
- two Scottish delegations travelled to the English parliament in March 1305 and late summer 1305 to negotiate a new administration to govern Scotland under Edward I
- the English lieutenant who controlled the Scottish government was to be advised by a Scottish council and chamberlain.



| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Michael Brown</b>  | takes the view that Edward's single-minded pursuit of war with France cost him any chance of an early conquest over Scotland                                      |
| <b>Peter Traquair</b> | takes the view that Edward had overstretched himself, trying to attack the Scots and the French at the same time  |
| <b>Michael Penman</b> | takes the view that a lack of money, motivation and preference for the glory to be won in France prevented the English from victory in Scotland                   |
| <b>John Sadler</b>    | takes the view that Edward's proposals for the governance of Scotland in 1305 showed that he had learned from his earlier arrogance in order to control Scotland. |

## Question 12

**Evidence which suggests that King Robert seized the throne in 1306 due to his treatment by Edward in 1305:**

### **Treatment of Bruce by Edward I, 1305**

- Bruce feared that the Ordinance of Scotland (1305) would mark the re-emergence of the Comyns as the dominant political faction in Scotland
- although Robert was involved in the first delegation to Westminster to negotiate the new government of Scotland, he was not part of the second delegation during the summer of 1305
- despite coming into Edward's peace in 1302 and fighting for Edward I against the Scots, in 1305, Robert was treated with suspicion while the Scots were pardoned and fined or exiled for short periods before retaining their lands and titles
- Robert lost his posts of sheriff of Ayr and Lanark to friends of Comyn
- Robert found his actions as guardian to the young earl of Mar and his rights as earl of Carrick coming under considerable scrutiny
- Bruce's defection to the English in 1302 had not shown a genuine change of heart; it was likely prompted by the fear of a Balliol restoration and the prospect of the forfeiture of his lands following an English campaign in south-west Scotland.

**Evidence which suggests that King Robert seized the throne in 1306 due to other factors:**

### **Support from the Church**

- the 'Secret Band' of 1304 shows that Robert Bruce knew that Bishop Lamberton and a significant section of the Scottish clergy was prepared to support a Bruce coup
- Bishop Wishart's role in the 1306 coronation shows that he also both knew of, and supported, Bruce's intentions
- Wishart had returned to Scotland in late 1305, and it is believed that he spent winter encouraging the disaffected earl to rise against Edward and pursue his claim to the Scottish throne
- Robert received considerable assistance from the clergy once he began fighting, financial as well as weapons and soldiers. Promises of such aid could have convinced the earl that he would have sufficient strength to launch a bid for the throne
- Wishart visited Robert after the murder of Comyn when Bruce had yet to move to take the throne. By absolving him of his sins, Wishart made the earl swear to take the advice of the clergy and 'freed him to secure his heritage', pushing him to travel on to Scone.

### **Personal/Family Motivation**

- it is possible that his seizure of the throne came from the sudden crisis in 1306 rather than from long-standing plans
- his family had long sought the throne with his grandfather first named royal heir to Alexander II. It would be unlikely that Robert would have accepted English occupation rather than his own claim to the throne
- King Edward may have already received intimations of Robert's involvement in a plot, forcing him to show his hand in 1306
- Bruce and Comyn met at Dumfries after attending the court of the justiciars in the burgh – possibly to discuss the future governing of the kingdom
- once Robert was involved in the murder of Comyn and his uncle, he faced excommunication from the church and civil war with the Comyn family in revenge for murdering their leader. If he had not acted immediately his chance for seizing the throne would have ended
- Bruce may have been prompted by patriotic motives in response to earlier failures to rid Scotland of the English occupation
- Bruce family's long-standing claims to the throne now fell on his shoulders following the death of his father in March 1304
- a significant body of Scots gathered around King Robert's banner for his inauguration, including Isabella countess of Buchan (acting for her nephew, the Earl of Fife), the Earls of Lennox, Atholl and Menteith, the young heir of the exiled Steward and numerous barons and knights.

### **Weakness of his Enemies**

- Bruce may have acted out of the genuine conviction that Edward's decision in 1292 in favour of John Balliol had been a miscarriage of justice
- Robert the Bruce knew that King Edward was in poor health and did not have long to live; he was acting at a time of uncertainty in the English government
- the Prince of Wales did not have his father's temperament, and Robert may have felt that he would have been easier to fight against
- Robert benefited from the fact that the English were taken by surprise by his actions in Dumfries in March 1306 and slow to react. He was able to attack castles in Ayr, Dalswinton, Inverkip and secure the castles of Rothesay and Dunaverty
- the now headless Comyn family were also slow to act – they did not take to the field until June, giving Robert time to organise his own forces
- the Ordinance could not mask the tensions and disruption of nearly nine years of warfare or the hostility which had developed towards English overlordship. Many must have viewed themselves as outside the peace which had been negotiated and tensions continued which Robert would have been aware of and could have capitalised upon.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Colm McNamee</b>  | takes the view that the Ordinance, combined with the advanced age of the English king, may have caused political speculation in Scotland  |
| <b>Richard Oram</b>  | takes the view that the assumption of the Scottish kingship was unarguably forced upon Robert by the crisis provoked by Comyn's death   |
| <b>Michael Brown</b> | takes the view that the Ordinance saw an increase of tensions as the Scots competed for restoration and distribution of forfeited lands and offices leading to many, including Bruce, making plans against the unstable environment |
| <b>GWS Barrow</b>    | takes the view that while the murder was unpremeditated, the events which followed were clearly part of a pre-arranged plan to take power.  |

### Question 13

**Evidence which suggests that the Irish campaign was the most important factor in successfully maintaining pressure on England:**

#### **Ireland**

- Bruce opened a new front in Ireland in 1315, possibly in part to satisfy Edward Bruce's ambitions
- this threatened English use of Ireland for resources: supplies and troops
- the English envoy in Dublin, John de Hotham, had to ask Edward II for £500 to defend against the Scots in February 1317 – suggesting the situation there was serious. However, Edward II could do little to help
- Scottish victories included those against Roger Mortimer at Meath and against the royal army at the Battle of Skerries
- Bruce also appears to have considered drawing Wales into a Pan-Celtic alliance along with Ireland
- the Scots were distracted by the campaign in Ireland between 1315 and 1319; King Robert was out of Scotland in 1317 to campaign with his brother. It also used up vital supplies and men from the regular Scottish army
- Scottish attacks in Ireland reached as far as Munster and Limerick
- famine and a lack of local support left the Scottish army in Ireland starving
- for 18 months, Thomas Dun, commander of the Scottish navy, kept the supply route between Scotland and Ireland open to maintain the campaign
- Edward Bruce became trapped in Ulster before being defeated and killed by John Bermingham's army at Faughart, near Dundalk
- Ireland only once sent troops to aid Edward II (in 1322) due to these Scottish campaigns.

**Evidence which suggests that other factors were more important in successfully maintaining pressure on England:**

#### **Truces**

- local truces could be bought by the English in the north, to prevent Scottish raids
- except for Bishopthorpe, truces between the two countries generally lasted for no more than 2 years
- the English used the truce of 1316-1317 to create a new strategy protected by the safety of the peace and the fact that Robert had travelled to Ireland
- Edward II was unable to maintain the war effort and was forced into a two-year truce in 1318 including promises to dismantle the English castle at Harbottle
- the Scots were unable to table any negotiations with the English during the truces of the 1320s in which the independence of Scotland was a substantive issue
- Edward II preferred short truces which allowed him to regroup. However, in 1323 he was forced to grant Scottish demands for a longer truce or nothing at all
- Bruce signed the English copy of the ratification of the Bishopthorpe truce as 'King of Scots'
- Bishopthorpe included wide provisions including preventing building fortifications on the border, requiring special licences to cross the border and protections for shipping, highlighting English fears of Bruce cross-border raids
- throughout the early years of the truce, peace negotiations (instigated by Bruce) continued.

## **Raiding England**

- after Bannockburn, the Scots largely continued the tactic of avoiding pitched battles with the English
- Scottish raids on the north of England were highly effective, raising considerable revenue and reducing the will of the northern magnates to fight
- the Scots used lightly armed soldiers on horseback giving them mobility and speed
- by the 1320s, the Scottish raids on the north of England began to take on the character of invasions
- purchasing truces became a way of life in northern England and those who were too poor to afford them fled the area
- Scots would trample crops if wet or burn them if it was dry
- famine compounded Scottish raids in 1315 and 1316
- in 1319, Bruce sent Douglas and Randolph into the north of England while Edward II was besieging Berwick
- the move unsettled the northern lords in Edward's army which began to disintegrate
- in 1322, the Scots responded to English invasions by withdrawing north of the Forth and using 'scorched earth tactics', laying waste to much of Lothian, to deny supplies to the English army
- the Scottish victory at Old Byland in 1322 was disastrous for the English; King Edward II only narrowly escaped. King Robert was aided by very able commanders, such as Thomas Randolph, James Douglas and Walter the Steward
- Andrew Harclay was given the new earldom of Carlisle as reward for helping Edward deal with Lancaster but executed shortly after for making his own peace agreement with King Robert
- a series of tactical blunders led to the defeat at Old Byland in 1322
- the Scottish raids into England only seriously affected northern English magnates and never threatened the heart of English power or Edward's government.

## **Securing control over Scotland**

- after Bannockburn, Robert disinherited those who would not come into his peace
- recapturing Berwick ensured the last English stronghold in Scotland had been removed. The Scots had successfully blockaded the port and prevented English supplies reaching the area
- Bruce refused to meet with papal couriers until the Pope referred to him using his kingly title. Nor would he obey papal attempts to impose a truce on England and Scotland until he had retaken Berwick
- Berwick was recaptured through scaling the walls and besieging the castle. Robert then decided he was strong enough to hold the castle rather than raze it
- the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) was designed to mend fences at the Curia and gain papal support for their struggle against their larger neighbour
- Bruce dealt with his opponents with a mixture of harsh and lenient punishments at Scone's Black Parliament in 1320, highlighting his authority over the country and ability to dispense justice.

| <b>Historians</b>       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <b>Peter Traquair</b>   | takes the view that the campaign in Ireland helped King Robert to take the war to England and keep them occupied   |
| <b>Caroline Bingham</b> | takes the view that the Irish campaign was an attempt to stem the threat of Irish troops and resources being used against the Scots in future campaigns by Edward      |
| <b>Michael Brown</b>    | takes the view that the campaigns in Ireland, along with increased raids into northern England, highlight the ascendancy of the Bruces in the aftermath of Bannockburn |
| <b>Michael Penman</b>   | takes the view that the campaign in Ireland came at huge financial and personal cost and may have led to considerable opposition to Robert's plans within Scotland.    |

## Section 2 – Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 14

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

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|---|---|
| Without a king, Scotland's government became the collective responsibility of the leading freemen, who styled themselves 'the community of the realm of Scotland'.    | the political community had to run the country in the absence of an adult monarch   |
| It would form the backbone of those who negotiated to keep Scotland independent.  | the Scottish political community would consistently lead a rebellion against the English across the Wars of Independence                                    |
| It elected Guardians who ruled in its name for the following six years. The six new Guardians neatly reflected Scotland's political, social and geographic divisions. | the Scottish political community elected a council of 6 to run the government, ensuring they reflected the different elements of Scottish political society |
| This was not a fragile coalition waiting to burst apart, on the everyday matters of government that affected the realm the men could and did work together.           | this was a strong and united coalition able to work together to run the country and deal with day-to-day issues.  |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the composition of the Guardianship of 1286 can be seen as a prudent attempt to prevent factionalism from undermining the stability of the kingdom
- it was made up of (equal) representatives of the Church, the Earls and the senior nobility and represented both Bruce and Comyn factions, whilst excluding the main candidates themselves – Robert Bruce and John Balliol – in case the Maid died
- the Guardians successfully neutralised the Bruce threat in 1286-1287, suggesting they were capable of maintaining law and order
- Bishop Fraser's letter to Edward in 1290 asking for assistance requested arbitration only, suggesting the Guardians had a plan for the constitutional crisis after the Maid died.

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Is a testament to the achievement of the Comyns as leaders of the political community in thirteenth-century Scotland and protectors of the liberties of the kingdom.   | the Comyn-led government successfully negotiated to protect the independence and position of their country   |
| The treaty and its safeguards for Scotland's independence had grown out of the experience of Alexander III's minority and the long and successful alliance between Alexander III and the aristocratic elite in Scotland. | the Treaty of Birgham's attempts to defend Scottish institutions grew from their experiences dealing with English aid during the minority of Alexander III |
| Guardians' denial of Edward I's request for custody over Scottish castles.   | the Guardians stood up to Edward I by refusing his request for custody over Scottish castles in 1290   |
| Their arrest of the sheriff of Northumberland for interference in Scottish affairs were practical expressions of the ideas contained in the Treaty of Birgham.   | the Guardians also arrested the sheriff of Northumberland for interfering in Scottish affairs in 1290.   |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the composition of the Guardianship in 1286 can be seen more as an attempt to further factional interest than to find a stable way to govern the kingdom during the Maid's minority
- the Treaty of Birgham (1290) can be seen as a comprehensive attempt to safeguard the independence of the kingdom whilst accepting the stabilising effect of a royal marriage into the English royal family
- in the Treaty of Birgham, the Guardians negotiated safeguards including that the provision of justice would remain in Scotland under a representative appointed by the monarch, rather than having Scots travel to England to receive royal justice
- the Guardians at first refused to pay homage to Edward, or even to cross the border at Norham for fear that it would be viewed as a concession of English overlordship.

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

- at the parliament in 1286, the Scots upheld their promise to Alexander III from 1284, showing their ability to maintain the peaceful positions established under their late king
- the Scots allowed the Bishops of Glasgow (Wishart) and St Andrews (Fraser) to lead the government during the uncertain months while they delayed decisions on the succession until it was clear whether Yolande would produce a living heir
- the Guardians could not prevent factionalism, such as the meeting between Bruce and James Steward at Turnberry in 1286
- the Guardians successfully maintained the routine of royal administration, including raising rents and paying fees
- by agreeing in the Treaty of Salisbury (1289) not to marry the Maid without taking the advice of Edward, the Guardians virtually gave the English king the right to pick their Queen's husband
- the murder of one of the Guardians, the Earl of Fife, suggests that chronic factionalism was rife amongst the nobility and that the country was facing the breakdown of law and order
- the Guardians (and wider political community) lacked the authority to replace Guardians who died across the Interregnum
- following the death of the Maid of Norway, both the leading claimants to the throne (Robert Bruce and John Balliol) made pleas to Edward on their own behalf, bypassing the Guardians
- Bishop Fraser's letter to Edward in 1290 came from a political faction, not from the whole of the political community, suggesting potential splits or divisions amongst the Scottish political elite
- the Guardians at first explicitly rejected Edward's claim of overlordship in 1291



- the Guardians allowed themselves to be dismissed and then reappointed by Edward in 1291; supporters of both Bruce and Comyn were keen not to jeopardise their claims
- the Guardians granted sasine of royal castles in Scotland to Edward during the Great Cause.

|                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <b>David Santiuste</b> | takes the view that the failure to replace dead Guardians highlights the existence of political disagreements and factionalism which limited their ability to protect their kingdom |
|------------------------|---|

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>G W S Barrow</b> | takes the view that although the country managed to avoid civil war, it remained in a restless position throughout this period |
|---------------------|--|

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>Marc Morris</b> | takes the view that the Scots were strong, united negotiators over the Treaty of Birgham, forcing Edward to back down over demands to control Scottish castles |
|--------------------|--|

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Michael Penman</b> | takes the view that the Scots were alarmed at Edward's actions and it was the actions of their churchmen that was crucial in protecting Scottish independence. |
|-----------------------|--|

## Question 15

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

| Point identified in Source C  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| Now that we know that William Wallace was not sole leader of the band that killed the sheriff of Lanark.  | Wallace is no longer seen as the sole leader of the attack on the sheriff of Lanark  |
| Although Wallace led his own band in the three occasions where representatives of English rule – sheriff, justiciar, and then lieutenant – were attacked, he shared the leadership with a knight or lord. | during major attacks against the English (sheriff, justiciar and lieutenant), Wallace shared the leadership of Scottish resistance with a knight or lord – traditional leaders                     |
| [Wallace] must have been commander of a particularly effective force if other leaders, who were of higher status, were happy to cooperate with him.   | it is likely that Wallace was an effective commander of his own forces, which would explain why the traditional leaders of Scottish society were willing to cooperate with him, sharing leadership |
| it is unlikely that he was seen, or would have seen himself, as the main leader of Scottish resistance to Edward I.   | Wallace would not have seen himself as the main leader of Scottish resistance to Edward.   |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- at Lanark, Wallace was at best co-leader alongside the knight, Richard of Lundie
- for the attack on justiciar William Ormsby at Scone, Wallace had joined forces with William Douglas, knight and lord of Douglas, after Lundie switched sides at Irvine to support Edward I
- at Stirling Bridge, Wallace joined forces with another knight, Andrew Murray, after Douglas had been captured at Berwick in July
- that Wallace was not the outright leader can be seen in the surviving documents from his Guardianship with Andrew Murray, where the latter's name leads on every document due to his superior rank
- it is generally believed that the knight-trained Murray supplied the successful military tactics at the Battle of Stirling Bridge
- Wallace is only listed as the leader of the Scottish government and army, once Andrew Murray had died.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- according to the English, in 1297 the main resistance in Scotland came from the traditional noble classes. The noble rebellion under Stewart, Bruce and Bishop Wishart was seen as evidence of a loss of English control and was therefore the focus of English repression and negotiations at Irvine
- Stewart, Bruce and Wishart had all taken up arms to defend their lands
- Wallace gathered together a significant army from his base in the south-west of Scotland, but this was predominantly made up of outlaws rather than trained soldiers
- Bishop Wishart thought so highly of Wallace that he provided support – financial and military – to the Wallace rebellion while prolonging negotiations with Edward I at Irvine as a distraction
- the Scottish political community knighted Wallace to ensure that he had sufficient status to act as Guardian
- after Stirling Bridge and the subsequent death of Andrew Murray, the Scots did not try to replace Wallace as leader or insert a noble to rule with him – he had likely earned the right

to lead through his actions across 1297

- there is no evidence that Scots were unwilling to follow the political decisions made by Wallace as Guardian, such as appointing Lamberton to the vacant see of St Andrews
- Wallace was able to resurrect Scottish government – opening trade with Europe, issuing royal charters in the name of King John and appointing Lamberton to the vacant see at St Andrews to prevent English interference in the Scottish church
- Wallace began the use of guerrilla tactics which Robert Bruce would later adopt and perfect – the schiltrons, hit and retreat tactics etc
- Wallace began raiding into northern England to pressurise the English to abandon their claims to overlordship over Scotland
- once Wallace took sole control of the Scottish army, he led them to defeat at Falkirk and has been criticised for both his tactics and his inability to keep his cavalry on the field
- after his failure at Falkirk, the Scots replaced Wallace as Guardian with more natural leaders – members of the Scottish nobility and clergy
- the Scots were able to maintain their resistance to English overlordship for seven years while Wallace continued his own resistance, travelling abroad looking for international aid
- during his years abroad, Wallace was unable to gain any real financial or military support for the Scottish cause
- when Wallace was executed in 1305, there was no outcry from ordinary Scots or attempts to save his life by the Scottish nobility. His refusal to accept the Ordinance of 1305 and continued defiance of English overlordship had become an embarrassment for those who had capitulated to Edward I.

| Historians        | Perspective on the issue  |
|-------------------|---|
| Edward J Cowan    | takes the view that Wallace displayed not inconsiderable abilities in governance and was a multilingual diplomat  |
| Fiona Watson      | takes the view that there was a pattern behind Wallace's early actions which suggests a considerable degree of deliberation behind his rebellious activities                                      |
| Michael Prestwich | takes the view that Wallace's inspirational leadership at Stirling helped the Scots to an extraordinary victory, while Wallace's tactics at Falkirk foretold the infantry successes of the future |
| Andrew Fisher     | takes the view that Wallace and Murray were equal at Stirling Bridge and that Wallace proved to be a skilled guardian, saving Scotland from potential civil war.                                  |

## Question 16

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.

| Aspect of Source D |                      | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| Author             | Scottish clergy      | the clergy of Scotland, probably scribed by Scottish clerics or civil servants. However, historians have questioned how many of the Scottish clergy actually supported Robert as King as early as 1309   |
| Purpose            | Parliamentary Record | official government records from the reign of King Robert I, known as the 'Declaration of the Clergy'  |
| Timing             | 16 March 1309        | from King Robert's first parliament held upon the successful conclusion of the civil war. Denoted as a usurper and excommunicated after his involvement in the murder of John Comyn in 1306, the Scottish king was looking for legitimacy as he sought to establish his personal rule. |

| Point identified in Source D   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| The faithful people always held that Lord Robert, the grandfather, was the true heir after the death of King Alexander [III] and his granddaughter.  | discrediting the rule of King John (and a Balliol succession to the Scottish throne) by stating that the Scottish clergy had always thought the Bruce family were the rightful monarchs (from 1286) |
| Seeing that John [Balliol] had been captured and incarcerated by the king of England, and the kingdom of Scotland had been betrayed and reduced to slavery.  | in addition, the Balliol line should be discredited as John had failed to defend his kingdom (which was a kingly duty) from attack and had resulted in English overlordship                         |
| They agreed on the said Lord Robert, the present king because he has repaired such a damaged and forsaken kingdom by repelling injury with the sword.  | Bruce was also acknowledged as king due to his military abilities, in defending the kingdom from its English enemies  |
| Have made due fealties to the said lord Robert, our illustrious king of Scotland. Not compelled by force nor induced by deceit, but by a pure, perpetual and spontaneous wish, we caused our seals to be appended to this writing. | the clergy acknowledged that they made this choice and signed this declaration freely, without compulsion.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- King Robert continually sought recognition of his position from the papacy and the French in attempts to secure his authority
- King Robert and his nobility created the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) as yet another attempt to convince the papacy of his legitimacy as King of Scots
- King Robert worked hard to undermine John Balliol in order to justify his own usurpation of the kingship
- King Robert issued his first attempt to justify his kingship as soon as he had settled the civil war and was strong enough to call a parliament, highlighting its importance to him in securing his royal authority.

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

- King Robert's declarations were issued in threes – from his nobility, his clergy and himself – to highlight the extent of his support across all sectors of Scottish society
- the declarations were designed to give a sense of communal ruling within Scotland as Robert ruled with his political community
- although these documents were supposedly from sectors of Scottish society, in reality they were royal propaganda, produced by the king's chancery with seals attached later, over a number of weeks rather than at a single meeting
- King Robert was willing to inflate support for his regime to try and justify his kingship. In the Declaration of the Clergy, only 2 of the 8 bishops whose seals are known to have been on the declaration actually supported the Scottish king in 1309/10. At best, only 4 of Scotland's bishops in 1309 supported Robert as King
- King Robert continually ignored papal letters addressed to 'the lord Robert' rather than King as accepting them would have undermined Robert's position internationally
- the primary purpose of the Declaration of the Clergy and the Declaration of Arbroath appears to have been to persuade the Papacy to lift the excommunication on King Robert
- King Robert also sought international aid against England, hoping others would pressurise the English into making peace with the Scots
- some historians think King Robert used the Declaration of Arbroath as a test of loyalty in whether his political community would sign it. However, the test did not prevent its signatories from rebelling within months

- the Declaration of Arbroath stated that if King Robert failed to maintain and defend the independence of his kingdom, he like John Balliol, would be replaced as King of Scots
- both the kings of France and England had sent similar letters to the Declaration of Arbroath to the Papacy, suggesting that King Robert was following a typical route of seeking justification for his actions, as well as recognition and support from the Papacy.

| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Peter Traquair</b> | takes the view that Brucean propaganda built upon the work of Bisset at the papal curia in 1301, conveniently ignoring its previous use to bolster the cause of John Balliol as king of Scots                                     |
| <b>Richard Oram</b>   | takes the view that although the Declaration of Arbroath was designed to trumpet support for King Robert, it actually achieved little at the time   |
| <b>Michael Brown</b>  | takes the view that while the letters were designed to show a united, communal front, the events which followed the Declaration of Arbroath highlighted the limits to this unity  |
| <b>Amanda Beam</b>    | takes the view that while the Declaration of the clergy highlights Brucean propaganda, initiating the claim that Bruce had the better claim to the Scottish throne, it did not blame Balliol, but rather the actions of Edward I. |

## Section 3 – Italy: The Renaissance in the 15<sup>th</sup> and Early 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Question 17

**Evidence which may suggest that artistic and architectural innovation in Florence between 1400 and 1450 was a consequence of economic prosperity:**

##### **Commercial activity and wealth creation**

- the wool trade and the production of woollen cloth for export had been central to the growth of Florence but there was a fall in demand throughout Europe after the Black Death
- by the early fifteenth century wool production had fallen but new markets were emerging for cheaper quality woollen textiles in the Ottoman Empire
- the production of silk goods was increasing as a result of growing demand for luxury goods
- the *Castato* of 1427 still shows wool workers outnumbering silk workers 4:1 but the number of silk manufactories nearly doubled between 1427 and 1460
- by 1450 the elite families of Florence were investing in silk, which required fewer workers but a more skilled workforce
- in rural areas the decreased population and falling demand for agricultural produce meant that wages stagnated
- the wealth created by the production of luxury goods did not spread beyond the elite and some skilled artisans
- in the middle of the fifteenth century over 50% of wealth was concentrated in the hands of 6% of households
- while some of this wealth was in the hands of emerging ‘new’ families, the lion’s share was controlled by the old Florentine elite (eg Alberti, Medici, Pazzi, Strozzi, Rucellai, Tournabuoni).

##### **Banking**

- banking was a major source of wealth
- the Medici made their fortune through banking and in Cosimo de Medici’s time, there were branches in Rome, Venice and Geneva. Banking had become an international source of wealth. In 1439 a further branch was opened in Bruges
- the Medici bank held huge deposits for the Papal Curia
- other Florentine families who made significant fortunes from banking included the Rucellai, the Alberti and the Strozzi.

##### **Trade**

- Florentine merchants and bankers travelled throughout Europe, especially into France and northern Europe, where they acquired goods and luxury items
- trade with the Ottoman Empire brought in goods and influences from the east.

##### **The growth of consumerism**

- conspicuous consumption emerged among the Florentine elite as a way of displaying their wealth
- upwardly mobile families (with new wealth) also flaunted their success by commissioning palaces, sculptures, chapels etc in order to commemorate their family name
- neighbourhood churches became the focus of competition to enhance family prestige by endowing chapels (eg Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce)
- Cosimo de Medici set a new standard by rebuilding an entire church – San Lorenzo
- the Medici, Pitti and Rucellai all built palaces as symbols of their power. The Medici palazzo was famously modest on the exterior but the interior displayed Medici status
- motives for investment in art/architecture included piety, pleasure and political self-aggrandisement
- lesser works of art, often of a religious nature, were produced by workshops for the better off popolo (such as skilled artisans).

**Evidence which may suggest that there were other factors which contributed to artistic and architectural innovation in Florence between 1400 and 1450:**

**The role of the guilds (although this could also be linked to economic prosperity)**

- the importance of guilds in Florence, especially the major guilds
- the rivalry between guilds as represented by the competition for the niches at Orsanmichele, which resulted in commissioning some of the most distinguished sculptors of the time, including Donatello
- the Arte della Lana and the competition for the cupola of the cathedral
- the Arte del Calimala and the competition for the Baptistery doors
- Por Santa Maria and developments at San Marco and the Innocents' Hospital.

**The contribution of individual artists to innovation in art and architecture**

- Brunelleschi's plans for the dome of Florence cathedral were daringly new and marked a complete break with Gothic architecture
- Brunelleschi provided the theoretical understanding for the mastery of perspective, which influenced Masaccio when he painted the Holy Trinity in Santa Maria Novella
- Masaccio's use of realism and perspective is evident in the Brancacci chapel, which represents a complete break with International Gothic
- Donatello raised bronze figure sculpture to a level of sophistication not known in the medieval world
- Donatello's relief work brought a new level of realism and naturalism to bronze casting.

**Continuity with earlier developments**

- Duccio and Giotto had anticipated some of the realism evident in fifteenth century art. They broke with the stylised art associated with Byzantine and later Siennese traditions
- Nicola and Giovanni Pisano produced sculptures noted for their classical style
- painters like Gentile da Fabriano continued to work in the International gothic style, suggesting that there was considerable continuity/overlap in the development of artistic styles.

**Historians**

**Perspective on the issue**

**Roberto Lopez**

writing in 1953 Lopez argued it was hard times, not economic prosperity, that produced the Renaissance. He claimed that by the fifteenth century the Italian economy was in decline and that it remained depressed throughout the period of greatest artistic innovation. Lopez traced a causal effect between the two factors, arguing that merchants who were unable to gain high returns from investment in trade, turned instead to 'investment culture'

**Richard Goldthwaite**

rejected Lopez' argument, demonstrating that although some markets were lost, new internal markets replaced them and Italian producers developed both goods that emulated those previously imported and new types of objects to serve a population that had been greatly reduced by the Black Death. Goldthwaite argued that the period saw the emergence of a buoyant early capitalist economy. He also claimed that the emergence of a consumer culture was to be found in the demand for works of art generated in the fifteenth century, especially in Florence



- Judith Brown** reassessed the Lopez-Goldthwaite debate and concluded that although there was an overall decline in trade and trade-generated wealth in the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, due to the population decrease, this seems to have resulted in diversification and the growth of new wealth among survivors. This view is shared by **Alison Brown** who points out that there was greater social mobility in Florence than in other cities, 'so the "new-man" factor – present in all post-plague cities – was even more marked in Florence, where it acted as a great stimulus to cultural ... activity (and) encouraged private art patronage'
- EH Gombrich** emphasised the role of individual artists. 'It was in Florence, in the first decades of the fifteenth century, that a group of artists set out to create a new art and break with the ideas of the past'.

## Question 18

**Evidence which supports the view that the cultural achievements of Renaissance Venice can be explained by its historic links to Byzantium:**

### **Definition of Venice's cultural achievements**

- the distinctive artistic tradition, including the work of the Bellini family, Giorgione, Tintoretto, Titian and Veronese
- the work of the architects Sansovino and (later) Palladio
- the invention of the printing press and the creation of the Aldine press.

### **Historic links with Byzantium and Byzantine influences**

- in the early middle ages (814) Venice had been recognised as Byzantine territory, but with considerable independence. As Byzantine power waned, so Venetian autonomy grew
- Venice looked to Byzantium, not Rome for its cultural heritage and enjoyed trading privileges in the East
- the sack of Constantinople in 1204 led to Byzantine plunder being brought back to Venice, including the four bronze horses placed above the entrance to the basilica of San Marco
- trade with Byzantium meant that Venice was exposed to the influences of Byzantine art and architecture, both through direct commercial contacts and through the existing Byzantine heritage already evident in Venice
- contact with Byzantium and its provinces gave an impetus to Hellenistic studies
- having arrived in Italy from Constantinople, Cardinal Bessarion left his collection of Greek manuscripts to the library of San Marco. In choosing Venice, he claimed it was the most convenient location for Greeks like himself, since there were so many Greeks living in Venice
- San Marco is one of the finest examples of Byzantine architecture anywhere in the world and served as an inspiration to generations of Venetian artists and architects
- Bellini and Titian were influenced by the optical qualities, texture and colours of the mosaics in San Marco.

**Evidence which supports the view that other factors must be considered in explaining the cultural achievements of Renaissance Venice:**

### **Geographical position**

#### **Location**

- the significance of Venice's position in the lagoon
- the influence of the surrounding sea on painting, and the unsuitability of fresco in Venice's maritime climate
- the lack of a classical Roman heritage
- Venice as 'mistress of the Mediterranean'
- the acquisition of the *terra firma* in the fifteenth century.

#### **The Venetian trading Empire**

- Venetian wealth built on trade routes stretching down the Adriatic coast, through the Greek islands to Constantinople, Egypt, and the Black Sea
- trade routes also extended west to Spain, England and Flanders
- Venice imported timber, grain, salt and cheap wine from the Mediterranean as well as luxury goods such as spices and silk, cotton and jewels from the East
- the trade in luxury goods grew rapidly after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453
- these imports were re-exported from Venice throughout Europe, making Venice the wealthiest city in Europe.

#### **The presence of many different cultures within the city**

- the presence of many foreigners in Venice as a result of trade and contact with the East
- the existence of a sizeable Jewish community, leading to the creation of the ghetto in 1516.

#### **Political stability**

- Venice survived as a Republic dominated by a wealthy aristocracy, controlled by 5% of the population
- artists such as Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio and Titian were employed to extol the history and virtues of the republic, and of the Doge, in the public rooms of the Doge's palace (all destroyed by the fire of 1577)
- the *scuole* (religious confraternities) provided an outlet for the 95% excluded from government, and contributed to social cohesion by admitting both nobles and commoners. Scuole were responsible for commissioning major works of art from artists such as Bellini
- Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* reflects the civic values of inclusiveness and consensus
- Venetian artists travelled freely to work in other cities and so were exposed to different artistic traditions: Venetian artists worked in 'a free enterprise world'.

### The creation of the terraferma

- wealthy nobles commissioned villas on the terraferma
- Venetian artists – and those who commissioned their work – took more interest in landscape than Florentine painters because the countryside was less easily attainable
- Bellini, Giorgione and Titian included naturalistic landscapes in their art.

### Historians

### Perspective on the issue

**Patricia Fortini Brown**

identifies four 'significant factors' which help explain the uniqueness of the Venetian Renaissance: the geographical location of the city in its lagoon, completely detached from the mainland; its vast trading Empire; its Byzantine heritage; the city's remarkably stable political system dominated as it was by the patrician class

**John Steer**

writing from the perspective of the art historian, emphasised the importance of geographical location in two ways. Firstly, there is the city's Byzantine heritage. 'Venice, as the chief commercial link between Byzantium and Western Europe, received Byzantine art in a purer, richer and more concentrated form'. Secondly, there is also the position of Venice in the lagoon: "Built on water, she is a city whose visual effects are, from the very nature of the dominant medium, changing and shifting ... The effect of environment on painting is ... fundamental. The unique visual qualities (of Venice) entered into artists' whole way of seeing, and fused with the decorative traditions of Byzantium, determined the direction which Venetian painting took'

**Alison Brown**

argues that the growing Venetian Empire, and the prosperity this created, stimulated a programme of cultural renewal in the fifteenth century. But Venice did not have the Roman origins of other cities – such as Florence – and it was isolated from other centres of culture so it was Constantinople that provided its cultural model

**George Holmes**

'Venice never had a despotic government that absorbed the energies of the best artists and diverted them to the exaltation of the prince'. This helps to explain the diversity and originality of Venetian art in the sixteenth century.

## Question 19

**Evidence that suggests that the display of Princely magnificence was the main function of court culture in Mantua, Urbino and Milan:**

- magnificence was a befitting attribute of the ideal ruler. The idea originated in Aristotelean ideas which were revived during the Renaissance
- magnificence involved the ostentatious but dignified display of wealth, good taste and personal accomplishments
- magnificence signified power and prestige; it was intended to enhance the standing of the ruler
- coats-of-arms were displayed everywhere: Isabella d'Este decorated her *studiolo* with glazed tiles bearing the Gonzaga emblems
- one contemporary commentator, Pontano, stated that, when entertaining, 'splendour' required polished furniture, pictures, statues, expensive tapestries and sideboards decked with marvellous ornaments
- weddings, coronations, funerals, state visits involving gatherings of rulers and important dignitaries, religious processions – all these provide opportunities for ostentatious display and pomp. Weddings often went with the raising of triumphal arches
- such displays of magnificence often reflected competition between courts, knowing that jewellery, finery and gold chains would be duly noted
- gifts were carefully selected to reflect the rank of the recipient. Portraits of the ruler and his family were a popular choice
- cameos and portrait medals were valued for the skill and materials involved in their production. Galeazzo Maria Sforza collected saintly relics – not as a focus for piety but because of the 'magnificence' of their bejewelled caskets
- the *Camera degli Sposi*, was commissioned by Ludovico Gonzaga, for the Ducal Palace. The frescoes show the Gonzaga family, but are most famous for their trompe l'oeil effects. The skill of the work was designed to impress important visitors. It shows Ludovico in official dress meeting with his son, who has just been elevated to the rank of Cardinal. The Holy Roman Emperor is also shown as present
- Federico da Montefeltro employed the architects Laurana and Di Giorgio to transform the palace at Urbino, described by Castiglione as a 'city in the form of a palace'
- this 'beautiful and worthy dwelling' was designed to do honour 'to the status and praiseworthy reputation of our ancestors as well as our own rank and position'
- in the library at Urbino, the librarian was employed to display the manuscripts to people of learning and authority, while ignorant people were only to be allowed a glimpse of them – unless they were people of 'power and influence'.

**Evidence that suggests that other factors influenced the development of court culture in the princely courts:**

### **The influence of Humanism**

- many schemes of art devised for princes were based on classical themes eg Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar paintings
- architecture was influenced by the revival of classical styles
- individual rulers were deeply interested in humanist learning: Federico da Montefeltro, a successful mercenary captain, is also famed for his love of learning, taking a delight in Greek and Latin authors
- Federico loved Latin and possessed a large manuscript library
- the intarsia panels in Federico's *studiolo* reflected his admiration for men of letters and scholarship
- Castiglione described the ideal courtier as being a many talented man who combined the qualities of a soldier and a scholar
- the Gonzaga library was built up on the advice of leading humanists
- the Gonzaga family established the Casa Gioia school in Mantua, where the Gonzaga children and others were taught by the humanist Vittorino. Federico da Montefeltro was a pupil there
- Francesco Sforza employed humanists to educate his children, including Ludovico, though he

was not learned himself

- the architect Filarete introduced the Sforza to the revival of the *all'antica* style.

### The importance of Religion

- religious themes dominate the art of the princely courts eg Leonardo's *Last Supper* (commissioned by Ludovico Sforza, Milan) and the *Pala di Brera*, (commissioned by Federico da Montefeltro, Urbino), and the *Lamentation of the Dead Christ* by Andrea Mantegna in Mantua
- courts had lavish private chapels, as at Urbino, where Federico had two chapels built, side by side, both with a classical order of columns framing an altar 'niche'
- princes spent lavishly on religious foundations eg the *Certosa di Pavia*, founded by Ludovico Sforza, who also began a new cathedral in Pavia
- Ludovico also commissioned Bramante to design the cloister for the church of S Ambrogio
- princes built themselves lavish tombs in preparation for their eventual death: Ludovico rebuilt part of Santa Maria della Grazie to serve as his tomb. When Ludovico's wife Beatrice d'Este died in childbirth, she was buried there. He also gave considerable sums of money to religious foundations
- the Catholic doctrine of good works impressed on rulers the need to provide for the poor. Ludovico Sforza furthered plans for the completion of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan.

### Securing the dynasty

- dynastic continuity was important, especially where power had been seized through military opportunism and marriage
- the colossal equestrian monument of the condottiere Francesco Sforza (founder of the dynasty, who had seized power following the death of Filippo Visconti) was intended to legitimise Sforza rule. Ludovico commissioned Leonardo to design it. In fact, it was never cast, and the bronze was eventually used to make cannons
- the *Portrait of Federico da Montefeltro with his son Guidobaldo* by Pedro Berruguete was intended to signify the continuity of the dynasty: the child Guidobaldo holds the sceptre engraved with the word Pontifex, an allusion to the Pope's granting of the right of succession.

### Historians

#### Perspective on the issue

#### Alison Cole

points out that rulers of principalities had few qualms about justifying extravagant spending on art, buildings and ceremonies in terms of 'magnificent display'. By the fifteenth century the conscious emulation of the 'magnificence' of the Roman Empire was used to defend lavish expenditure on all forms of display

#### Peter Elmer

'The political potential of artistic patronage was not lost on the rich and powerful and gained an added stimulus in the Renaissance through the revival of the Aristotelian notions of *magnificentia* and decorum. These concepts were rooted in the idea that one with authority demonstrates the right to rule through magnanimous actions and gestures. Typically, these might include conspicuous expenditure on building projects or works of art, which exemplified the ruler's magnanimity or "greatness of soul"'

#### Lauro Martines

describes in considerable detail the display of wealth evident at the princely courts. "This peaked in the exhibition of the prince's treasure, a practice best exemplified at the Sforza court ... Ambassadors and dignitaries, who were likely to report what they saw, were taken by Ludovico to see the ducal treasure; a store of more than a million ducats in gold, gems, plate and statues of gold and silver ..." This luxurious ostentation was a display of power ... "I am a Prince and I can show it" ... Ritual too was brought to bear: it went to frame and amplify the power of the court. Public occasions meant the sound of trumpets, cannon, drums, pipes, and the air trembling with bells'

**Evelyn Welch**

writing about the Visconti and Sforza at Milan, emphasises the ways in which art and architecture, as well as other manifestations of culture, were used to enforce authority. 'The message emphasised by the humanists, jurists, poets, painters, sculptors and musicians who served the successive regimes proved constant and even trite: however violent the accession, the current lord was a great ruler who held legitimate power and dominion.' While acknowledging the importance of large scale projects to achieve this end, Welch argues that the imposition of minor visual controls was also highly effective. 'These ubiquitous indicators took the form of many personal devices, mottoes and portraits. All offered information about the relationship of the marked object to the ruling family'.

## Question 20

### **Evidence that suggests that the Renaissance was an age of new opportunities for women:**

- some women received a humanist education, notably Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Laura Cerata of Brescia, who studied philosophy at the University of Padua, Cecilia Gonzaga, the poetess Vittoria Colonna and Cassandra Fedele of Venice
- wealthy widows, who had been left property, retained considerable control over their lives
- there are individual examples of women as patrons of the arts – most notably Isabella d'Este
- Isabella d'Este as an influential patron and collector of art. Her detailed demands about the composition and content of pictures deterred Giovanni Bellini, who felt his style was being cramped by her instructions
- her sister, Beatrice d'Este, married to Ludovico Sforza, helped make the Milanese court a showplace of literary and artistic creativity
- the Church offered some opportunities to energetic and educated women; they could become abbesses/prioresses (like S Caterina de' Ricci) or administer hospitals (S Caterina of Genoa)
- convent life appears to have offered many women a fuller life than the traditional image suggests.

### **Evidence that contradicts the view that the Renaissance provided women with new opportunities:**

- the majority of babies abandoned, allowed to suffocate or died at wet-nurse, were female
- educational opportunities for girls were very limited and available only to the well off
- the Church preached that women were subordinate to men
- there were very few adult roles open to women. Most girls were expected to marry or enter a convent
- girls married young; the 1427 *castato* reveals an average age of 18 for brides but 30 for grooms
- the cost of dowries meant that even many girls from prominent families were forced to enter convents
- married women were on the whole expected to centre their lives on the home
- Leon Battista Alberti's '*On the Family*' presents an image of women as having limited abilities
- Francesco Barbaro's '*On Wifely Duties*' described the duties of a wife as modesty in speech and demeanour, obedience to her husband, and the care of servants and children
- the lives of working women were at least as hard as those of their male counterparts
- many women resorted to prostitution, or were forced into it, a life very different from that of the favoured courtesan
- syphilis was spreading rapidly by the end of the fifteenth century
- regardless of social background, many women had numerous pregnancies or died in childbirth.

| Historians       | Perspective on the issue  |
|------------------|---|
| Jacob Burckhardt | argued that during the Renaissance 'women stood on a footing of perfect equality with men'. While it is likely that opportunities for women in Renaissance Italy may have been greater than elsewhere in Europe, if they aspired to be rulers, actresses or writers, few modern historians would agree with this view   |
| Joan Kelly-Gadol | published <i>Did women have a Renaissance?</i> in 1977. She claimed that during the Renaissance opportunities for women declined. Noblewomen found themselves removed from public concerns and forced to fit into new constraints on their personal and social lives, while women from the patrician bourgeoisie disappeared into the private realm of family and domestic concerns   |
| Samuel Cohn      | basing his research on court records, claimed that Florence was the worst place in Italy to be a woman during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Cohn, Florentine courts stopped prosecuting the perpetrators of rapes and assaults against women, while rates of infanticide of female children rose. Further restrictions were placed on women's employment (causing forced female emigration) and women's control over property declined                 |
| Alison Cole      | writing about the role of women in the princely courts, argues that although the ruler's wife often received a humanist education her contribution as a patron of the arts was circumscribed by lack of funds. As consort she could take an active interest in the decoration of her own apartments, and the commissioning of small devotional pictures or illuminated manuscripts (typically prayer books), but she was rarely involved in projects of a more public nature. |



## Question 21

**Evidence which suggests that the French invasion of 1494 marked a turning point for most of the Italian peninsula:**

### **Short term consequences**

- the dynastic ambitions of the various north Italian states were to prove disastrous for their futures
- Ludovico Sforza, jealous of the apparently expanding diplomatic influence of Naples, encouraged Charles VIII. The consequences for both Ludovico (who died as a prisoner of France) and for Milan were extreme: for over 30 years, Milan was fought over and when the Sforza were restored in 1529, it was under the tutelage of the Emperor Charles V
- Alexander VI was most interested in protecting and advancing the interests of the Borgias
- Pope Julius II commitment to intrigue and warfare to win back territory for the Papacy did little to enhance the image of the Papacy for its critics
- Venice supported Charles VIII's plans for a Crusade in the hopes that they could add to their territory in the Eastern Mediterranean. They were not concerned about the fate of mainland Italy
- Piero de Medici initially opposed the French invasion. When the French reached Florentine territory Piero was forced to negotiate and ceded control of border towns. Pisa seized the opportunity to surrender to Charles and so liberated itself from Florentine rule. Accused of treachery, Piero was forced to flee, ending 60 years of Medici domination of the Republic
- Charles VIII entered Florence in triumph and stayed in the Medici Palace. Confrontation was narrowly avoided and the French left, although Florence agreed to pay 120,000 ducats to the French. The new Republican government, consisting of A Great Council, was inspired by Savonarola
- Savonarola was accused of heresy and executed after an irregular trial. Soderini was appointed gonfaloniere for life
- Alexander VI was powerless to stop Charles VIII and in May 1495 Charles was crowned king of Naples. Despite opposition from a league of the Italian states, Francis managed to return to France where he died before he was able to return to Naples with a larger force
- the centre of artistic innovation increasingly moved away from Florence to Venice and Rome
- the Renaissance ideal of the soldier-scholar was shattered by the reality of Italian defeat at the hands of the French. In the eyes of contemporaries, mercenaries were to blame and they were to be discredited by Machiavelli.

### **Longer term consequences**

- the invasion of 1494 set a precedent for further foreign invasions over the next 30 years
- wars after 1494 were on a much greater scale, and more unremitting, than those that briefly interrupted the 40 years of relative peace that had followed the Peace of Lodi (1454)
- after 1494, France, Spain and The German Habsburgs fought for domination of the Italian states; they were temporarily joined by the Swiss, until driven out by the French (1515)
- the accession of Charles V as Emperor (1519) marked a new stage in the struggle for Italy, as French, Spanish and Imperial troops fought for mastery of northern Italy
- ill-disciplined Imperial troops sacked Rome in 1527. Many artists left Rome at this time
- by 1529 the French King, Francis I, was forced to acknowledge Spanish rule in Naples and to give up his claims to Milan, which was restored to the Sforza, under the tutelage of the Emperor. Thereafter direct foreign intervention in Italy was limited but the old independence of the city states was lost
- dynastic ambitions had redrawn the map of Italy, bringing much of Italy under direct or indirect foreign rule
- internal upheavals in Florence inspired Machiavelli to write the Discourses and The Prince. The Discourses reflect on the difficulties of maintaining a republican form of government, while the Prince provided a justification for differentiating between private and public morality
- the Italian Wars had a major impact on the nature of warfare: the emphasis on the size and permanence of armies led to better use of weapons and techniques, as well as greater co-ordination and co-operation between different types of arms.

**Evidence which suggests that the significance of the French invasion of 1494 as a turning point for most of the Italian peninsula has been exaggerated:**

- apart from the years after the peace of Lodi, war was endemic in Italy
- Guicciardini exaggerated the stability of Italy before 1494 in order to highlight the catastrophe of the invasion. He writes of 'peace and quietness, rich in population, merchandise and wealth, adorned to the highest degree by the magnificence of many princes' – clearly an exaggerated view
- some of the very greatest artistic works of the Renaissance – the so-called High Renaissance – were produced during the period of invasion and dynastic struggles
- improved fortifications meant that devastation of cities was limited; only the sack of Rome had temporarily checked cultural development but as the artists dispersed to other cities artists, musicians and writers found refuge elsewhere in Italy
- except for the siege of Naples (1527-8) and Florence (1529-30) sieges did not last long and did not inflict much damage
- it was the countryside and the peasants who suffered the most during the invasions, as they had in all previous wars.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Lauro Martines</b> | argues that the wars had a major impact on the Italian peninsula. 'The life of the Italian people, as a story cast round the self-determining city-states, came to an end in 1494. In the autumn of that year Charles VIII of France, in command of an army of 30,000 men, marched through the Savoyard Alps and descended into the peninsula to claim the kingdom of Naples .... By 1503 large parts of Italy, in the north and south, lay in the hands of governors French and Spanish. For the next half-century, French, Swiss, Spanish and German soldiery made a bloody bid for political mastery on Italian soil'  |
| <b>Gene Brucker</b>   | highlights the devastation that the invasions inflicted on Florence. The costly struggles to regain Pisa (1494-1509) wrought much damage in the area surrounding that city; Tuscany was a major thoroughfare for armies moving from Lombardy to the south, with such troop movements invariably resulting in burning and looting of unfortified villages and farms. The invading French were followed by the Venetians (1498), Cesare Borgia (1501-2), and finally by Imperial troops who defeated the Florentines in August 1530, leading to the establishing of the Duchy of Tuscany. Brucker writes that the psychological impact of these events was deep and permanent. 'The Florentines did not recover their self-confidence. Never again ... did they see themselves as masters of their own destiny' |
| <b>JR Hale</b>        | is more sceptical about the overall impact of the invasion on Italian culture. 'Whatever the economic and psychological strain produced in individual states by their involvement, and the consequential changes in their constitutions or masters, no overall correlation between the Wars and the culture of Italy can be made. The battles were fought in the countryside and peasants were the chief sufferers from the campaigns. Sieges of great cities were few and, save in the cases of Naples and Florence, short'  |
| <b>Robert Hole</b>    | emphasises the traumatic impact of the events of 1494. He concedes that most historians today do not consider the French invasion as being as important politically as it was considered at the time, but he argues that it had a major impact on the minds of Renaissance Italians and how they perceived the world and themselves.  |

### Section 3 – Italy: The Renaissance in the 15<sup>th</sup> and Early 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries

#### PART B – Historical Sources

##### Question 22

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

| Point identified in Source A   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| In the field of Latin studies (humanists) rediscovered a number of important texts that had hardly been read during the Middle Ages.   | humanists found various significant Latin manuscripts which were virtually unknown during the Middle Ages   |
| The humanists made texts (known during the middle ages) better known, through their numerous manuscript copies, through their grammatical and antiquarian studies, and through the development of historical criticism.  | by copying, editing and commenting on texts that were available during the Middle Ages, humanists made these texts much more widely known   |
| The study of Greek classical literature began to spread to the West, through Byzantine scholars who went to Western Europe, and through Italian scholars who went to Constantinople bringing back a large number of Greek manuscripts to Western libraries where humanist scholars could study them. | Classical Greek literature was studied as a result of both Byzantine scholars coming to the West and humanists visiting Constantinople, and returning with manuscripts which were placed in western libraries |
| No less important were the numerous Latin translations from the Greek due to the humanists of the Renaissance.   | humanists also translated many classical Greek works into Latin.  |

##### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Poggio Bracciolini described the joy he experienced when he discovered a lost work of Quintilian in the monastery of St Gall in Switzerland
- Niccolo Niccoli copied and collated classical manuscripts, correcting the textual errors in medieval copies
- Vespasiano da Bisticci employed forty-five copyists to copy classical works for the collections of Cosimo de Medici
- Salutati invited Chrysoloras to Florence to teach Greek grammar and literature
- Cardinal Bessarion, who was born in Constantinople but lived in Italy after the Council of Florence, promoted the translation of Greek manuscripts
- Chrysoloras translated the work of Homer and Plato's Republic into Latin
- one of the most famous early renaissance libraries was at San Marco, designed by Michelozzo.

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

- Bruni translated Aristotle's Ethics from Greek into Latin because he was so critical of the errors in the existing translation used in the universities
- Bruni used classical writers to show that Florence had its origins in the Republican period, and it was not – as was previously believed – an Imperial foundation
- Alberti revived Vitruvian principles which influenced architectural styles. He was also influenced by his own careful examination of classical buildings such as the Pantheon
- Cosimo de Medici commissioned Marsilio Ficino to produce the first complete Latin translation of Plato
- Ficino was also responsible for the revival of interest in Neoplatonism, through his translation of the work of Plotinus
- Florentine humanists at the Papal Court in Rome became interested in the buildings and archaeology of classical Rome
- the employment of humanists at the Papal Court gave a respectability to the revival of interest in classical paganism
- Poliziano, Lorenzo de Medici's tutor, was a humanist scholar and philologist who insisted on scrupulously accurate textual commentary
- artists and architects, inspired both by the work of humanist scholars, and by archaeological evidence, also contributed to the revival of interest in classical themes and building styles
- the artist Mantegna whose *Triumph of Caesar*, was painted for the Gonzaga Palace, was heavily influenced by his knowledge of classical sources.

**Historians                      Perspective on the issue**

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>JR Hale</b>      | argues that scholarship, and the revival of interest in classical antiquity was central to the work of humanists: 'Unless the word 'humanism' retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead'   |
| <b>Ian Thomson</b>  | stresses the importance of Chrysoloras, who played a crucial role in the rebirth of Greek studies, and who influenced the first generation of Italian scholars and of Greek scholars, including Bruni  |
| <b>Hans Baron</b>   | emphasised the importance of the humanist revival of classical (Ciceronian) republicanism; humanists like Bruni used their knowledge of Cicero to emphasise the superior nature of republicanism (as opposed to monarchy). Bruni used his commitment to republicanism to advocate the active involvement of Florentine citizens in the defence of their city against the Visconti threat. Few historians today would agree completely with Baron's view that this emphasis on republicanism was entirely the product of Renaissance humanists, since there was also a long tradition of medieval republicanism                 |
| <b>Robert Black</b> | follows P O Kristeller in arguing that the revival of interest in classical antiquity should not be seen as a radical break with the past and that many of the roots of Renaissance humanism can be found in medieval traditions. However, Black emphasises the importance of a humanist education – with its emphasis on classical learning – as 'a distinguishing badge for the leaders of Italian and European society, a means of distinguishing society's leaders from its followers; the objective advantage of humanism was access to the ruling elite, with all its consequent economic social and political rewards'. |

### Question 23

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

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Giuliano was killed but Lorenzo, slightly wounded, fled back to the family palace to rally supporters.   | although Lorenzo's brother was killed in the cathedral, he himself survived and returned to the Medici-Riccardi Palace to rally support  |
| The ground had not been prepared for such an appeal (to rally the crowd with cries of 'the people and liberty') and when the city learned that Lorenzo was alive no one dared side with the failed conspirators. | despite an attempt to rally support by appealing to the people, when the people of Florence learned that Lorenzo was still alive they did not dare to support the conspirators |
| Medici armed guards and pro-Medici mobs seized the plotters and began executing them; many were hanged from the windows of the Palazzo della Signoria.   | supporters of the Medici captured those involved in the plot and began to kill them. Some were publicly hanged at the Palazzo della Signoria                                   |
| Some (were executed) only because they were members of a family damned in perpetuity.  | vengeance was so great that some relatives were killed merely because they were associated with a proscribed family.   |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the Pazzi were a leading Florentine family whose fortune, like the Medici, was made through banking
- the leading conspirators included Jacopo and Francesco de' Pazzi
- the conspiracy had the tacit support of Pope Sixtus IV, and the Pope's nephew Girolamo Riario, who resented Lorenzo's attempts to prevent the Papacy asserting control over the Romagna
- Archbishop Salviati, was actively involved in the conspiracy. He was lynched by the pro-Medici mob when the conspiracy failed
- the backlash against the Pazzi was immediate and extreme: emergency powers meant that the ordinary rule of law was suspended
- surviving members of the family had to change their surname and coat of arms within six months
- all of the Pazzi property was confiscated
- Botticelli was hired to paint the portraits of the conspirators, on one of the public buildings of the city, to serve as a reminder of the fate of those who conspired against the Medici.

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| (Lorenzo's) his brother Giuliano, with whom he would have had to share his wealth and compete for power in the regime, was dead.   | Giuliano, a potential rival, who might have threatened both Lorenzo's wealth and his position in the city, had been killed                 |
| The people took up arms on his behalf and on that day they finally recognised him as the <i>padrone</i> (master) of the city.  | the people of Florence had come to Lorenzo's defence and were now prepared to recognise him as the most powerful figure in the city        |
| They gave him, at public expense, the privilege of going about with as many armed guards as he wished for his personal security.   | Lorenzo was granted the right to be accompanied by an armed guard as he went around the city   |
| He so thoroughly took control of the regime that he thereafter emerged, freely and completely, as decision-maker and almost lord of the city, so that his position was much more secure than it had been previously. | after the failed conspiracy Lorenzo was able to tighten his control on the city so that he was in effect in control of governing Florence. |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Giuliano had been a potential rival for Medici power and attempts to secure a Cardinal's hat for him had stalled
- in the immediate aftermath of the failed plot, support for Lorenzo gradually increased, partly because of the Florentine fear of outsiders
- the Signoria cancelled all permits to carry arms and only a very few select citizens were exempted
- Lorenzo's armed guard of 12-14 men, including some mounted, was permanent and raised him visibly above all other citizens
- increasingly, Lorenzo was a 'prince above the law'.

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

- Sixtus IV sequestrated the assets of the Medici bank and all of the Medici property he could lay his hands on
- in alliance with Ferrante of Naples, the Pope declared war on Florence and enemy troops occupied towns to the south of the city
- Lorenzo travelled to Naples to negotiate with Ferrante and peace was agreed in 1480, with Florence regaining lost territory
- the Pope remained hostile but an Ottoman attack in the summer of 1480 meant that the Pope required the support of the Italian states and so Sixtus agreed to peace terms
- the Council of 70 was established in 1480, as a way of restricting the regime to those Lorenzo trusted
- the Council of 70 was entrusted with an unprecedented combination of executive, legislative and electoral powers. Never before had the different functions of the government been so exclusively concentrated in one body
- the Council of 70 replaced the Council of 100 as the most important legislative body
- the Council of 70 was to remain in office for 5 years; its term of office was renewed for a further 5 years in 1484, and again in 1489 and 1493
- the speed and ruthlessness with which the conspiracy was put down suggests that, while the regime had enemies, it had the power and authority to hunt them down and eliminate them
- in 1481, after another plot to assassinate Lorenzo was uncovered, a new law was passed identifying anyone who conspired against Lorenzo with conspiracy against the state
- Guicciardini claimed that after the Pazzi conspiracy Lorenzo was increasingly distrustful of the elite *ottimati* families and instead promoted 'those from whom he believed he had nothing to fear because they lacked family connections and prestige'
- Savonarola increasingly denounced Lorenzo as a tyrant from the pulpit
- when Lorenzo died, the diarist Piero Parenti described Lorenzo as a man who 'with a single

gesture was able to bend all other citizens to his will'

- when Lorenzo died in 1492 his son, Piero di Lorenzo, was accepted on the Council of 70 with the age limit being waived for him, but he lacked his father's skill in handling foreign policy and Medici control only survived for two more years.

| Historians     | Perspective on the issue   |
|----------------|--|
| J Najemy       | points out that Lorenzo's powers in the 1480s were unprecedented in Florence and were possibly unmatched even by some of Italy's princes. However he points out that Lorenzo was also an insecure prince who trusted fewer and fewer people  |
| Lauro Martines | argues that Florentine republicanism was already being undermined, with the connivance of the ruling elite, long before Lorenzo's time. Whatever charges can be levelled against Lorenzo, his various abuses of the system of government, 'depended on the compliance and co-operation of sizeable numbers of the principal citizens and families.' Martines views the Pazzi conspiracy as 'the turning point in the path of Lorenzo's usurpation, not only because the immediate fears aroused by it enabled him and his friends to seize a commanding measure of power, but also because its bloodshed underlined desperations.' Had the Pazzi succeeded they would have had to rely on the support of anti-Medicean families and they would almost certainly have been forced to introduce reforms, expanding the political class. Instead, as a result of the 'April Plot', 'Lorenzo was the one man ... who put the Florentine republic on the edge of an abyss ... As he worked to make Florentine public authority the possession of the Medici, his constant claim was that the good of Florence and the good of the Medici family were one and the same |
| Gene Brucker   | sees the Pazzi conspiracy as evidence of the strength of the regime, rather than of the opposition to Medici rule. He cites the thoroughness with which the rebels were hunted down, including bringing one of the accused back from exile in Constantinople. He also points out that at this moment of crisis the citizens of Florence chose not to take advantage of the vulnerability of the Medici but to remain loyal to it. In the streets, the cry of 'Palle!', a reference to the Medici coat of arms, was heard more frequently than 'populo e liberta!'  |
| JR Hale        | warns against assuming that Lorenzo controlled Florentine politics completely. 'Even when the conciliar 'system' was complete (ie the government of Florence after the Council of 70 had been established) it is best described as pre-Medicean rather than Medicean <i>tout court</i> , it certainly cannot be dubbed Laurentian'. However, Hale concedes that Lorenzo was 'by far the most influential and, especially after Giuliano's murder, the most conspicuous member of the regime'.  |

## Question 24

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.

| Aspect of Source D |  | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Author             | Giorgio Vasari   | although a trained artist himself he is known chiefly for his 'Lives of the Artists'. He is often considered to be the first 'art historian'. He was also the first person to use the term Renaissance in print                |
| Purpose            | to record details of the lives of renowned Italian artists | Vasari focused on the 'rebirth in the arts' that he believed had taken place since the fifteenth century. He placed great emphasis on Florentine artists, whom he credits with all the most important developments in art      |
| Timing             | 1550   | Vasari was born in 1511, so many of the artists he wrote about were known to him only by their work and reputation. However he knew Michelangelo personally and regarded his work as the pinnacle of all artistic achievement. |

| Point identified in Source D   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Michelangelo's fame was grown so great that in the year 1503, when he was 29 years of age, Julius II sent for him to come and build his tomb.  | Michelangelo was already so well known that when he was 29, the Pope sent for him to design the tomb in which he would in due course be buried |
| Of this work, Michelangelo finished four statues and began eight more. These included sculptures of two slaves, and the figure of Moses, which no other modern work will ever equal in beauty. | Michelangelo worked on a total of twelve statues for the tomb, as well as those of the two slaves and the figure of Moses                      |
| Michelangelo was also employed to make a bronze statue of Pope Julius, for the city of Bologna.  | Julius also engaged Michelangelo to work on a bronze statue of himself, to be placed in the city of Bologna                                    |
| Bramante persuaded Julius that he should set Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the chapel in the palace, in memory of Sixtus, his uncle.  | Michelangelo was commissioned to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine chapel.   |



**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Julius II only became Pope in 1503 so he sent for Michelangelo shortly after his election, although the work was not commissioned until 1505
- the tomb was originally intended for the new St Peter's Basilica
- progress on the tomb was interrupted due to lack of funds
- the tomb was never completed and a truncated version was eventually placed in San Pietro in Vincoli
- the statue of Julius in Bologna was melted down when the city was captured. The Duke of Ferrara used the bronze to make an artillery cannon known as 'Giulia'
- according to Vasari, Bramante and Raphael suggested that Michelangelo should decorate the Sistine Chapel ceiling out of spite
- the Last Judgement was completed twenty-five years after the ceiling, having been commissioned by Pope Clement VII.

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

- art was put to the service of the Church but was also appreciated for aesthetic and intellectual reasons
- classical imagery was often used to identify the Papacy with the pre-Christian Emperors, promoting the idea of the grandeur of ancient Rome reborn in a Christian present
- Sixtus IV commissioned the building of the Sistine Chapel for papal elections. The carefully chosen biblical wall decorations by Botticelli and Perugino asserted Papal authority, as well as Papal spiritual and temporal power — a key justification for the art
- Alexander VI commissioned Pinturicchio to decorate the new Papal apartments
- Julius II planned to transform Rome into an impressive capital for his Christian Empire
- he was prepared to spend vast amount of church money on his projects: the projected cost of his tomb was 10,000 ducats
- St Peter's cost 70,653 ducats during Julius' pontificate alone
- under Bramante's direction, the Vatican was transformed into a monumental complex designed to associate the Papacy with the prestige and authority of Imperial Rome
- Raphael's Sistine Madonna, was commissioned for the church of San Sisto, to celebrate the Papal conquest of Piacenza
- Julius II, so disliked the Borgia Pope that he had the apartments closed up and commissioned Raphael to decorate his new apartment. Incomplete when Julius died, the work was completed during the Papacy of Leo X
- Raphael's frescoes served as propaganda for the Papacy; as the official reception rooms for the Vatican they promoted the power of the Church
- by combining Christian and pagan imagery the paintings gave visual expression to attempts to reconcile Christian, Greek, Roman and Hebrew traditions
- the themes of these paintings celebrated both faith and reason: The school of Athens was a celebration of intellect; while The Disputation on the Sacrament and the Mass at Bolsena were powerful statements of the Catholic doctrine of the mass
- other paintings (such as the Liberation of St Peter) by Raphael reflected Julius' determination to liberate the Church from her enemies
- Bramante was commissioned to plan a vast new basilica centred on the shrine of St Peter. It was intended that the new church should reinterpret the style of classical buildings to suit Christianity and display Papal power. When Bramante died in 1514, Leo X chose first Raphael and then Sangallo to continue the work
- Leo X's greatest commission was for a set of tapestries designed by Raphael for the Sistine Chapel.

| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <b>H Hibbard</b>          | Julius II operated as a patron on a scale and on a level of quality that makes him equal to the artists we associate with him: Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo. If, as many believe, this was the greatest assembly of talent ever to work for one man at the same time, we must hail Julius II as the most perspicacious patron the world has ever known |
| <b>Christine Shaw</b>     | ‘As Cardinal and as Pope, (Julius) was one of the most active patrons at the Papal Court, both within and outside Rome’   |
| <b>Lauren Partridge</b>   | identifies a range of examples of Papal patronage of the arts: palaces such as the Vatican to express Papal magnificence, altarpieces and chapels as expressions of spirituality and belief and halls of state to legitimise claims to temporal as well as spiritual power  |
| <b>Mary Hollingsworth</b> | the Popes of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century promoted the idea of the grandeur of ancient Rome reborn in a Christian present – ‘a decision that was to have a radical impact on the art and architecture of early sixteenth century Rome under three Popes who were major patrons of the arts’.  |

## Section 4 – Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707-1815

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Question 25

**Evidence which may suggest a rational assessment of the chances of a successful outcome should have persuaded the Jacobites to abandon the 1715 Rebellion:**

#### **Strength of the Hanoverian regime**

- 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 Sherrifmuir despite being outnumbered by three to one
- the British state was in the process of modernising a professional army and navy. Well equipped, disciplined and with experience of modern warfare, it represented a formidable opponent.

#### **Leadership**

- the Earl of Mar was an unreliable politician with no military experience. His leadership was flawed throughout the campaign – from the raising of the standard at Braemar he hesitated, conspiring to squander various strategic advantages, most famously at Sheriffmuir, but also during a failed assault on Glasgow and an abortive attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle
- James VIII was similarly flawed – he contributed almost nothing to the rising in terms of leadership, having been present for less than 3 months. He arrived after the Battle of Sheriffmuir and returned to France before the rising had run its course
- James's refusal to countenance renouncing his Catholicism dissuaded some Scots from supporting the Jacobite cause. Catholics accounted for only 2% of the population, whilst Hanoverian propaganda took full advantage of the supposed dangers of a pretender devoted to 'popery'.

#### **Support in Europe**

- French and Spanish support was inconsistent and self-interested. French backing was particularly important – in reality, France's military machine was the only European power likely to match the British army
- although France committed military resources to an abortive Jacobite rebellion in 1708, with Louis XIV's death, support for the '15 was not forthcoming under the government of the Duke of Orleans
- Spain supplied limited financial assistance but no military resources
- following 1715, Scottish Jacobites declared their participation in any future rising would be dependent on foreign assistance.

#### **Support within Britain**

- Stuarts were inextricably linked with opposition to the Union, yet the Union guaranteed the Presbyterian church. Thus, the Jacobites failed to gain the support of the Kirk which enjoyed a near total control of the lowland population in the early eighteenth century
- regional variations meant support for the rising was not guaranteed – especially in Glasgow. The Union was held responsible for the tobacco boom which had brought new prosperity to the city
- support in the Highlands was not uniform – few western clans played an active role and no Highland chief gave the rising unqualified support. Some clans, notably the Campbells were staunchly pro-Hanoverian
- English support was uncertain – the few who joined the Northumbrian Jacobites accounted for the total English host. Their military contribution amounted to capitulation at Preston following confusion and mishandled retreat.

**Evidence which may suggest a rational assessment of the chances of a successful outcome should not have persuaded the Jacobites to abandon the 1715 Rebellion:**

### **Anglo-phobia**

- events immediately preceding the Union generated a powerful anti-English sentiment including the Royal navy's enforcement of the Navigation Laws and the absence of English aid during the Darien disaster
- the Alien Act, 1705, threatened significant tariff barriers to English markets
- English tariffs imposed on Scottish salt, coal and linen in the 1690s increased hostility towards Westminster.

### **Impact of the Union**

- failure of the Union to deliver short term economic gains generated support for the '15
- the '15 was easily the most widely supported Jacobite rising, Mar's 16,000 strong host was the largest Jacobite army. Men at arms were drawn from a more geographically diverse catchment, including the highlands, the Episcopalian north east and, to a lesser extent, the lowlands
- Devine estimates that significantly more Scots supported the cause than were minded to resist it
- some Scottish nobles reacted to a dearth in Hanoverian patronage following the Union including Mar himself. The replacement of the Scottish Parliament and the Privy Council with 16 seats in the British parliament created considerable resentment
- significantly, some of the great families of the lowland landed elite supported the rising, including the Earls of Southesk and Panmure.

### **Highland Loyalty**

- the House of Stuart attracted particularly strong loyalty amongst Highland clans who accounted for an estimated 70% of the Jacobite army. The only part of Britain capable of raising a private army, their remoteness from government authority and their reputation as a fighting force gave the rising significant credibility
- feudal highland society ensured the chief's authority was beyond question – his clan would follow him to war, and would be forced to fight alongside him.

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

**Rosalind Mitchison**

dismisses the leadership as flawed and inefficient, describing James as 'showing no sense of urgency ... he arrived after Sherrifmuir, hung around a while, burnt a couple of villages, and left on a ship'

**John Prebble**

suggests that the Jacobites chances of success appeared favourable at the outset of the rebellion due to Scottish discontent with the Union. 'Discontent in Scotland was both wide and deep. The "Fifteen" at its outset seemed to have all the elements of success. The Scots were by now tired of the Union'

**Neil Oliver**

argues that the '15 could not succeed without French backing. 'The single most important contributory factor ... was the attitude of France. Only France had the clout, the cash and the will to gamble on returning a Catholic Stuart to the British throne'

**Murray Pittock**

maintains that Scottish support for the Jacobite cause remained widespread and readily transferable into a marching army. Sympathy for James was 'endemic in what was essentially a Jacobite society'.

## Question 26

**Evidence which may suggest Scotland remained a primarily rural society by 1815:**

### **Population Distribution**

- lower rate of urbanisation than England during the eighteenth century. Proportion of the Scottish population in towns of over 5000 inhabitants or more 26.8% in 1801, hence nearly three quarters of the total population remained rural dwellers by 1815
- vast majority of the population continued to be employed in agricultural production and rural based manufacture.

### **Impact of the Agricultural Revolution**

- 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
- agricultural production the driver behind much of the industrial and infrastructural development of the eighteenth century – for example, the construction of the Forth and Clyde canal was originally designed as a transporter of grain
- improving profitability of farming generated higher rents for landowners who often invested this capital into early manufacturing plant, model villages and transport improvements
- increased yields and agricultural improvements provided raw materials for industrialisation and food to feed a manufacturing work force
- proto-industrialisation was not exclusively an urban phenomenon – in 1795 rural Renfrewshire had more cotton spinning mills than Glasgow
- water powered mills often required rural locations including New Lanark and Deanston. Steam power not widely adopted until after 1800
- growth of established industries which remained based in the countryside – fishing, timber, iron manufacture and coal mining provided a powerful stimulus to geographically dispersed areas of the Scottish rural economy whilst providing unfinished materials for urban manufacture
- migration to towns was often temporary – for example, shearers traditionally congregated in Edinburgh's hiring market whilst most sizeable towns had seasonal Highland communities
- craft and artisan production based in rural areas continued to account for the majority of finished goods throughout the eighteenth century.

### **Pre-eminence of Rural Elite**

- continued dominance of elite landed gentry in terms of landownership, control of capital and manipulation of the governance and administration of Scottish politics.

**Evidence which may suggest Scotland did not remain a primarily rural society by 1815:**

### **Urbanisation**

- between 1755 and 1801 the number of Scots living in towns with over 2000 inhabitants increased by more than 200,000
- average growth rate for the seven largest towns in Scotland between 1755 and 1801 was 222% – 51% of this growth was concentrated in the largest 4 cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee
- by 1800 nearly one in four Scots lived in towns or cities
- urbanisation not confined to large towns – medium sized towns such as Dumfries, Lanark and Stirling experienced rapid expansion by specialising in the finishing of goods produced in the town's rural hinterlands.

## Urban Industrialisation

- spectacular growth of towns in Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and the expansion of Glasgow linked to specific patterns of industrial development which required an urbanised workforce
- the growth of Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen though less spectacular was associated with the increasing dominance of urban society and civic governance. In the case of Edinburgh, despite the implications of Union, the capital retained important judicial and administrative roles
- the growth of the textile industry and development of the putting out system of spinning linen yarn encouraged the early development of factory production which tied even Highland workers north of the Great Glen to urban production by the 1790s
- diversification of employment data suggests a fundamental change in the composition of Scottish society, not only from rural to urban dwellers but also to emerging urban-specific types of employment related to manufacturing, the growth of the professions and increased employment in government administration.

## Rise of the Middle Class

- economic growth within emerging urban environments created increased opportunities for social mobility in stark contrast to the rigidity of traditional class divisions of rural society. Judicial and administrative employment enabled the middle classes to emerge and prosper
- emergence of entire middle class districts, partly through a new era of town planning – Glasgow's western districts, planned urban grids in Aberdeen and Perth and most famously Edinburgh's New Town created urban environments in which the upper middle class and professional classes could begin to challenge the hegemony of the landed elite
- ascendancy of urban merchant industrialists endowed with spectacular wealth accrued during the early stages of industrialisation, most famously the Glasgow tobacco lords whose investment in multiplier industries led to additional and significant urban manufacturing development.

### Historians

#### Perspective on the issue

#### Ian D Whyte

states that the defining demographic trend was the rate of acceleration of urbanisation prior to industrialisation and its subsequent impact on Scottish society. 'Urban expansion began later in Scotland and occurred at a much more rapid rate than south of the border'

#### Jan De Vries

reinforces the spectacular change in population distribution in Scotland within a European context – in 1700 he maintains Scotland was amongst the least urbanised countries in Europe yet by 1800 it was 'fourth after England, the Netherlands and Belgium'

#### Richard Finlay

maintains that the rural society's hegemony over urban life is starkly proven through statistical research – '...nine out of ten Scots lived in the countryside with the vast majority eking out an existence from subsistence farming'

#### Tom Devine

argues that although Scotland was a predominantly rural society as late as 1750, spectacular urbanisation fundamentally altered the nature of Scottish political and economic life in the second half of the eighteenth century to create a 'clear break with the past ... plainly a new social order was in the process of formation'.

## Question 27

**Evidence which may suggest that during the Age of Islay the power to govern remained within Scotland:**

### **Islay's Political Power**

- the Earl of Islay controlled virtually all governmental functions within Scotland between 1725-61 except for during the years between 1737 and 1741
- dubbed 'The King of Scotland', he was appointed by the British Prime Minister Robert Walpole to manage Scottish affairs following the Malt Tax riots
- Islay's ability to govern was reinforced by his appointment to positions of high office – Keeper of the Seal of Scotland and office of the Lord Justice General
- Islay's control over Scottish politics was total – the electoral system was controlled through effective management. His grip on Scottish political and civil affairs was reinforced through his personally held political party, the Argathelians, whom relied upon a complex network of informal contracts and the use of patronage
- parliamentary dissent amongst Scottish MPs during the Age of Islay was entirely absent following the demise of the Squadrone party
- Islay's use of patronage extended beyond politics – he controlled the high offices of law and universities and exercised influence within the General Assembly and the Convention of Royal Burghs. Amongst Islay's most prominent appointees was Francis Hutcheson to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University.

### **Evolution of Scottish Administrative Infrastructure**

- key Argathelians Duncan Forbes, the Lord Advocate, and Andrew Fletcher, a Lord of Session became architects of a system of government largely autonomous from Westminster
- development of specifically Scottish governmental infrastructure – for example modernisation of the machinery of tax collection augmented by military garrisons, particularly in the Highlands
- Islay oversaw the reform of the Scottish financial system including the establishment of the Royal Bank of Scotland (1727) within which tax revenues were held.

### **Westminster's Indifference**

- Scotland was virtually ignored by Westminster's new legislation – as long as Islay's governance delivered political stability the British legislator's lack of Scotland specific law confirmed was a given. Between 1727 and 1745 Westminster passed only 2 pieces of major legislation and 7 minor acts which applied specifically to Scotland
- the British ministerial post of Secretary of State for Scotland remained vacant between 1725 and 1741.

**Evidence which may suggest that during the Age of Islay the power to govern was not within Scotland:**

#### **Removal of Scottish Political Infrastructure**

- vacuum created in executive and legislative authority following the abolition of the Scottish Parliament and the Privy Council ensured all legislation originated from Westminster – the ultimate political authority was firmly vested in London
- Earl of Islay's report to Walpole described the effect of this vacuum as 'a long series of no administration ... the letter of the law had no effect on the people'
- although absenteeism saw the landed Scottish elite contribute to this power vacuum as they relocated south, their power over Scottish political, economic and civil life remained intact, albeit geographically remote.

#### **Westminster's Governance**

- Westminster's authority was absolute, within the context of the maintenance of the Union and the supremacy of the House of Hanover. Relative lack of British legislation reflected Hanoverian priorities regarding Scotland as being focused upon political stability and military security
- London's ambivalence reflected the maintenance of an orderly, peaceful Scotland and not an inability to exercise governmental authority
- Walpole's ministry wielded enormous economic power through the Equivalent funds which were released in return for the maintenance of the status quo in Scotland by Islay's management. Thus, Islay's authority was dependent upon the approval of the British government
- 1725 Prime Minister Walpole's enforcement of the Malt Tax in Scotland resulted in a national response of outrage which required General Wade and 400 dragoons – Devine describes the Scottish response in all major cities as 'a dangerous challenge to the union state'
- English ministers were responsible for passing all legislation relating to Scottish government and affairs – for example the establishment of the Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Manufactures and Fisheries (1727)
- 1741-46 Scottish Secretary of State appointed to report directly to Westminster
- Westminster's response following Culloden illustrated the sovereignty of the British parliament and its ability to enforce legislation if it deemed it necessary – for example the annexation of highland estates, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions and the establishment of sheriffs as instruments of local government
- the extent of autonomy remained dependent on the effectiveness and will of the Lord Advocate and Solicitor General both of whom reported to British ministers.



| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <b>Robert Harris</b>      | accepts that Islay achieved considerable autonomy from Westminster, however concludes that ultimate political power remained firmly in a (disinterested) London. 'In all important matters the power of decision lay outside Scotland with men who knew little of Scotland, and who usually wanted to know little'  |
| <b>Tom Devine</b>         | suggests that Islay's management of Scotland was almost free from Westminster's interference, describing this arrangement as based on a 'contract with Walpole; Islay would deliver political stability and the votes of Scottish MPs in return for patronage and the authority to govern ... Walpole trusted him to run Scotland with hardly any reference to Westminster' |
| <b>John D Mackie</b>      | summarises the political impotence of Scotland following the Union. 'There was no effective independent administration in Scotland ... a Scotland that had, broadly speaking, no electoral rights no active Parliamentary representation and no political voice beyond an occasional outburst of resentment'  |
| <b>Rosalind Mitchison</b> | stresses the symbolic significance of Walpole's enforcement of the Malt Tax in Scotland as the introduction of British legislation almost certain to be unpopular, describing the severity of the reaction in Scotland as 'a movement of national resistance'.  |

## Question 28

**Evidence which may suggest the Moderate Party represented the dominant mood of the Kirk between 1750 to 1815:**

- under William Robertson's leadership (1762-80) the Moderate Party gained considerable influence within the Kirk and specifically the General Assembly due to its attempts to limit secular intervention in church politics
- Robertson forcibly argued in defence of the independence of the Kirk in response to the Erastianism which resulted from the activities of the Argathelian and Squadrone Whig factions which both sought to increase lay influence over the Kirk for their own political ends
- the Moderate Party resisted reform of the Kirk's hierarchical system of courts from General Assembly to Kirk session, and supported adherence to their discipline. This was particularly important in response to individual Kirk session's resistance to the imposition of clergy by lay landowners
- the Moderate Party fostered a close relationship between Kirk and lay elites as required by the practical implications of the Patronage Act, enabling the furthering of their goal to foster a relatively liberal and educated clergy
- the Kirk's relationship with the lay establishment was further strengthened by the Moderate party's vocal commitment to support all aspects of civil law. Individual ministers had reinforced their alignment to the House of Hanover through anti-Jacobite sermons – Robertson actively defended Edinburgh against the Jacobite army in 1745
- the Moderate Party's control of many university chairs (William Robertson was Principal of Edinburgh University between 1762-93) provided a strong voice in the teaching of future clergy
- the Moderate Party was instrumental in modernising sermons, shifting their focus towards liberal interpretations of moral philosophy. Thus through Moderate Party influence the Kirk became distanced from traditional practices including the Westminster Confession of Faith
- the Moderate Party influenced the General Assembly to support the cultural, moral and philosophical advances of the Enlightenment. For example, in 1755-6 blocked the formal censure of both Hume and Lord Kames published works
- the Moderate Party encouraged the Kirk to moderate its stance on controversial issues including the toleration of Catholicism and poor relief to support the Catholic poor
- post 1780 – the Moderate party's alignment with Dundas's political management of Scotland arguably increased the influence of the party beyond Kirk politics into lay politics.

**Evidence which may not suggest the Moderate Party represented the dominant mood of the Kirk between 1750 to 1815:**

### **Limits of Moderate Party influence**

- the Moderate Party never achieved a numerical majority within the General Assembly
- a divided movement with considerable intellectual and theological divisions, the Moderate Party's influence was diluted by the varying interpretations of biblical teaching and ecclesiastical ceremony between liberal and traditional clergy
- death of the third Duke of Argyll signalled the demise of the early Hanoverian party system, thus the decline of Erastianism pre-dated the rise of the Moderate party
- moderatism under the leadership of George Hill owed less to liberal moral philosophy and reform of clerical practice than to an application of Dundas inspired management of church politics. An almost unrecognisable movement bereft of the founding principles of anti-Erastianism, the influence of the Moderate Party was subsequently diminishing by the end of the eighteenth century.

## **Influence of the Evangelicals**

- the Evangelical Party united liberal clergy opposed to adherence of traditional and in their view outdated Calvinist doctrine, such as Presbyterian predestination
- genuinely internationalist, prominent Evangelical clergy such as John Erskine preached sermons influenced by Evangelical ministers in America and England
- the Evangelical P arty championed progressive ideas including changes in doctrine and ecclesiastical practice. Issues outside the Kirk's internal politics, such as support for American independence and ideas associated with the Enlightenment were also supported by Evangelical clergy
- fiercely opposed to state intervention in affairs of the Kirk, their defining achievement during the disestablishment lay in the repeal of the Patronage Act (1784). The Evangelical party was committed to a clergy who adhered to biblical text and sermons suitably informed by the Gospel. As such, the Patronage Act's empowering of lay landowners to choose often Moderate clergy was an anathema
- the 'Evangelical Revival' represented a sizeable affiliation of congregations led by Thomas Gillespie's Relief Church who refused to accept the General Assembly's adherence of Patronage
- rise of the Evangelical Party in the latter part of the eighteenth century coincided with the decline of the Moderates. The 1805 election of John Leslie to the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh University confirmed the ascendancy of the latter
- the 'popular party' was influential amongst other protestant churches including Baptists and Methodists who shared similar Evangelical ecclesiastical doctrine.

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

#### **Colin Kidd**

offers a balanced appraisal of the eighteenth century Kirk by stating that whilst Moderatism was 'the dominant mood within the Kirk in the second half of the eighteenth century' also accepts that its influence was inconsistent due to changes in leadership and a failure to present a unified theology – 'Moderatism did not comprise a coherent body of doctrine, but is more accurately described as a distinctive style of churchmanship'

#### **Tom Devine**

argues that the Moderate Party's influence was significant particularly within the General Assembly. 'The Moderates managed to achieve real authority by dominating the General Assembly in the decades after 1750 through their close connections with government and their tenure of university chairs'

#### **David Bebbington**

suggests that the defining reform in the relationship between the state and Kirk in Scotland during the eighteenth century should primarily be associated with the Evangelical party. 'Evangelicals opposed the principle of patronage ... although there were others who adopted this defining conviction of the "Popular party", it was the hallmark of Evangelicals to resist what it called the "Intrusion"'

#### **John D Mackie**

stresses the importance of William Robertson's leadership to the supremacy of the Moderate Party which he describes as having 'great ability ... personal integrity ... and a power of "management"'.

## Question 29

### **Evidence which may suggest the Scottish Enlightenment was a continuation of earlier trends:**

- the Treaty of Union exempted Scots law, education and the church from Anglicisation. Long established patterns of convention, education and training closely associated with the Enlightenment had their origins in the seventeenth century
- pre-eminence of Scottish education underpinning intellectual enquiry long established. Western Europe's first public education system based upon principles of affordable access to as wide a demographic as the parish system allowed, it pre-dated the Enlightenment by at least forty years
- the Parish school system was augmented by a complex system of academies, burgh schools and grammars. This system evolved gradually during the early eighteenth century, represented a gradual progression increasingly associated with a progressive curriculum
- developments in Higher education can be identified as similarly evolutionary. As early as 1710, philosophy courses taught at all of Scotland's Universities adopted an essentially Newtonian emphasis, whilst the gradual development of pedagogy also reflected incremental change
- the theories of the works of great figures of the Scottish Enlightenment including Hutcheson and Hume were drawn from previous published works, whilst the work of writers, architects and the Improvers lent heavily on the incremental influences from both England and Europe
- the 'Grand Tour' tradition took wealthy landowners on cultural tours of Europe's cities from the early eighteenth century onwards. Trips focused on antiquities, classical culture and renaissance sites, providing a clear context in which neoclassical architecture evolved
- ancient trading links and friendly relations with northern Europe established the routine of an exchange of intellectual ideas from the continent
- Scotland's tradition of decorative art, influenced by European painters, pre-dated the Enlightenment period.

### **Evidence which may suggest the Scottish Enlightenment was revolutionary:**

- the Treaty of Union provided a watershed after which the acceleration of a process of assimilation between Scottish and English language, culture and intellectual enquiry
- width and depth of intellectual enquiry. Disciplines and fields of study which existed prior to the Enlightenment were fundamentally altered
- entirely new disciplines established including Economics, Chemistry and Geology
- Adam Smith's thesis advanced in his treatise *The Wealth Of Nations* transformed accepted ideas relating to both Historical enquiry and wealth creation
- advancement not confined to academia. Practical applications of innovation underpinned industrialisation, urbanisation and agricultural revolution
- impact upon Scottish society was geographically diverse – not just confined to Edinburgh and Glasgow. Agrarian reform impacted upon the Highlands, whilst medical advances were disseminated across Europe
- transformation of Scottish society – hitherto unimaginable opportunities in social advancement for artisan labourers, engineers and amateur inventors led to a partial re-ordering of Scottish society. Robert Burns the most obvious example, ploughman to literary darling of Edinburgh society
- challenged the Kirk's stranglehold over Scottish society. David Hume's celebrated atheism would have rendered him an outcast in polite society at the turn of the century. Arguably the Enlightenment's most important figure, he rejected the Kirk's doctrine which he argued was merely superstition
- emergence of Scotland from obscurity to pre-eminence in practical humanist solutions famously confirmed by Voltaire: 'We look to Scotland for all our ideas of civilisation'.

| <b>Historians</b>        | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>David Allan</b>       | presents an evolutionary interpretation of the Scottish Enlightenment based upon the incremental effects of the influence of England. 'what explains the principal dynamics ... the process of convergence ... are two over-arching themes; Anglicization and the Enlightenment' |
| <b>Thomas Smout</b>      | suggests that the Scottish Enlightenment was compressed into no more than eighty years of revolutionary advancement, and that this was in part an inheritance of the Kirk's efforts to repress innovation and the questioning of the status quo                                  |
| <b>Alexander Broadie</b> | argues that the Enlightenment was preceded by long established traditions of intellectual enquiry through the strength of Scotland's ancient universities of Glasgow, St Andrews and Aberdeen  |
| <b>Tom Devine</b>        | emphasises a continuation of long established trends of intellectualism and academic enquiry.  |

## Section 4 – Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707-1815

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 30

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.

| Aspect of Source A |   | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|---|--|
| Author             | Chevalier de Johnstone                            | an officer in the Jacobite army, Johnstone was aide-de-camp to both Lord George Murray and Charles Edward Stuart                   |
| Purpose            | to inform and explain the course of the rebellion | provides Johnstone's view of the strengths and weaknesses of the Jacobite command  |
| Timing             | written in 1800, first published in 1820          | though written 50 years after Johnstone's participation in the rebellion, widely regarded as an accurate account of the rebellion. |

| Point identified in Source A   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                                       |
|--|--|
| Solely responsible for the successes of our army ... a genius ... would have become a truly great general. | as Murray's confidential assistant and secretary Johnstone championed Lord George Murray's leadership and tactical nous  |
| Implicit criticism of Charles Edward Stuart 'a shout that unfortunately never came from ... the Prince'.   | the omission of praise for the Prince appears telling in contrast to Johnstone's praise of Lord George Murray            |
| Highland Chiefs possessed the most heroic courage, but they knew only one tactic.                          | relative limitations of an unwieldy, anachronistic clan based army   |
| Irish officers held little military value.   | one of 'the Scots' Johnstone's account illustrates the tensions manifest between the Highlanders and the Irish officers. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Lord George Murray is generally acknowledged as the military tactician responsible for the successes the Jacobite army achieved
- the Prince's failings are well documented – though Johnstone adds his voice to the Prince's critics, his memoirs are generally not thought excessively biased
- the Hanoverian artillery, and specifically the use of grapeshot, successfully targeted the predictability of the Highland army's tactics at Culloden
- Johnstone's judgement of the military worth of the Irish officers was representative of his fellow Scots who grew increasingly resentful of Charles perceived favouritism.

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

- Lord George Murray's military credentials are well established, however sources differ on the credit he deserves for the victory at Prestonpans and his role in the aftermath of the Battle of Falkirk. The unsuccessful night attack prior to Culloden was led by Lord George Murray
- Charles Edward Stuart lacked military experience. Proud, unreceptive to advice and prone to drunken tirades, his leadership style can be accurately characterised as one of mishandled opportunity
- the 1745 rebellion was possible only through the military support of the pro-Jacobite highland clans. Oxymoronically, despite being vital to the cause, the Highland army was ill prepared for modern warfare lacking artillery, munitions and discipline
- factionalism within the Jacobite command broadly divided the officers between the Irish and Scots. Reflective of the tension between the Prince and Lord George Murray, an effective command structure eroded as the rebellion progressed.

**Historians**

**Perspective on the issue**

**Christopher Duffy**

argues that Lord George Murray's judgement was exposed by his decision to exhaust the Jacobite army following the night march to Nairn immediately prior to battle, and his suggested field of battle at Drum Mossie moor which was more undulating than the actual battle site

**John Prebble**

confirms that as the rebellion reached its final stages leadership was failing at a time it was needed most '... their bellies empty, their leaders at odds, the ground ill chosen, the Highlanders were sitting targets for the Royal Artillery at Culloden'

**William Arthur Speck**

notes Cumberland's response to defeats suffered at Prestonpans and Falkirk, as he systematically prepared his infantry to withstand the Highland Charge. 'He prepared the infantry ... psychologically to deal with the rebel's tactics which had struck such panic and terror into the king's troops. They were trained to cope with the dreaded broadsword'

**Bruce Lenman**

recognises both Charles' role in driving the rebellion but also his stubborn and ultimately flawed leadership – 'the obstinate, insensitive egotism of Prince Charles which drove the rebellion to its relentless bloody climax'.

### Question 31

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

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| new ideas were more easily (implemented) ...<br>It was now practicable to sit down to plan<br>how to develop a cattle ranch in the hills ... | political stability produced an environment conducive to economic expansion and opportunity  |
| (the) effective terms of trade between the Highlands and the Lowlands moved sharply in the former's favour                                   | the trade surplus created by the increase in the price of cattle expanded the net worth of the Highland economy and the possibilities for wealth creation  |
| peasants and the lairds ... began to enjoy the prospect of a much greater money income   | altered political and therefore economic circumstance of the Highlands created an environment in which cash income was becoming more attainable in contrast to the subsistence economy of the old Highlands  |
| how it was to be shared between profits and rents remained to be resolved ... peasants did not seem to be any worse off ...                  | the emergence of small-holding created a large number of impoverished tenants on small pieces of land whose standard of living largely stagnated, whilst in contrast landlords benefitted from increased rents and from the sale of higher value cash crops. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the outcome of Culloden allowed the Hanoverian regime to pacify all aspects of Highland society, including the practice of cattle rustling, formerly an endemic feature of the old order
- cattle represented one of a number of commodities of increasing value exported from the Highlands – other examples being timber, wool and kelp
- optimism defined the Highlands in the late eighteenth century, as increased standards of living achieved in the Lowlands were expected to be replicated through improvement in Highland agriculture
- arguable that the Highlands was the one area in Scotland where the eighteenth century improvers largely failed in their efforts to improve yields and productivity and where the emergence of a class of capitalist and commercially viable tenant farmers failed to materialise.

#### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- although data allowing for quantitative comparisons of standards of living is problematic, industrial development within the Highland economy suggests cash incomes were becoming more widespread amongst the population and increasing in value
- from 1760 onwards, the price of wool increased steadily, providing a reliable cash income to an emerging if relatively small class of workers. In addition, landowners received increased profits as sheep farming replaced traditional husbandry
- a resurgent Highland fishing industry provided employment – boosted further by the British Fisheries Society establishing Ullapool (1788)
- the kelp industry emerged in the latter eighteenth century in response to demand from fertiliser, glass and soap producers. Labour intensive, it was a significant new source of cash incomes
- timber industry steadily expanded, particularly near waterways for transport, in response to the demand for charcoal (for iron smelting), bark (for tanning) and construction
- agricultural improvement created indigenous, capitalist farmers in parts of the Highlands including Perthshire, Angus and Banffshire.



| <b>Historians</b>       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <b>Fitzroy Maclean</b>  | argues that the standards of living available to the Highland population at the end of the eighteenth century was directly linked to the legislation which followed Culloden, creating a generation of dispossessed, landless Highlanders. 'Some of those thus thrown on the world turned, where they could, to crofting or fishing'  |
| <b>Magnus Magnusson</b> | notes the ironic impact of government spending, and specifically military expansion upon the Highland economy. The building of Fort George alone cost over £90 000, and became a huge recruiting base of young Highlanders within the payroll of the Hanoverian state   |
| <b>Andrew MacKillop</b> | argues that the seasonal nature of the kelp industry encouraged a multiplier effect encouraging diverse industrial development. 'This in turn stimulated other ancillary economic activities namely weaving, distilling and military employment ... by 1800 the north west appeared as something of a success story'  |
| <b>T C Smout</b>        | Concludes that despite efforts to improve the economic developments of the highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century, location and geography remained immovable obstacles to the extent of their success. 'The grim facts of economic geography have time and time again defeated the good intentions of planners. It could not pay to make textiles in the north ... it was hard to make substantial investments in fishing pay, an area so high, so wet is at a perpetual disadvantage in the modern economy'. |

### Question 32

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

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| Fees demanded for teaching the basic curriculum ... were kept low.                         | since the Reformation, the Kirk had actively pursued a policy of accessible basic education through parish schools, resulting in the highest rate of literacy in Europe                             |
| It was the able poor for whom ... Latin could be crucial.                                  | university lectures were largely given in Latin until university reforms were gradually introduced after the 1740s. Thus the social mobility of the poor depended on their mastering of the subject |
| Latin had become much less important for the middle and upper classes ...                  | students from more affluent backgrounds were more likely to tailor their university studies specifically to include subjects compatible with their intended careers                                 |
| It was at the middle and upper classes that the new school subjects ... were mainly aimed. | the emerging curriculum taught by newly established private academies, colleges and adventure schools were largely the preserve of those with the ability to pay their fees.                        |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Parish schools occasionally resulted in the highest rate of literacy in Europe.

| Point identified in Source D  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| The universities began to reform their teaching.                        | by the mid eighteenth century, lectures were increasingly delivered in both English and Latin partly due to the efforts of prominent reformers such as William Carstares and Francis Hutcheson                 |
| The importance of specialisation was now accepted.                      | new professorships were gradually created in discrete faculties such as history, philosophy, law and medicine, enabling the parallel development of both science and the humanities led by subject specialists |
| ... its influence was to change the course of European philosophy.      | the burgeoning reputations earned by Scotland's ancient universities in the fields of philosophical thinking and questioning influenced the pedagogy and curriculum of European universities                   |
| The University of Glasgow established a reputation for pioneering work. | Glasgow became a recognised centre of pre-eminence in intellectual enquiry and academic research.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the Kirk's aspiration to have a school in every parish was never realised. Moreover, after 1750 increasing migration between parishes led to an inability of parish schools to cope with demand
- Latin was generally available in parish schools. Often a university entrance requirement, it represented an essential part of what was a basic, emerging curriculum
- university education was comparably affordable – Glasgow University's fees were approximately a tenth of those charged at Oxford and Cambridge. Though Edinburgh and Aberdeen's fees were more expensive they remained similarly affordable
- emerging grammar schools and town academies specialised in vocational subjects such as Maths and Science
- examples of individual reformers, such as Francis Hutcheson's curriculum reform at Glasgow which moved contemporary observers to consider students of Glasgow more intellectually complete than those of Edinburgh.

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

- although the parish school system remained affordable and relatively comprehensive, migration, population growth, secularisation and early urbanisation diluted its ability to deliver education of a consistently robust standard
- regional variation was pronounced. Although Scottish literacy rates compared favourably to England and Europe, school and university provision remained uneven
- activities of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge impacted upon literacy rates motivated by religious instruction across the Highlands, supplementing the short comings of the parish school system in this sparsely populated area
- the foundation of a plethora of new types of school including private institutions and adventure schools delivered targeted education in subjects as a direct response to the demands of the business and professional communities.

| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>T C Smout</b>          | states that the universal nature of basic education provided by the network of parish schools was possible by a combination of financial support from both lay and church sources. 'Kirk sessions provided fees for the poorest out of their benevolence, supplemented by a few bursaries and by private or municipal charity'   |
| <b>Tom Devine</b>         | reminds us of the limitations of the parish school system. 'Full time schooling, even in the parish school system was of short duration ... lasting no more than one or two years for poor scholars and less than four or five for the majority. Attendance also fluctuated markedly with numbers falling off dramatically in the summer'  |
| <b>John D Mackie</b>      | argues that the impact of reform in Scotland's universities had a direct causal link to the achievements of the Enlightenment. 'The spirit of inquiry and achievement ... informed the intellectual development of Scotland. At the beginning of the century Scotsmen had been wont to study medicine in Leiden or London, but before it was ended the Universities sent her doctors to London and abroad' |
| <b>Donald Withrington</b> | Drawing his conclusions from the Statistical Account, he argues that educational developments in Scotland by 1790 were characterised by the ability to read which was widespread across all areas including the Highlands, a more limited but still significant ability to write across most areas and lastly that parochial schools were in decline due to problems in recruiting qualified teachers.     |

## **Section 5 – USA: ‘A House Divided’, 1850-1865**

### **Part A – Historical Issues**

#### **Question 33**

**Evidence which supports the view that differences between North and South in 1850 can be explained as a clash of cultures:**

##### **Cultural differences between North and South**

- the economic make-up of each ‘section’ had a significant impact on their respective cultural development. It has been argued that the more ‘progressive’ North was more willing to embrace change and new ideas. Competition with other industrial powers meant Northerners required to engage with education and new ideas
- majority of immigration to the North – very few immigrants in the South. Cultural diversity was therefore greater in the North and particularly within the Northern cities
- Northerners better educated with illiteracy levels significantly higher in the South
- Northerners responsive to new developments and initiatives. Northerners encouraged Federal intervention to improve Northern society eg schools, railway construction etc
- limited freedom of speech in the South in comparison to the North with the ‘planter’ class dominating society and decision making
- South arguably a more violent society with duelling remaining a common means of solving disputes.

**Evidence which does not support the view that differences between North and South in 1850 can be explained as a clash of cultures:**

##### **Cultural similarities between North and South**

- pride in their common heritage and history
- shared language
- shared religion
- faith in the Constitution and a shared pride in the success of the ‘Great Experiment’ in democracy
- failure of the Nashville Convention following the 1850 Compromise and the broad support for the various bills that comprised the 1850 Compromise emphasises a desire to maintain the Union
- a strong belief in the values of the 1776 Revolution and the 1787 Constitution
- most white Northerners and white Southerners had similar racial views.

##### **The Economic Arguments:**

##### **Northern industrial strength**

- greater industrial development than the South
- greater railway mileage with journey times significantly reduced. The South tended to rely on their river network more than railways
- industrialising rather than industrialised. For example; four Northern manufacturing industries employed more than 50,000 people
- inequalities in wealth distribution.

### **Southern agricultural dominance**

- cotton comprised 50% of US exports
- tariff of annoyance to the South as this impacted on the profits in the South. The Southerners feared a reactionary tariff would be imposed by the USA's trading partners eg Britain
- limited urbanisation in the South. By 1860, only 20 towns had more than 5,000 inhabitants. Charleston and Richmond only had a population of 40,000
- South had 35% of US population but produced only 10% of manufactured output
- inequalities in wealth distribution with society dominated by the planter class which made up approx. 5% of the southern population.

### **Common economic features**

- abundance of fertile land, timber, raw materials
- navigable rivers with over 700 steamships operating on the Mississippi by 1850
- between 1800 and 1850, gross national product increased 7 fold whilst per capita income doubled
- development of industry in South, eg Tredegar Iron Works. The Upper South was traditionally along the same lines as the North – although perhaps not industrialising at the same rate as the north
- population increase; doubling every 25 years!
- some urban development but 80% lived in rural communities
- predominance of agriculture regardless of the section. The North West was known as 'the larder of the USA' producing food crops whereas agriculture in the South was focused on cotton, tobacco etc but agriculture nevertheless in both sections
- developments in transport, eg turnpike roads, canals, steamboats
- growth of railways and eagerness to ensure the construction of the trans-continental railroad which would bring trade between the east coast and the Orient
- development of the telegraph with 50,000 miles by 1850.

### **Ideological Differences**

- differing attitudes to abolitionism and abolitionist actions/propaganda
- differing views on Fugitive Slave Laws introduced in 1850
- differing attitudes to education. The South happy to maintain focus on cotton whereas the North required new ideas to compete on an industrial level
- Southerners increasingly believed in the idea that slavery could only be protected outwith the Federal Union
- States' Rights versus Federal Government.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <b>Charles and Mary Beard</b> | take the view that the sections were divided into an agricultural South and an industrial North |
|-------------------------------|---|

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>David Potter</b> | takes the view that there was no economic gulf between North and South and therefore rejects the views of Charles and Mary Beard |
|---------------------|--|

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <b>James McPherson</b> | argues that the whole of the USA witnessed a transport revolution. 5% of population owned about 70% of taxable property. Both North and South viewed the west as the nation's future |
|------------------------|--|

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <b>James Freehling</b> | takes the view that the Lower South politicians cared more about perpetuating slavery than the Union, while Border South leaders would compromise on slavery in order to save the Union. Slaveholders overwhelmingly controlled the Lower South but less solidly controlled the Middle and Border South. |
|------------------------|--|

## Question 34

### Women in the South:

#### Positive impact on war effort

- women kept plantations going
- dealt effectively with shortages
- largely maintained control of slaves in the South
- led civil unrest eg Richmond bread riots in mid-summer 1862.

#### Negative impact on war effort

- played role in undermining morale of Confederate army from autumn 1864 onwards with letters to soldiers pleading for the latter's return
- the severe hardships led to a sense of defeatism amongst women in the South.

### Women in the North:

#### Positive impact on war effort

- 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.

#### Negative impact on war effort

- as the war dragged on, Northern women grew weary of the sacrifices that they and their families were making. When riots against the military draft took place in Northern cities such as Boston and New York in 1863, working-class women joined in the mob violence
- impact of inflation frustrated women on the home front. Poor families, those on fixed incomes, and women subsisting on soldiers' wages often found it impossible to find, much less to pay, for food on a private's pay of \$11 a month when a barrel of flour cost \$100 in the Confederacy.

#### Common contribution to the war effort

- 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

##### Drew Faust

takes the view 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

##### Alfred Eaton

takes the view that at the beginning of the war, Southern women were great supporters of the rebellion and that it gave them opportunities to enter new occupations

##### Charles Roland

takes the view that in spite of fierce patriotism of most Southern women, their morale collapsed under the burden of war and their demoralisation did much to wreck the Confederacy

##### Reid Mitchell

takes the view 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.

## Question 35

**Evidence which supports the view that Abraham Lincoln demonstrated highly effective political leadership during the Civil War:**

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

**Evidence which does not support the view that Abraham Lincoln demonstrated highly effective political leadership during the Civil War:**

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

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>David Potter</b> | argues that the continued operation of two-party democratic politics in the North helped rather than hindered the war effort. This is credit to Lincoln and his ability to handle opposition. In addition, he argues that if the North and South had exchanged Presidents, the South might have gained their independence |
|---------------------|---|

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>Jay Monaghan</b> | takes the view that Lincoln was a consummate politician |
|---------------------|---|

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>James Ford Rhodes</b> | takes the view that 'Lacking him (Lincoln) the North would have abandoned the contest. His love of country and abnegation of self, make him a worthy leader' |
|--------------------------|--|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>James Randell</b> | takes the view that 'No president has carried the power of presidential edict and executive order (independently of Congress) so far as [Lincoln] did ... It would not be easy to state what Lincoln conceived to be the limit of his powers'. |
|----------------------|--|

## Question 36

### **Evidence which supports the view that the failings of the Democrat Party during 1864 Presidential Election ensured Lincoln's victory:**

- Democrats chose McClellan as their candidate but could not agree on a platform for election being divided by peace and continuation of the war effort
- Democratic campaign lacked serious political challenge, resorting to calling Lincoln a 'negro lover'
- Copperheads continued to emphasise the themes that did little to persuade voters: The financial and human costs of the war, the suspension of habeas corpus, the presence of the draft, the fact that this had become a war about emancipation, Lincoln was a tyrant who had contempt for the Constitution.

### **Evidence which does not support the view that the failings of the Democrat Party during 1864 Presidential Election ensured Lincoln's victory:**

#### **The strengths of the Republican Party in 1864**

- 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
- Republican radicals that were opposed to Lincoln's nomination began to actively support Lincoln's re-election following McClellan's nomination as Democrat candidate. As Charles Sumner put it privately 'Lincoln's election would be a disaster, but McLellan's damnation.' Thaddeus Stevens played an important role in quietly persuading Carl Schurz to repair the split in the Republican Party by swinging the Fremont Radicals to Lincoln's side
- Grant made great efforts to make it easier for soldiers to vote in the election. This proved critical to Lincoln's victory as the soldiers voted overwhelmingly in favour of Lincoln's re-election.

#### **Union Military Success**

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

#### **However**

- Union forces enjoyed limited 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 Harbor, June 1864
- casualty figures very high, 32,000 5<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> May 1864 – 'Butcher' Grant and apparent failure of Total War Tactics
- enlistment difficulties and use of 'green' black troops.



| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <b>Timothy P Townsend</b> | takes the view that a vote for McClellan would invalidate all of the sacrifices that the soldiers and their comrades had made. He supports this with reference to a soldier who said, 'I cannot vote for one thing and fight for another.' Another wrote saying, 'I do not see how any soldier can vote for such a man, nominated on a platform which acknowledges that we are whipped' |
| <b>Stephen Sears</b>      | takes the view that McClellan devoted most of his campaign efforts to the army vote however, no other segment of the electorate rejected his candidacy so strongly  |
| <b>James McPherson</b>    | takes the view that Northern domestic gloom in May 1864 was changing to optimism by September 1864 as a result of Union military victories  |
| <b>Reid Mitchell</b>      | takes the view that the failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pre-war party defeat.   |

## Question 37

**Evidence which supports the view that States' Rights was an important issue in the defeat of the Confederacy:**

### **States' Rights**

- the notion of States' Rights, which many Southern states used as their justification for secession, hindered the government of Jefferson Davis and their ability to wage war
- governors Brown of Georgia and Vance of North Carolina were particularly obstructive towards the government of Jefferson Davis
- Southerners resisted the war measures of conscription, martial law
- large plantation owners who were well represented in the political arena were particularly resistant to the centralised policies of the Confederate government eg the impressment of slaves
- Davis created a strong centralised government that's bureaucracy was greater in proportion to the Confederate population than the Union bureaucracy.

**Evidence which does not support the view that States' Rights was an important issue in the defeat of the Confederacy:**

### **Lack of will and loss of morale**

- the Southerners had more of an American identity than a Confederate identity and therefore found it challenging in the short time of their existence to create a sense of Southern nationalism that could have maintained their war effort
- the large non-slaveholding white population were not always fully in support of secession and although they may have fought for the Confederacy grew in frustration as the war continued. This is evident in the 'rich man's war poor man's fight' thesis as a result of the clauses within the 1862 Conscription Law
- the high casualty rates demoralised many Southerners and their willingness to fight decreased as the war progressed
- the Union blockade and the subsequent shortages impacted on morale. Women in particular lost heart leading to a sense of defeatism which featured in letters to soldiers on the front line and increasing levels of desertion from Confederate ranks.

### **Ineffective Confederate leadership**

- Confederate military commanders were too attack-minded leading to the argument that the Confederacy bled itself to death in the first three years of the war. Confederates attacked in 8 of the first 12 major battles of the war losing 97,000 men, 20,000 more than the Union
- Davis and Lee concentrated too much on the Virginian theatre and ignored the Western theatre which would ultimately cost them the war
- the command structure of the Confederate forces and the use of the department system led to coordination problems and the poor distribution of supplies and military resources
- Jefferson Davis is criticised for being an ineffective President. His personality and style led to high profile feuds with Johnston and Beauregard which harmed the Confederate war effort
- Davis and his government mismanaged the Confederate economy. Printing money led to inflation which destroyed the Confederate economy and contributed to the loss of morale
- poor management of Confederate military supplies harmed the war effort.

### **Union Strengths:**

#### **Northern industrial capacity**

- superiority of Union industrial base
- three times the railway capacity
- nine times industrial capacity
- ability to produce superior naval strength; allowing the naval blockade to be imposed
- superior management of military supplies by Stanton, Gideon Welles etc ensured this advantage.

### **Northern political leadership**

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

### **Northern military leadership**

- role of Grant and Sherman
- total war strategy
- exploitation of manpower and resources of the Union
- strategy aimed at destroying the South's will to continue the war
- refusal of Grant to retreat after reverses, eg Cold Harbor and the Wilderness
- excessive Confederate military focus in the Virginian theatre
- Confederate generals too attack-minded.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>Frank Owsley</b> | argues that the epitaph 'Died of States' Rights' should be written on the tombstone of the Confederacy |
|---------------------|--|

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>David Donald</b> | argues that the Confederacy 'Died of Democracy' |
|---------------------|---|

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Merton Coulter</b> | takes the view that the Confederacy lost the war because 'its people did not will hard enough and long enough to win' |
|-----------------------|---|

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <b>Richard Current</b> | takes the view that Southern defeat was the result of 'God and the strongest battalions'. |
|------------------------|---|

## Section 5 – USA: ‘A House Divided’, 1850-1865

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 38

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

| Point identified in Source A   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| To battle the newly aggressive Slave Power. Most agreed that the crisis of 1854 required the formation of a powerful new anti-slavery coalition.   | Northerners believed that the many Northern political factions should unite together in a unified anti-slavery coalition  |
| On 28 <sup>th</sup> February 1854, antislavery Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers gathered in Ripon, Wisconsin and vowed to form a new ‘Republican’ party dedicated to slavery restriction.                                       | In February 1854, the various Northern political factions united together into a single Northern party which they named the Republican Party  |
| The intensity of antislavery conviction within this ‘Republican’ coalition varied from state to state but all condemned slavery as ‘a great moral, social, and political evil’.  | The anti-slave views under the Republican ‘umbrella’ varied significantly from abolitionists to free soilers  |
| They were united in their antislavery demands: for its abolition in the nation’s capital, its exclusion from the federal territories, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act and an end to the admission of any more slave states. | Northerners were united in their opposition to slave trading in Washington DC, in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act and united in their opposition to the addition of any further slave states to the Union. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- a unified Northern political force would be the only way to challenge the perceived ‘Slave Power’ of the South
- the Act prompted a coalition of anti-slavery groups eg Anti-Nebraska Party, The People’s Party and Republicans
- Northern views on slavery varied from the moral opposition to the institution to opposition to its extension into the new territories with the vocal minority calling for its complete abolition. All were united in their opposition toward slavery in some shape
- the Fugitive Slave Act was arguably the most hated ‘agreement’ that emerged from the 1850 compromise. The Anthony Burns case of 1852 best exemplifies the opposition to the Act in the North.

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| The dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.  | the constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been attacked and their rights have been taken away                                   |
| Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force; that this has been sustained by the military power of the present government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced. | the people of Kansas have suffered an army of occupation and have forced a constitution and set of laws on the people that they did not want |
| We accuse the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories.  | the Republican Party strongly criticise the President and government for allowing this to happen and failing to take action                  |
| and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure punishment thereafter.   | the Republican Party aim to bring these people to justice and to answer for their crimes.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- there were widespread calls across the Northern states for Kansas to be admitted to the Union as a Free State with the Constitution, which did not permit slavery. The Northern states supported the Topeka legislature and its state constitution
- pro-slave supporters had crossed the border and ‘illegally’ influenced the outcome of the Kansas state elections. John Brown’s attack at Potawatomie Creek had led to violence in the state
- Northerners were critical that neither the President nor the Federal Government had intervened to resolve the issues in Kansas. They appeared to support the Lecompton Legislature and their pro slave state constitution
- ‘Bleeding Kansas’ which followed motivated Northerners to unite together against the slave power.

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

- the Kansas Nebraska Act awakened the spectre of the slave power
- the Act 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’ motivated Northerners to unite together against the slave power
- many Northern Democrat voters sought a new political party as the Democrats were dominated by Southern opinion
- the Democrats appeared to be committed to advance the cause of slavery; hence the Slave Power Conspiracy theory which dominated Northern thinking
- democrat control of the Presidency for nearly fifty years led to frustration in the North and heightened the sense of slave power control
- five out of seven Supreme Court judges were from Southern States
- ‘Bleeding Sumner’
- Northerners opposed slavery’s extension into the territories
- Republicans viewed slavery as restricting the South’s economic growth
- mass immigration from Europe to the Northern cities led to the emergence of a new purely Northern ideology of Nativism which was embodied in the ‘American Party’ or Know Nothings. Many Northerners looked toward a party that would represent their own views
- not all Republicans held Nativist views however, as Lincoln famously stated his opposition to the Know Nothings in 1855

- the strong link between the hierarchy of the Democratic Party and the Catholic Church and the fact that most Catholics voted Democrat led to the move to a new political movement for many Northerners
- the rise of these new political movements in the North won mass support in 1854 elections which ensured that the Whigs ceased to be a main political force
- the division of Whigs into sections following Kansas Nebraska Act led to the collapse of the party
- issues of temperance, anti-immigration, anti-Catholicism fatally divided Whigs
- although the issues of immigration were important, economic issues dominated Northern opinion and they looked to a party that could ensure the protective tariff, the concept of 'free labour', Government aid for internal improvements and the desire for a homestead law
- the multi-faceted appeal of the Republicans was key to its emergence and success – a rainbow coalition of Northern ideals.

| <b>Historians</b>        | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>Hugh Tulloch</b>      | takes the view that the Republican Party attracted those opposed to Southern determination to maintain slavery   |
| <b>James McPherson</b>   | takes the view that the 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 |
| <b>William Gienapp</b>   | takes the view that the Republicans were united in opposition to 'slave power' taking advantage of the Know-Nothings erosion into previous party loyalties   |
| <b>Brian Holden Reid</b> | takes the view that political evangelicalism permeated the developing Republican Party. The Sectional issues were crucial to the Republican philosophy.  |

### Question 39

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.

| Aspect of Source C |   | Possible comment on the provenance of the source  |
|--------------------|---|---|
| Author             | Jefferson Davis                             | Confederate President   |
| Purpose            | outlines the reasons for Southern Secession | His first speech to the newly assembled Confederate Congress  |
| Timing             | 29 <sup>th</sup> April 1861                 | The month of April 1861 had witnessed the secession of the southern states, the crisis over Fort Sumter and preparations for war on both sides. |

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| The declaration of war made against this Confederacy by Abraham Lincoln.   | Lincoln's election and subsequent his speeches on slavery were viewed by Davis as a declaration of war against the South  |
| There has been a long continued and deep seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South. | Davis believes that the Northern aggression towards the South has been sustained for a considerable period of time and the Federal Government has always favoured the North over the South                |
| A continuous series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.   | the North have attempted to put in place a series of measures which aim to end slavery  |
| A great party was organised for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation.   | Davis refers to the emergence of the Republican Party which aimed to win control of Federal Government in order to prevent the Southern states from participating in the democratic processes of the USA. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Southerners believed Lincoln and all Republicans were abolitionists and would end slavery if elected to office. Lincoln believed slavery was 'morally wrong' and wished to see the end of slavery. South outraged by his branding slavery as 'evil'
- during the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, Lincoln had made it clear that he wished to see the 'ultimate extinction' of slavery
- as President, Lincoln could appoint Republicans to key positions of government and begin the process of limiting slavery, the Fugitive Slave Act and introduce economic policies that would put slavery on the road to extinction
- Lincoln's election would leave Northerners in control of federal government which was unacceptable to the South given that he had not received a single vote in the South.

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

- Lincoln emphasised that he would not interfere with slavery where it already existed but only opposed its expansion. The South were unconvinced by his pledge not to interfere
- Southerners viewed all Republicans as abolitionists as a consequence of the purely sectional nature of the Republican ideology
- Republicans emphasised the Slave Power Conspiracy during the election while Southern Democrats played on the 'Black Republicans' image
- the Nashville Convention 1860 had declared that a Republican victory in the election would result in Southern secession
- the movement for secession gained momentum after Lincoln's election – as far as secessionists were concerned, Lincoln was capable of anything!
- the perception of an increasing Abolitionist influence in the North culminating in John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry deeply concerned Southerners. Apparent Northern approval meant a point of no return by 1860 with many in the South pushing for secession before a Republican administration acted aggressively
- the South Carolina Ordinance consisted of a list of the ways in which the non-slave-holding states had violated the rights of slave-holders
- confederacy had taken control of Federal property, but some including Fort Sumter, remained in Federal control. Lincoln declared that he would retain control of the forts and informed the Confederate government that he intended to resupply the fort. This decision may have provoked the South or may even have been intended to provoke them.

**Historians****Perspective on the issue****James McPherson**

takes the view that the issues surrounding Fort Sumter were an affront to the Confederate government which it could not tolerate if it wished to have its independence recognised. Buchanan's relief expedition was a bungled effort that only alienated the South further. Scott's politically motivated recommendation to evacuate Forts Sumter and Pickens rendered suspect his initial opinion that reinforcement was impossible

**Hugh Tulloch**

takes the view that Lincoln's election triggered off secession because the Republican Party threatened the extension of slavery and because Lincoln threatened the honour and survival of the planter class. 'It was the coming of the Republican Lincoln to power in 1860 that triggered off secession and a civil war'

**William Gienapp**

takes the view that the Republicans had united in opposition to the 'slave power'. If they directly opposed the institution that formed the foundation of Southern economic and political life, Southerners could not see a future within the Union

**David Donald**

takes the view that tensions and paranoia between North and South intensified in the late 1850s. The politicians were to blame for failing to respond with clear policies that would reduce tensions and calm the escalating conflict.



## Question 40

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

| Point identified in Source D  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| (It was) spelled out in the Proclamation itself in Lincoln's promise 'to recruit freed slaves into the armed service of the United States'.                                       | the Emancipation Proclamation allowed the Union army to recruit black soldiers   |
| By the time the proclamation was read on New Year's Day at Port Royal, the first regiment of these volunteers was on hand and ready to receive the regiment's flags.              | the first black regiment was ready for military service almost immediately after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued  |
| Black soldiers from the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers threw open their camp to 'thousands of the colored people'.   | thousands of volunteers rushed to join the newly formed black regiments  |
| The War Department established a bureau to muster directly into federal service the 138 infantry regiments of what would become known as the United States Colored Troops (USCT). | the Union Army established a specific department to enlist and organise the volunteers into a regiment which would be known as the United States Colored Troops. |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- 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 blacks were essential to the end of the war
- Lincoln argued – 'freedom has given us the control of 200,000 able bodied men, born and raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet. Just so much has it subtracted from the strength of our enemies'. Indeed, there were 179,000 blacks in the Union armies at the end of the war, most of whom were former slaves
- an eighth of Union troops around Petersburg were black. This was critical to the strategy of 'Total War'
- this was not met by the approval of all members of the Northern coalition. It has been argued that the Emancipation Proclamation destroyed the Northern pro-war coalition. Conservative Republicans withdrew their support for a period. War Democrats did not approve.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Britain could not be seen to recognise a nation that supported slavery, despite the benefits the Confederacy brought to Britain
- the Emancipation Proclamation had no effect on slavery in Union slave states. September 1862 – no slave had been liberated. British Prime Minister, Palmerston, was critical as was the world's media
- Lincoln did turn the war into a revolution with the Emancipation Proclamation
- Emancipation boosted Northern morale adding a humanitarian ideal as well as a preservation of the Union to the war effort
- Lincoln was now assured the support of radical Republicans in Congress
- the Emancipation Proclamation destroyed the Northern pro-war coalition. Conservative Republicans withdrew their support for a period. War Democrats did not approve
- the Emancipation Proclamation only freed slaves in select geographical areas. Emancipation depended on the advance of Union armies. Freedom did not reach many blacks until well after the end of the war
- Kentuckians resisted the proclamation fiercely, even keeping 65,000 slaves captive while

challenging the decision legally

- Lincoln described the Emancipation Proclamation as ‘an act of justice’ as well as ‘military necessity’
- the Proclamation meant that the Confederacy could no longer look for a peace settlement if it insisted on retaining slavery
- the Emancipation Proclamation required Republicans to pass a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery as the Proclamation lacked the necessary force in legal terms
- in the 1862 elections, the Republicans lost control of five states and thirty-five congressional seats.

#### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

**Benjamin Arthur Quarles**

takes the view that black recruits entered at a time of real shortage, which swung the war in favour of Union

**James McPherson**

takes the view that the Proclamation was more important than Congressional Acts, black enlistment was one of the most important acts of the war and without it, the victories of 1864/65 would have been unachievable

**David Donald**

takes the view that the war took a new turn as a result of the Proclamation

**James Rawley**

takes the view that the Emancipation Proclamation widened the war’s purpose.

## **Section 6 – Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840-1920**

### **Part A – Historical Issues**

#### **Question 41**

**Evidence supporting the view that actions of the USA were responsible for Tokugawa downfall:**

##### **The impact of America**

- pressure from America had been growing. They were heavily involved in the whaling industry in seas around Japan and desperately wanted access to Japanese ports for refuelling and protection for ship wrecked soldiers
- Commodore Biddle had approached Japan in 1846 but had been sent away without receiving any concessions
- Perry arrived in 1853 with a third of the American navy – left the Tokugawa feeling threatened
- delivered a letter from President Filmore demanding Japan open its ports to American ships – Japan given a year to respond but there was the implication of military action if their response was not favourable
- pressure from America to open its ports left the Tokugawa Bakufu in a genuine state of uncertainty – approached Imperial Court for their opinion – marked a huge turning point in their control as they had never before consulted the Emperor on issues to do with the state
- agreed to the signing of the first Unequal Treaty in 1858
- this led to outrage amongst the men of Shishi and those associated with the new nationalist school of thought
- with regards its dealings with America, the Bakufu had disregarded Imperial opinion – further fuelled their demands for some form of restoration of the Emperor – who was still the theoretical head of the Bakufu's control system. Tokugawa regime was accused of usurping imperial power
- enemies of the regime took up the cry of 'Sonno Joi'
- the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa with America opened the doors for further Unequal Treaties with Britain, France, Russia and the Dutch, which in turn weakened the control of the Tokugawa
- Bakufu's members became divided over how far to adhere to traditional policies and how far to adapt to the changing environment – the threat from America made them seem incapable of decisive action.

**Evidence opposing the view that actions of the USA were responsible for Tokugawa downfall:**

##### **Social and economic factors**

- inherent weakness of decentralised government already apparent before pressure from America
- Socio-economic changes were weakening important forms of social control – especially the caste structure
- Daimyo and Samurai were falling into debt to the merchants because of their lavish and decadent lifestyles
- increasing burden of taxation upon peasants led to an increase in their discontent and incidents of riots
- control mechanism was based upon rice as the staple currency – which was being replaced by money by 19<sup>th</sup> century
- Tokugawa Bakufu was suffering from a sense of inertia in responding to these changes – and only had direct control over 25% of the land
- 1866 – important alliance between 2 leading opponents – Choshu-Satsuma Alliance.

### **Nationalist thought**

- the fact that the Emperor had always been the theoretical head of the caste structure meant that he was always open to manipulation by the opponents of the Tokugawa – connection with the new national school of thought and Shinto revivalism from late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards
- Shinto Revivalist movement had begun before arrival of Perry.

### **Tempo reforms**

- failure of the Tempo reforms illustrated that they did not have the administrative power to enforce their policies
- only Domains to successfully implement the reforms emerged as more powerful domains and helped strengthen their position as a threat to Tokugawa power.

### **Lack of a standing army**

- samurai individual warriors attached to a lord. They did not operate as a national army and found it difficult to withstand any external threat.

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

**Thomas Huber**

contends that 'it was Perry's arrival which finally made it possible for serious reformers in Choshu and elsewhere to convert their theoretical understanding into an urgent public demand for change'

**Harold Bolitho**

highlights the weakness of the Tokugawa system of government. 'One by one the control mechanisms of the system failed: in the countryside the frequency, and the scale, of agrarian risings mounted ... in the towns and cities reports of riots and looting told a similar story; the foreign crisis after 1853 make it clear the Tokugawa government, entrusted with the duty of protecting the emperor and empire from foreign aggression, was unable to do anything of the kind'

**Janet Hunter**

believes that 'the dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity which sought to avoid change'

**Thomas Huber**

argues 'the most essential and dynamic of these factors (which converged to bring about the establishment of the new Meiji government) was the group of men known to history as the Choshu activists'.

## Question 42

**Evidence supporting the claim that national identity was the driving force behind government education reforms:**

### **National identity**

- immediately after the Restoration and the Iwakura Mission there had been a process of westernisation to the education system in Japan. However, there was a backlash against the perceived westernisation of education which was threatening Japan's national identity
- more traditional Imperial Rescript introduced in 1889
- the Government's attempt to define Japan and Japaneseness with the imperial institution at its core can be seen in the shift in education policy which took place in the late 1880s
- moral education based on a combination of traditional cultural values and modern nationalism became the core of the primary school curriculum
- imperial Rescript highly influenced by Neo-Confucianist principles and ideas. Notions of loyalty and filial piety apparent
- rescript firmly rooted in the desire to use education as a means of developing a sense of Japanese identity
- moral education based upon a combination of traditional cultural values and modern nationalism, which became the core of the school curriculum
- the divine position of the Emperor was very much exploited within the Imperial Rescript to enforce a compliant attitude and unquestioning sense of responsibility towards the Japanese state
- according to Rescript, Japanese people were defined as subjects of an absolute monarch rather than citizens in a democratic state
- pictures of the Emperor were displayed in every classroom to reinforce his position as a living deity
- centralisation of education system and curriculum ensure a consistent teaching of national identity and emperor worship across the whole country.

**Evidence opposing the claim that national identity was the driving force behind government education reforms:**

### **Educated workforce**

- desire to industrialise demanded an educated pliable work force
- standardisation and centralisation resulting from the reforms helped to reduce inequalities among schools based on region and class
- access to education widened
- initial fees for attending schools limited impact. Their abolition in 1900 meant that more could be educated. By 1910 attendance of both boys and girls reached nearly 100%
- proportion of commoners in middle schools and universities increased to over 50%
- introduction of civil service exams in the 1890s contributed to the recruitment of government officials by merit
- but path to upward social and economic mobility remained narrow.

### **Subordinate populace**

- defined Japanese subjects as subjects of an absolute monarch rather than citizens in a democratic state
- the Imperial Rescript declared Confucian values of loyalty, filial piety, moderation and benevolence for the sake of communal welfare to the values of the nation
- emphasis on upholding the Constitution and the law, and on being willing to sacrifice oneself for the nation state
- defining position of women – female education focused on being a wife and mother.

### **Desire to overturn Unequal Treaties**

- first official document written by the new regime was the Charter Oath, which publicly stated that Japanese officials wished to seek knowledge throughout the world to bring back to Japan. Desire to adapt western traits to their Education reforms, to appear more like the West and challenge the Unequal Treaties
- Mori Arinori was highly influenced by the American model of education during his visit there from 1871-73
- Mori was impressed how education had been used to try and unify America
- a society based upon the western influenced idea of meritocracy demanded reforms to its education system to permit this social mobility
- school system introduced in 1872 had followed a centralised French model, but had within it considerable diversity
- Western-styled Universities established
- development of western influenced Commercial Institutes.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Jerry Fisher</b>   | ‘Mori saw in the American system a possible model for Japan which could weld together a nation of well-educated men and women dedicated to serving their country’  |
| <b>Richard Storry</b> | ‘Japanese liberalism, in the nineteenth century at least, was intimately associated not only with strong nationalist sentiment but also with a strident type of jingoism. For the idea of a Japanese expansion grew in proportion to the spread of mass education’ |
| <b>Elise Tipton</b>   | argues ‘The Government viewed education as a primary means of developing a sense of nation’  |
| <b>Elise Tipton</b>   | suggests that ‘The educational system played a key role in articulating and disseminating the state’s policy on women’s role’.   |

### Question 43

#### Evidence which supports the argument that the Sino-Japanese War was planned:

- long standing concerns over the strategic importance of Korea – it was the closest area of the Asian mainland to Japan and the main area from which an attack could be launched
- described as a ‘dagger pointing into the heart of Japan’ – Japan’s imperial actions were planned to try and secure control here
- Korea was a semi-autonomous kingdom over which China exercised a significant amount of influence, which made Japan uncomfortable and supports the idea that they wanted to do something to increase their strategic control in the area
- in the early Meiji era, there were imperialistic designs on Korea which were revealed in Saigo Takamori’s plans to launch a campaign against Korea – again highlighting Japan had clear intentions to secure their own interests – and not China’s – in the region
- in 1876, Japan persuaded Korea to establish diplomatic relations and accept an Unequal Treaty providing equal rights for Japanese in Korea which in turn saw Korea asking China to intervene, thereafter both nations agreed to inform one another if they were to dispatch troops to Korea. Arguably, such actions highlight a clear plan to always ensure Korea acted in Japan’s interest – and that action would be resultant if they did not
- Japan keen to ensure that Korea was completely independent of any foreign power except themselves
- war was motivated to try and gain an overseas empire, to become more like the west, and help overturn the Unequal Treaties
- lack of natural resources demanded Japan become aggressive in its foreign policy
- Japan wanted access to overseas markets
- Japan had an expanding population and wanted additional land overseas to accommodate them
- Japan wanted to replace China as the leading Asian nation
- the scale and speed of military and naval reform and expansion by Meiji oligarchy could be used as evidence to highlight that the new regime was building up for war
- there was growing concern regarding expanding Russian influence in Asia. If Japan secured Korea, it would prevent this happening there.

#### Evidence which challenges the perspective that the Sino-Japanese war was planned:

- Formosa Incident – which was exploited by Japan to shift the balance of power in Asia away from China and towards themselves – could not have been predicted
- Takamori’s plans to invade Korea were his alone – and when member of the Meiji oligarchy returned from the Iwakura Mission, they put a stop to this plan, highlighting it was not part of a strategic government plan at that point
- Japan could not have foreseen Korea’s violation of the Treaty of Tianjin – which gave them the justification to launch a war against China
- any other evidence, which supports the argument, that Japan’s actions were opportunistic.

| Historians                    | Perspective on the issue  |
|-------------------------------|---|
| William Beasley               | argues ‘Japanese leaders of almost all shades wanted to draw Korea into the Japanese orbit’   |
| Janet Hunter                  | contends that ‘As Japan’s strengths grew so did her ambitions on the Asian mainland and her ability to advance them’  |
| John Benson & Takao Matsumura | suggests ‘The European powers’ growing interest in Asia could scarcely be overlooked and this encouraged Japan’s development of a more aggressive foreign policy’       |
| Bonnie B Oh                   | argues ‘Korea was perceived to be especially dangerous for Japan’s security at the end of the nineteenth century for it remained weakened, dominated by a third power’. |

## Question 44

**Evidence supporting the view that territorial acquisition was the most significant consequence of Japan's defeat of Russia:**

### **Territorial acquisition**

- they gained control of the Southern Manchuria railroad rights and Korea recognised as their sphere of influence
- gained Liaotung Peninsula – especially significant following the humiliation of the Tripartite Intervention 1885
- gained further territories – southern half of Sakhalin
- Treaty paved the way for the full annexation of Korea in 1910
- victory and the Treaty undoubtedly contributed towards the overturning of the final vestige of the Unequal Treaties in 1911, and Japan's participation within the Paris Peace Conference.

However

- the lack of indemnity was a particular bone of contention
- Another 5 years before Korea formally annexed
- limited economic benefits of territories gained.

**Evidence opposing the view that territorial acquisition was the most significant consequence of Japan's defeat of Russia:**

### **Limitation of Russian influence in Japan's sphere of influence**

- transfer of power from Russia to Japan in many areas
- Russia acknowledged that Japan possesses paramount interest in Korea – Korea now came firmly within Japan's sphere of influence
- Russia withdrew troops from Manchuria
- Port Arthur, at the tip of the Liaotung Peninsula, passed from Russian to Japanese control
- Japan gained control of the Southern Manchuria Railway
- Russian imperial power weakened as a result of this humiliating defeat

However

- Trans-Siberian Railway still meant that Russia could potentially exert influence within Asia.

### **Impact upon Japanese nationalism**

- there was a huge nationalist backlash against the Treaty of Portsmouth within Japan itself. In Sept 1905, angry crowds rioted for 3 days in Tokyo against the Treaty of Portsmouth. Martial law was imposed upon the capital for a few days. There was a belief that Japan had not gained enough from the Treaty
- the nation had been whipped up into such a sense of patriotism and nationalism, fuelled by government propaganda, that they felt the Treaty was not harsh enough upon Russia. There was an overwhelming sense of betrayal
- many soldiers and sailors were openly prepared to fight and die for their Emperor – development of a fervent type of military nationalism.

### **Increased confidence with regards foreign policy**

- there was a surge of patriotism and loyalty
- many historians argue this victory marked a turning point in Japanese imperialism. Japanese actions became more confident and planned – as illustrated in the formal annexation of Korea and Japan's 21 Demands

However

- it could be argued that the time it takes for Japan to formally annex Korea (another 5 years) highlights that increased confidence cannot be simply attributed to defeat of Russia
- similarly, the 21 Demands are not instigated until WW1 – perhaps suggesting that the opportunity of WW1 was more significant in explaining this action.



### Changed global perspectives

- Treaty of Portsmouth and intervention of American President highlight Japan's progress towards being recognised as a global power
- made other nations realise the power of nationalism – including the British following their experience in the Boer War and other nationalities who often were victims of imperialist powers – such as the Arabs
- defeat of Russia forced the rest of the world to take notice of Japan. American President especially impressed
- defeat of Russia heightened Western fears of the emergence of an Asian or 'Oriental' imperialist power – the 'yellow peril'.

However

- the inability for Japan to persuade the League of Nations to accept the racial equality as part of its charter indicates limitations within this area.

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

## Question 45

**Evidence supporting the view that World War One provided extraordinary opportunities to advance Japanese industry:**

### **Economic impact**

- 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 5 naval vessels during the course of the war, out of a total of 150
- Japan's merchant shipping dramatically increased
- 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 WW1, from 488 in 1900 to 2996 by 1920

However

- the international economy was also very unstable after the war and Japan was forced to trade in a very uncertain political world
- the growth that had taken place had only been possible because of the absence of competition and on the return to peace Japanese industry suffered severe dislocation
- not all workers benefited equally as wages had not risen as fast as prices and high food prices leading to Rice Riots in 1918.

### **Impact on their colonial strength**

- 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 WW1 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

However

- Japan's desire for racial equality clause as part of League of Nation's 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.

### **Changing global perspectives towards Japan**

- Japan emerged on the winning side in 1918 virtually as a non-combatant and without having incurred any of the costs of war, unlike Britain and America
- the war also confirmed Japan's position as a westernised nation when she participated in the Paris Peace Conference
- became a council member of the new League of Nations in 1920

However

- Japan's desire for racial equality clause as part of League of Nation's Charter was not accepted.

| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Kenneth Pyle</b>   | contends that 'the outbreak of WW1 in Europe in the summer of 1914 provided extraordinary opportunities to advance the twin objective of empire and industry'                         |
| <b>Richard Storry</b> | highlights that during this period 'it was not long before Japan became a creditor instead of a debtor among the nations'   |
| <b>Ayira Iriye</b>    | argues 'the Japanese were rewarded (for their involvement in the war) by being invited to the peace conference, the first time Japan attended a conference as a fully-fledged member' |
| <b>Mikiso Hane</b>    | 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'.                  |

## Section 6 – Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840-1920

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 46

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

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                                     |
|---|--|
| Buddhism ... had been deprived of many lands and almost all its independence.   | Buddhism had been suppressed and deprived of funding by the Tokugawa regime  |
| At the popular level Shinto rituals ... continued to be observed.   | Shinto continued to be followed by the majority of the population – the peasants                                       |
| A belief system which explained Shinto deities as manifestations of the Buddha.   | Japanese families followed two or more spiritual beliefs without any conflicts   |
| Confucian ideas, which had entered Japan from China, ... provided as their contribution a simplified code of behaviour. | Confucianism had been transferred to Japan via China, with slight amendments, and was referred to as Neo-Confucianism. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Neo-Confucianism was the belief system given the most support during late Tokugawa
- most families had a Shinto shrine in their home to remember their ancestors. In almost every community life was organised around two Shinto shrines, one representing the ancestor of the most important family in the community and the other the creator or early owner of the land itself
- a unique feature of Japanese religious life was that it was possible for individuals to follow the beliefs and practices of more than one religion – which prevented one religion becoming dominant
- Neo-Confucianism underpinned the caste structure, which was a pivotal social control mechanism for the Tokugawa regime.

#### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Shintoism was Japan's only indigenous religion
- central tenet – that the emperor was a living god – was utilised by the Tokugawa regime to justify the caste structure they had enforced
- the indigenous spiritual beliefs of Shinto dates back to nature worship of pre-historic period
- it was a loose collection of beliefs and practices associated with the worship of Kami or spirits
- the emperor was the high priest – represented as living Kami by virtue of his descent from the sun goddess
- there were also shrines at scenic spots in almost every region
- the late Tokugawa period witnessed an intellectual revival in Shintoism, associated with an intellectual movement critical of the Shogun, who they felt was usurping the power of the emperor
- the Tokugawa ban on Christianity also helped to maintain the importance of Shintoism
- Shintoism was heavily suppressed during the Tokugawa rule, as it was perceived as a threat to the position of the Shogun, who held the real power in Japan
- rather, Neo-Confucianism was promoted by the state as the most important religious belief in Japan
- Neo-Confucianism advocated filial piety, respect and loyalty and had originated from China
- Buddhism formally entered Japan by the 6<sup>th</sup> century through the influx of Chinese

scholarship

- it provided rituals and practises for specific aspects of life and death
- most families also had a Buddhist shrine in their homes
- Buddhist temples were used as a form of social control in that the population had to register there
- Samurai followed the moral code of Bushido, which was considered to be like a form of spiritual religion to them.

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

### Question 47

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.

| Aspect of Source B |  | Possible comment on the provenance of the source  |
|--------------------|--|---|
| Author             | Ito Hirobumi   | Meiji Prime Minister and architect of new constitution who had visited Europe as part of the Iwakura Mission. He became convinced that the German state with the Kaiser at the helm was the best example for Japan to emulate |
| Purpose            | To clarify the formal position of the emperor within the new constitution. | to place the Imperial Household on a firm political footing and to place it at the <b>theoretical</b> centre of the new constitution  |
| Timing             | 1889   | one year before the formal constitution promulgated in Japan.   |

| Point identified in Source B  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| 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 successors.                               | Emperor is apex of new political state and that position is hereditary   |
| All the different legislative as well as executive powers of the State, by means of which he reigns over the country and governs the people, are united in this Most Exalted Personage. | Emperor is declared as the head of all the policy making and decision making within Japan  |
| He holds in his hands, as it were, all the ramifying threads of the political life of the country.  | Emperor is venerated as the equivalent of the brain of a body, his political position in Japan is deemed to be so vital          |
| His Imperial Majesty has himself determined a Constitution, and has made it a fundamental law to be observed both by the Sovereign and by the people.                                   | commentary implies that the Emperor has heavily influenced the composition of the constitution and as such, it has to be obeyed. |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Meiji constitution reinforced the Emperor as a living deity
- as soon as the Restoration was announced, legal edicts, such as the Charter Oath, were issued in the name of the Emperor, which marked a huge shift compared with the role of the Emperor during Tokugawa times
- the position of the Emperor was used to unite all the disparate domains of Tokugawa Japan into a centralised political system
- constitution was portrayed as a gift from the Emperor, bestowed upon the people.

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

- in 1868 the Emperor relocated to the political centre of Japan, to Tokyo
- the Emperor had the right to declare war, make peace, conclude Treaties and adjourn the Diet
- the Army was answerable only to the Emperor
- imperial Rescript of Education placed Emperor at the centre of Education
- Emperor Meiji only 15 years of age when the Restoration occurred, so open to exploitation and manipulation by new Restoration oligarchy
- real political authority lay with the clan leaders from Satsuma and Choshu who led the rebellion
- political power had only really shifted from one political elite to another
- Charter Oath really written by Kido Koin and issued in the name of the Emperor
- Constitution largely written and shaped by Hirobumi
- emperor's position as a living deity exploited as a means of political control, to push through reforms and edicts the politicians had written, to ensure there was minimal opposition
- greater emphasis placed on Shintoism to reinforce the unquestionable position of the Emperor, which made it very difficult to challenge any reforms or edicts being issued in his name.

|                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <b>Richard Storry</b>  | contends that 'the real controllers of power were men from much junior rank from the western clans'  |
| <b>Ann Waswo</b>       | highlights the 'impressive proclamations and edicts were issued in the Emperor's name calling upon people to support the building of schools, hospitals and factories and to render service to Japan'      |
| <b>William Beasley</b> | argues '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' |
| <b>Rebecca Wall</b>    | states '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 clans'.   |

### Question 48

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

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| 'I felt that to engage in an individually managed shop would be going against the time, and it was necessary for small business firms to join together. In other words, they have to incorporate, and I decided to devote my energy to this'.                            | this individual entrepreneur focused his attention on incorporating and merging businesses to help aid Japan's economic development                                       |
| 'As to the laws governing incorporation, I thought about them while studying in France. After returning from France, I organised a chamber of commerce in Shizuoka to serve as a model for incorporation'.   | highlights the influence of western ideas in Japan's economic development, with this individually studying in the west and then bringing back his economic ideas to Japan |
| 'In the early years of the Meiji, the government also encouraged incorporation of companies and organised commercial firms and development companies. The government actively participated in these companies' affairs and saw to it that their various needs were met'. | the government also encouraged individual companies and firms to reorganise and got involved in their development   |
| 'However, most of these companies failed because their management was poor. To state it simply, the government failed to have the right men as managers'.  | author critical of the government in this process as they often did not select the most effective managers to verse the process.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the creation of monopolistic concerns was a feature of Meiji economic development – the largest of which were called Zaibatsu
- there was cultural borrowing from the west, including ship building, iron and steel mills, banking and commerce
- government favouritism resulted in the development of huge monopolistic concerns, such as Mitsubishi
- however, some of the most important commercial and industrial developments were private enterprise – not state sponsored.



| Point identified in Source D   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|--|---|
| For the pre-World War One period, some historians place great emphasis on the positive impact of the state and others find that the spontaneous forces of growth in society that arise from ordinary men and women built Japanese economy. | highlights the debate that exists with regards Japan's economic development between the effectiveness of state intervention versus the role played by individual Japanese men and women             |
| Many of the Meiji's nation building activities were dictated by short-term survival and pragmatism ... they wanted to find employment for ex-samurai.  | Meiji oligarchy motivated by the desire to deal with some of the short-term problems they are finding, such as employment for former samurai following on from the abolition of the caste structure |
| They wanted to encourage import substitution.  | the government wanted to stimulate indigenous economic growth by encouraging Japanese industries to replace the foreign imports flooding the country  |
| <i>Fukoku kyohei</i> , inspired by xenophobic nationalism, dictated rapid industrialisation.   | 'Enrich the country, strengthen the military' stimulated industrial development because it underpinned military expansion.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- role of state in process and policies they implemented – built model factories such as Tomioka silk-reeling mill
- many Samurai used the stipend they received upon the formal abolition of their status to invest in entrepreneurial activities
- government had limited reliance on foreign loans. They took firm control over expenditure – partial funding of large scale private enterprises and support for Zaibatsu
- the pressing need for a national standing army and navy could only be met by rapid industrialisation.

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

- government initiation of Iwakura Mission, which turned into a fact-finding mission about western knowhow, including industrial expertise
- careful control of Yatoi – foreign experts – dismissed once their knowledge disseminated
- military reform and connection with industrial expansion
- their improvements in infrastructure
- many Zaibatsu had their own banks and were led by four giants – Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda
- 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
- they became influential in politics
- economic foundations left by the Tokugawa also significant
- highly developed agriculture with inter-regional trade
- good communication infrastructure to build upon
- Japan had abundance of human labour who were well educated and loyal
- growth of commercial activities around castle towns
- Edo with its population of 1 million stimulated commercial development
- growing influence of merchants – blurring of caste divisions
- movement away from rice based to money based economy already occurring
- impact of the gradual removal of vestiges of the Unequal Treaties
- establishment of a National Bank of Japan
- contact with the Dutch

- women also contributed as they became the dominant workforce within the textile industry
- credit can also be given to any obstacle that hindered economic development in Japan such as the Unequal Treaties.

| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>Kamikawa Hiromatso</b> | contends that 'the foundations of Japan's modernisation were to a large extent laid during the years of peaceful isolation'  |
| <b>Mikiso Hane</b>        | 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' |
| <b>Mikiso Hane</b>        | also suggests that 'modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation'.  |

## Section 7 – Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918-1939

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Question 49

##### **Evidence that may support the view it was a model of democratic perfection:**

- although it was the work of a Reichstag committee, the constitution was in fact mainly drafted by Hugo Preuss, a liberal and Professor of Public Law at Berlin University, who favoured the parliamentary model of democracy
- the Weimar Constitution, even at the time, was viewed as one of the most democratic in the world [eg all women got the vote cf UK and France]
- it was informed by the American, French, Swiss and British models of democracy and tried to put together the best from these models
- the Constitution did indeed empower the people, at least in the sense that it enabled them to participate in elections. The people did participate: turnout at elections never fell below 75% throughout the period of the Republic
- the Republic's voting system was proportional representation and this did indeed ensure that a wide range of parties and interests was represented in the Reichstag. [Candidates may give specific details of how this operated – pool system for votes in each electoral district, no wasted votes etc]
- Article 48 was used several times by Ebert in his time as President of the Republic (1919-25), and he used it exactly as it was meant to be used – to restore public order and security when these were disturbed – deliberately – by extremist groups intent on destroying the Republic and democracy
- the Constitution was divided into two parts: Part One, concerned with the structure and functions of the Reich, and Part Two, with the fundamental rights and duties of Germans
- sovereignty rested with the parliament (Reichstag) which was to be elected every four years
- the new state was to be a republic with the head of state (President) elected by the people every seven years
- the constitution was accepted by the vast majority in the National Assembly (262 votes to 75)

##### **Evidence that may suggest the Constitution was not a model of democratic perfection:**

- Hugo Preuss had been appointed to draft a constitution as early as November 1918 by the provisional government (The Council of People's Commissars). The Constitution strongly reflected Preuss's personal political ideology
- the system of proportional representation, while democratic in principle, allowed for the election of small and extremist parties (one representative for every 60 000 votes cast)
- the breakdown in coalitions led to numerous elections
- proportional representation on this model led to a succession of weak coalition and frequent changes of Chancellor (PM)
- in times of emergency the President could use Article 48, which had to be countersigned by the Chancellor. However, the Chancellor was appointed by the President
- extremists of the left and right attempted to overthrow the democratically elected government on a number of occasions
- the creation of the Länder (state governments) continued the struggle for power between national and regional interests. The Länder retained control of the police, the judiciary and education
- the army still retained its independence. Indeed, Ebert used his powers to make a pact with General Groener ensuring that both maintained the continuity of the traditional interests
- the bureaucratic organs of the former empire continued largely untouched.

| <b>Historians</b>   | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>George Gooch</b> | German democracy, which was born in the trenches and inspired the revolution, found permanent expression in the Weimar Constitution   |
| <b>K Fischer</b>    | the final document was in many ways a mirror image of the social dissonances of German society. It was a hodge-podge of principles drawn from Socialist and liberal agendas; it represented so much confusion |
| <b>Peukart</b>      | despite its imperfections, the Weimar constitution provided an open framework for an experiment in democracy which would have been quite capable of further refinement – under more favourable circumstances  |
| <b>Ruth Henig</b>   | the constitution was an ambitious and complex document; It sought to lay the basis for a modern parliamentary democracy, in which people would enjoy far-reaching political, social and economic rights.      |

## Question 50

**Evidence to support the view that Germans' response to the Terms of the Treaty of Versailles was an overreaction:**

### **Territorial**

- although Germany lost a significant amount of territory in the east and the west and her overseas colonies, the country was otherwise intact. In other words, by and large, Germany retained her territorial integrity
- territories lost such as Alsace-Lorraine were important to Germany economically but not so important as to be able to prevent economic recovery
- Alsace-Lorraine had been taken by Germany at the end of a war; the French were simply doing the same
- the territorial losses Germany suffered were nothing like the territorial confiscations imposed by Germany on Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 1918
- in this treaty Russia lost territory in the west and south (including Ukraine) which amounted to 27% of Russia's farmland and meant, too, the loss of 62 million people, 26% of her railways and 74% of her iron ore and coal.

### **Military**

- although the German military machine was stripped back by Versailles, this meant that Germany could concentrate on building up a crack military elite
- there was never any real prospect of Germany being invaded by France or by Russia in the short term, and indeed the chaos caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 meant that the French were unlikely to do something similar again without the support of other European powers, especially Britain
- after the war and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, middle and eastern Europe was a jumble of chaotic, politically weak states none of which presented any threat to Germany at all.

### **War Guilt**

- war Guilt may have been experienced by Germans as humiliating, dishonourable and unjust, but there is little doubt that Germany's actions on the run up to 1914 were indeed the main cause of the war
- German atrocities in Belgium had to be taken into account
- Germany encouraged Austria to go to war with Serbia and Germany's failure to understand that Britain would defend Belgian neutrality. These were clear examples of culpability or at least ineptitude that brought about conflict
- German aggression was also evident in her attempt, from 1908, to overtake Britain in the building of Dreadnoughts. This caused an arms race
- war guilt was far less important as a principle to the Allies than it was to the Germans. For the Allies it was thought to be essential to have a war guilt clause to be able to rationalise punishing for Germany in the form of, for example, reparations.

### **Reparations**

- although the final figure for reparations – 132,000 million marks – was a huge sum, it was a much less harsh fine than that imposed on France by Germany in 1871 (5 billion francs to be paid back in five years)
- Germany was supposed to pay about 7% of her annual income per annum but in fact never paid more than 3%.

### **Actions of German government**

Candidates may discuss the view that the Weimar government, either unintentionally or not, helped to encourage the over-reaction by its own behaviour.

Examples might include:

- Scheidemann's rhetoric on not signing the treaty ... 'May the hand wither etc'
- government support for victory marches by returning soldiers
- dismissing Erzberger's plans for taxation to pay reparations.

## **Evidence to support the view that Germans' response to the Terms of the Treaty of Versailles was not an over reaction:**

### **Territorial**

- there were strong objections to the territorial clauses of the treaty
- Alsace-Lorraine was lost to France – a symbolic humiliation for Germans because these territories had been taken from France by Prussia/Germany in the Franco-Prussian War 1870-71
- the creation of a Polish Corridor divided Germany and took away territory from her. It also left Germans trapped in what became Polish territory and therefore under a foreign government
- indeed, the splitting of Germany by the establishment of the Polish Corridor undid the work of unification that had been done in 1850-71
- the Saar region was internationalised for 15 years – which meant it was effectively occupied by the Allies
- Germany lost all of her overseas colonies.

### **Military**

- the military terms of the treaty were hated because to Germans they left the country vulnerable to attack and unable to defend herself
- the army was reduced to 100 000 men, and conscription was banned
- the navy was stripped of ships and was only allowed 12 small vessels
- Germany was allowed no airforce at all and no submarines
- the Rhineland was demilitarised to create a buffer zone between France and Germany and to allow France to invade Germany easily if the German government breached the terms of the treaty
- traditional elites hated the military clauses.

### **War Guilt**

- Clause 231 – the 'War Guilt' clause – was regarded by Germans as humiliating and dishonest. Germans believed that the causes of the war were international and that no one country was to blame or should be blamed
- war guilt was also damaging for Germans psychologically because it meant that German troops, sailors and airmen had died in vain and were dishonoured
- 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 and war guilt, perhaps more than any aspect of 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.

### **Reparations**

- 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.

| Historians   | Perspective on the issue   |
|--------------|--|
| R J Evans    | takes the view that Treaty of Versailles was greeted with incredulous horror by the majority of Germans. The sense of outrage and disbelief that swept through the upper and middle classes like a shockwave was almost universal and had a massive impact on many working class supporters of the moderate Social Democrats as well                         |
| Colin Storer | takes the view that Germans of all political persuasions saw Versailles as unreasonable and unacceptable. The terms of the treaty were considered by the population as a whole as not only unfair but also insulting: an affront to national honour  |
| Stephen Lee  | takes the view that Versailles was justified by the need to safeguard against the very real threat posed by Germany, to rebuild France and to give viability to the new democracies of Europe. But because the Allies excluded Germany from the peace negotiating process Germany came to see itself as a victim without actually being destroyed            |
| RM Watt      | in <i>The Kings Depart</i> , while commenting that some treaty terms [like Article 231] were thoughtless in their phrasing, criticises the Weimar government for their constant attempts to play the victim and wriggle out of any punishment; looking to gain support for themselves by playing to the gallery of a German public opinion they had created. |

## Question 51

### **Evidence to support the view that the dictatorship rested on personal rivalries:**

- power was concentrated in the hands of the Fuhrer, but beneath him there was a confusing array of state and party institutions cutting across each other's jurisdictions but all seeking to 'work towards the Fuhrer'
- other party leaders were central to Nazi rule including in particular Goebbels (Nazi propaganda chief), Himmler (SS chief and so head of all the apparatus of the police-state) and Goering (controlling economic planning) without whose support the Nazis would not have remained in control
- just as barons owed loyalty to a feudal monarch so Nazi leaders owed loyalty to the Fuhrer. Hitler saw loyalty in personal not institutional terms so he did not mind Goering or Himmler building up great power so long as they remained completely loyal to him. The result was that the Nazi leaders constantly quarrelled with one another and the overall structure of government was reduced to a mess of constantly shifting power bases or warring factions
- the system created jealous rivalries, which served to enhance Hitler's power but seriously undermined efficient government
- although there was a complex police system, its efficiency was dependent on the willing cooperation of millions of Germans
- the SS-Gestapo was another important tool of Nazi rule. Not only did the SS-Gestapo instil fear, the SS and the Gestapo really did carry out brutal acts of repression
- for the most part, traditional power structures were Nazified and went on to serve the Nazi state. Thus, for example, civil servants generally enacted Nazi laws and the courts and the legal system adapted to the new regime. However, the Nazis increasingly operated outside these structures altogether so that the Civil Service was simply bypassed and acted outside the law
- the Nazi Party was also important in the Nazi regime. In particular, the regional party bosses – the Gauleiters – directly influenced how Germans experienced Nazi rule. The Gauleiters ensured that people kept in line, and headed regional bureaucracies running a hierarchical party. They communicated directly with Hitler and often successfully resisted the directives from central government that they did not like.

### **Evidence to support the view that Hitler maintained a strong dictatorship on his own terms:**

- Hitler's reputation/speechmaking/popularity
- delivering on promises (destroying Versailles; creating jobs; the 'economic miracle' and so on)
- use of propaganda/the media
- Nazi figures show that by the late 1930s, 90% of Germans admired him
- many Germans viewed Hitler as the saviour of the nation: the leader who had wrought an 'economic miracle', the leader who represented selflessness and justice, the leader who understood the ordinary German people, the leader who would defend Germany against its enemies – external and internal
- Hitler also was seen as a strong leader because there were real triumphs in his foreign policy. For example, he had consistently said that once in power he would 'smash Versailles' and that is indeed exactly what he did. In March 1935, for instance, he announced that Germany now had a military air force and that he would be reintroducing conscription to build up an army of 750 000 – each of these actions was a clear breach of the Treaty of Versailles, but no action was taken by Britain or France or the League of Nations against Germany
- internal rivalries generated a degree of efficiency as rivals sought to outdo each other in pursuit of policies that Hitler would approve of
- the extensive police machine and the popularity of Hitler's policies made opposition very difficult
- Hitler inherited and used effectively an already well-established administrative and industrial structure which he did not disrupt and which continued to function
- traditional institutions such as the civil service cooperated with the regime



- the Nazi Party had a series of sections reaching right down to local block units seeking to ensure that all Germans complied with the regime. The key positions were the Gauleiter, at the top of the regional structure, and the block leader at the bottom. But although the component organisations of the party greatly expanded, the party's power did not develop to pose any threat to Hitler
- Hitler's place at the centre of the regime was never seriously challenged.

#### **Evidence of other factors that were important in the Nazi control of Germany 1933-39:**

- the 'Hitler Myth' was fundamental in the Nazi rule of Germany and was successful in part because he was a charismatic leader who inspired real devotion. But it was also the product of powerful propaganda
- the myth also enabled the regime to paper over the cracks and disguise real failures (which could be blamed on other party leaders but not Hitler)
- such was the strength of the myth that it enabled Hitler to bypass the Civil Service, the Judiciary, and other institutions of the state so there were few restraints on him
- there can be little doubt about the centrality of Hitler in the Nazi regime but he was not much involved in day-to-day decision-making and administrative matters.

#### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

##### **Kershaw**

Hitler's was charismatic rule and though his personality should not be overrated it should not be ignored either. He was undoubtedly powerful, but his leadership also meant that government was unstable because it caused chaos and depended on continued successes and the avoidance of the usual routines of governing and government

##### **Kirk**

powerful leading figures in the party built personal empires, which were semi-independent of any other control than Hitler's approval. The result was chaotic government characterised by internal rivalries and conflicts

##### **McDonough**

in some ways Nazi rule was indeed remarkably efficient. So, for instance, the fusion of the SS and the police enabled fanatical SS leaders, who were imbued with the revolutionary Nazi spirit of the pre-1933 party, to build themselves an impregnable position within the state. They could now use the bureaucratic police apparatus to launch an effective and brutal campaign against the enemies of the Third Reich

##### **Noakes**

Hitler's tendency to create new offices and agencies without establishing clear lines of demarcation of responsibility with existing government departments produced a continual struggle for dominance over spheres of responsibility. The outcome was an extreme fragmentation of government.

## Question 52

### Evidence to support the view that the Volksgemeinschaft was successful:

#### Policies for the workers

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

#### Policies for the Mittelstand

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

#### Policies for peasant farmers

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

#### Policies for women

- Nazi ideology stressed that women should be confined to the domestic sphere and that their duty was to produce healthy Aryan children, uphold conservative family values and comfort their husbands in their service to the state, based on Kinder, Küche, Kirche (Children, Kitchen, Church)
- on 10 May Robert Ley announced the creation of the Women's Front. All 230 of Germany's women's organisations had to expel Jewish members and integrate into the Women's Front or be disbanded
- in the first years of the regime the number of women in employment generally remained low
- in 1933 marriage loans of up to 1000RM were offered to newlyweds on the grounds that the wife would not work outside the home. By 1937, 70 000 married couples had received a loan.

#### Policies for the youth

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

### **Policies to exclude 'racial undesirables' from the German Volk**

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

### **Policies on the churches**

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

### **Despite widespread support for aspects of the Volksgemeinschaft and Nazi propaganda, there is evidence pointing to a lack of success for Nazi policies:**

- by 1936, there were growing signs of workers' discontent expressed in, for example, go-slows, absenteeism and rapid turnover of staff
- by 1936, there were increasing levels of boredom, mistrust and indifference to the regime among the workers
- although there was economic recovery, workers increasingly resented the regimentation of their lifestyle and did not trust state propaganda
- the policy of rearmament after 1936 favoured big business and the small craft industries could not compete. The number of self-employed craft workers – the backbone of the Mittelstand – fell by half a million between 1936 and 1939
- after 1933, farming income did recover but from 1937 it fell again as labour costs rose yet prices stayed fixed
- Nazi policies on women in fact failed to keep women out of the labour market. Between 1933 and 1939 the number of women working actually increased from over 11 million to over 14 million
- the birth rate did not rise dramatically as a result of Nazi policies but in fact remained fairly constant throughout the 1930s
- initial enthusiasm for the youth organisations gave way to increasing disillusion with Nazi ideology and the repetitive, quasi-military aspects of activities
- the Nazis' attempts to replace the influence of Christianity failed. Indeed, membership of the churches remained high and was strengthened by Nazi anti-church policies
- although the Nazis successfully excluded Jews completely from political, economic social and cultural life, other policies designed to create a racial state were less successful
- the boycott of 1 April 1933 was stopped quickly when it became clear that people were in fact extremely uncomfortable by its violent edge.

| <b>Historians</b>        | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>Evans and Jenkins</b> | Hitler's determination to create the Volksgemeinschaft of Aryans of a healthy physical and mental condition 'proved to be the most consistent, coherent and revolutionary aspect of Nazism'  |
| <b>Ian Kershaw</b>       | one aspect of the attempt to create the Volksgemeinschaft was the removal of the Jews from participation in German society. In this the Nazis were completely successful. Otherwise the attempt to create the Volksgemeinschaft was not successful. The churches still retained people's loyalty; there was little change in traditional class loyalties, especially among the workers; the impact on the youth was limited and signs of tension, conflict and opposition among youth were apparent by the later 1930s |
| <b>Tim Kirk</b>          | despite 'the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda' the Nazi regime did not bring about the Volksgemeinschaft   |
| <b>Jill Stephenson</b>   | the creation of the Volksgemeinschaft was 'an aspiration of the Nazi leadership that remained at best only partially fulfilled.' As an ideal it had considerable appeal in the early 1930s, but ultimately the kind of commitment the theorists of the Volksgemeinschaft required was lacking.   |

## Question 53

### Evidence in support of the statement that opposition was limited and ineffective:

- the limited nature of resistance was caused directly by the fact that the Nazis had at their disposal not only the entire police and security services but also that they were prepared to use the SS-Gestapo against their enemies ruthlessly so that people knew that resistance would be severely punished and therefore kept silent and did not criticise the regime
- the concentration camps, for example, were never hidden from public view by the Nazis. On the contrary, the Nazis made every effort to make sure people understood that the concentration camps were being used to deal with anyone who opposed the regime and therefore, as the Nazis saw it, the German nation
- the opposition to the regime was unable or unwilling to cooperate to resist not least because of the differences between the churches
- coercion was extremely important in creating an atmosphere in which resistance was perceived to be futile
- lack of opposition was expressed not simply because of fear. The Nazis' economic policies were popular with many because they seemed to bring about recovery. People felt much better off especially in the period from 1933-1937
- however, it is also the case that there was broad sympathy for many of the Nazis' other policies especially where these concerned nationalism and ethnicity. Although people did not like the idea of violence against Jews, for example, there was no vigorous opposition to policies that discriminated against the Jews
- the Churches were deeply divided over, and confused about, what to do about the Nazi regime. Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches tended to look after their own interests and so came to terms with the regime
- the Concordat between the state and the Vatican [20 July 1933] ensured that opposition from the Roman Catholic Church was neutered
- opposition was often very limited, for example resistance by individuals such as Pastor Niemöller

### Evidence to support the view that there was some opposition:

- the Confessional Church opposed the regime on religious grounds
- church activities still continued and the Nazi regime/methods were denounced from pulpits
- despite The Concordat Pope Pius XI still spoke out against Nazi beliefs and brutality (With Burning Grief, 1937)
- leading individuals did speak out in opposition: Niemöller; Bishop Clemens von Galen; Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

| Historians         | Perspective on the issue  |
|--------------------|---|
| Noakes and Pridham | the churches remained the only institutions with an alternative ideology to Nazism and retained some support from the people; they were a major obstacle to the Nazis' attempt to take complete control |
| A Wilt             | resistance was meagre and acceptance of Nazism overwhelming. Many conveniently separated their spiritual life from political life and the response of churches was timid                                |
| JRC Wright         | churches showed that they would not tolerate Nazi aggression passively but it was as a self-defence mechanism and not direct political opposition   |
| R Geary            | in general church hierarchies tried to avoid conflict with the Nazi regime without being seen to endorse its policies.  |

## Section 7 – Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918-1939

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 54

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.

| Aspect of Source A |                                    | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Author             | Rosa Luxemburg, Spartacist leader  | This makes it useful because as well as being a leading figure she held a doctorate in law and economics and was highly regarded for her intellectual views.   |
| Purpose            | an address appealing to communists | Has some use in that the speech is Luxemburg's attempt to maintain revolutionary support and encourage rejection of Ebert and Scheidemann.   |
| Timing             | at the end of December 1918        | During the first conference of the KPD at the founding conference of the Communist Party of Germany – this makes it useful because by this time the Independent Socialists had left the coalition (29 December) and Luxemburg was planning, with others, to seize power. |

| Point identified in Source A   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                           |
|--|--|
| We declare that the immediate task of the proletariat is to make socialism a living reality and to destroy capitalism root and branch.             | her view is that in these revolutionary days of 1918-1919, her party's job is to destroy capitalism          |
| It is not for Marxists to engage in counter-revolutionary activities side by side with such as Ebert and Scheidemann.                              | her view of socialism is not the same as Ebert and his cronies; they are regarded as counter-revolutionaries |
| ... the first cry of the revolution was for workers and soldiers' councils   | she wants to establish workers and soldiers' councils to promote socialism                                   |
| ... at the very outset the leadership passed into the hands of people who regarded it as their chief duty to attempt to make revolution impossible | from 9 <sup>th</sup> Nov the revolution was betrayed by those socialists who never wanted a real revolution. |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- a German Republic was proclaimed on 9 November and the new government set about implementing constitutional changes that would further transform Germany
- Luxemburg and others were influenced by the Russian Revolution
- Nov 1918-May 1919. The government faced a very serious problem in Bavaria. During this period a soviet republic was proclaimed in Bavaria. In May, 1919 the government decided to put an end to this challenge to its authority. The Bavarian republic was suppressed, again using the Freikorps. Over 700 killed
- in December, 1918 the USPD left the government because they felt the revolution was stalling under Ebert's leadership
- in January, 1919 the German Communists attempted to initiate a Bolshevik-style revolution, but this uprising was crushed by the SPD government using the army and the Freikorps. The government's action permanently alienated the Communists from the SPD
- spring 1919: the industrial areas of Germany were swept by a wave of unrest expressed most seriously through strikes in the Ruhr mines, central Germany and Berlin. The strikers demanded shorter hours, the nationalisation of industry and government based on soviets.

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

- by 15<sup>th</sup> November industrialists and trade unionists had reached agreement over workers' rights and so there was less support for revolution
- January 1919: The SPD-led government crushed the Spartacist uprising using the Freikorps and the army. Over 1200 Spartacists were killed including the Spartacists' leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg
- Ebert, Scheidemann and the SPD wanted to avoid a Bolshevik-style revolution at all costs
- the German Communists were not sitting back waiting on events but were actively engaged in fighting with extremist nationalists in the streets of Berlin and other major cities. This further fuelled Ebert's concerns about a breakdown of law and order and a slide into civil war
- the majority of people in Germany at the time did not support the Spartacists
- Ebert and the SPD in 1918-19 understood that the priority had to be to stabilise the country following the disaster of defeat.

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

## Question 55

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

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                           |
|--|--|
| There remained a deficit which could only be met by printing more money; this encouraged the devaluation of the currency on the world markets.   | the government resorted to printing money which lost its value   |
| Cheap money meant that industrial production could be reorganised quickly on a peacetime footing – for example, new plant cost the industrialist little and wages were lower.                                | this shows that costs for businesses were reduced allowing for greater profits/stability (in the short term) |
| Landowners could also pay off mortgages more easily since their payments were in a devalued currency.  | previously expensive loans could be paid very cheaply  |
| For many individual Germans the results were much more damaging – workers in the factories and on the farms found life very difficult in an inflationary situation where prices always raced ahead of wages. | workers were paid but wages lost their value before they could be spent.                                     |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the crisis of 1923, prompted by the invasion of the Ruhr by France and Belgium in January, triggered a hyperinflation crisis
- the invasion of the Ruhr was met with passive resistance but the French and Belgians brought in their own workers and this caused violence in the Ruhr region
- on 11 August, Chancellor Cuno's Grand Coalition collapsed when the SPD withdrew over his failure to curb inflation
- by midsummer 1923 farmers were hoarding food and not placing it on the market for sale; people in towns and cities across the country began to experience serious food shortages.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- the economy of the region and of Germany was disrupted
- the Ruhr crisis invoked national unity and solidarity of support for passive resistance
- national unity was, however, severely tested by the rapidly escalating inflation crisis which acutely affected the overwhelming majority of Germans. This provided political capital for extremists such as Hitler
- Stresemann became Chancellor with SPD support
- to balance the budget Stresemann had to stabilise the mark, meaning an end to passive resistance in the Ruhr. This infuriated nationalist extremists, especially in Bavaria. They planned to revolt
- Bavaria's northern neighbours, Saxony and Thuringia, with far Left governments, appeared to be heading for Communist insurrection
- communist inspired strikes across Germany in summer 1923
- the Reichswehr remained loyal to Stresemann's government.



| <b>Historians</b>        | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>R J Evans</b>         | the same person might be a winner and a loser, but unquestionably a huge crime wave hit Germany in 1923. The impact on something so notoriously vague as the 'German psyche' is difficult to measure |
| <b>Evans and Jenkins</b> | the pauperised and those cheated of their savings became more prepared to listen to the firebrand orators of the extremist parties   |
| <b>Mary Fulbrook</b>     | the psychological shock eroded democratic values and instilled a heightened fear of the possibility of economic instability  |
| <b>Peukert</b>           | the social effects... are not easy to assess. Two individuals from the same broad social class could be affected very differently.   |

## Question 56

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

| Point identified in Source C                                  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                                    |
|---|---|
| The sudden economic crisis caused by the Great Depression.    | this is an indication of one of the critical circumstances that created support for the Nazis                         |
| ... pattern of coalition cabinets and government by consensus | this refers to the weak coalitions in which the German people had lost faith and looked for strong government instead |
| Hindenburg ... resorted to Article 48.                        | faith in democracy had been undermined by the frequent use of emergency powers  |
| ... a series of backdoor manoeuvres                           | senior figures in the government played into Hitler's hands by giving him power thinking it was on their terms.       |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- economic crises were indeed an important factor in the rise of the Nazis and in the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor: unemployment was rising rapidly; inflation was starting again; the USA was demanding repayments; the Weimar government could not afford its welfare programme
- there is no doubt that by 1932 many, if not most, Germans were disillusioned with democracy and the republic. There had been 12 chancellors from 1920 to 1932; constant changes of government; growth of extremist parties
- the frequent use of Article 48 undermined democracy and made political intrigue, acquiesced by Hindenburg, much easier
- in May 1932, Papen was quite content to be appointed by Hindenburg and to try to govern through the elite without any support at all from the Reichstag (for which reason Papen's cabinet was known as the 'cabinet of barons')
- Papen actively sought the support of the Nazis and in June 1932 he lifted the ban on the SA
- Schleicher too was at the centre of intrigue. He had great influence on Hindenburg and was responsible for the dismissal of Brüning and the appointment of Papen in May 1932, and then for the dismissal of Papen and the appointment of himself as Chancellor in December 1932
- 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.

| Point identified in Source D  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|---|--|
| The emergence of the NSDAP in German politics in the elections of the later 1920s brought about concerns for the future of the German Republic.   | the anti-democratic party was a threat to democracy                                |
| The nucleus of the NSDAP's following was formed by the small farmers, shopkeepers and independent artisans of the old middle class. It was among these groups that the fear of social and economic displacement was most pronounced.              | the traditional middle class were the main supporters of the Nazis                 |
| By 1932 the party had won considerable support among the upper-middle class student bodies of the universities, among civil servants. Even the middle and upper grades in the affluent electoral districts of Berlin, Hamburg and other cities... | there was a broad range of support for the Nazi Party which made it very electable |
| The SA assembled outside the Reichstag in support of their leader.  | the SA provided an intimidatory background to polling and elections.               |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Hitler's powerful speechmaking was a key feature and he had made no secret that he wanted to remove democratic government
- Nazi propaganda had promoted Hitler's uniqueness eg the "Hitler Myth"/the use of the media, especially cinema and newspapers eg Volkischer Beobachter, was a prominent feature of the rise to power. These made the Nazis popular with the public
- the Nazi Party greatly increased its membership and votes at elections between 1928 and 1932 (800 000 votes in 1928; 14 000 000 in 1932)
- Nazis were well-known for their uniforms and marching/disciplined approach and did not shy away from violence in their campaigning.

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

- Hitler's promise to 'smash Versailles', a treaty that most Germans loathed, was an important factor in the rise of the Nazis
- 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
- the Nazis had a highly centralised propaganda machine under the direction of Josef Goebbels who was himself a superb propagandist
- close attention was paid to local propaganda. Key individuals in local communities were targeted and won over, the idea being that these influential local people would then go out and spread the word
- Nazi organisations – for youth, for women, for workers – were also used as vehicles for propaganda
- perhaps most important, the entire SA, for all their violence and thuggery, were also deployed in the propaganda campaigns. They projected an image of strength, order and youthful dynamism, and of tough anti-communism, and at the same time assisted at soup

kitchens and other welfare projects run by the Nazis. Propaganda by deed

- propaganda was crucial and in particular the projection of the image of Adolf Hitler as the “strong man” the country needed proved to be highly successful
- Hitler’s speeches were also propaganda and he used these very effectively to target Germans’ specific grievances and tailored his message to whichever audience he was addressing
- other Nazi speakers were effective too. They were always trained speakers (over 6 000 by 1933)
- rallies, torchlight parades, leaflets and posters were also used to get the message out
- the swastika banner was effective in giving the Nazis a clear, striking visual symbol that everyone recognised
- technology was used effectively to create the image of Hitler as the man of the hour especially during the 1932 presidential election campaign when Hitler was flown around by plane so that he could reach lots of places quickly but also to convey the idea of him as a messianic figure descending to earth from heaven.

| Historians | Perspective on the issue |
|------------|--------------------------|
|------------|--------------------------|

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| R J Evans | the Depression helped to make the Nazis, a catch all party of social protest, appealing to a greater or lesser degree to virtually every social group in the land. The Nazis, succeeded in transcending social boundaries and uniting highly disparate groups on the basis of a common ideology ... as no other party in Germany had managed to do before |
|-----------|---|

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Conan Fischer | the translation of Nazi popularity into power ... owed much to the disastrous miscalculation of the elites. It is true that millions of middle class Germans sought deliverance by the Nazi movement from Marxism, but the presence also of millions of working class Germans was unmistakable. Although the Nazis benefited from the Weimar Republic’s recurrent crises this is not to say that their success was either straightforward or inevitable |
|---------------|---|

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Mary Fulbrook | by late January 1933, the elites were not prepared to uphold democracy at any cost; most wanted some form of authoritarian government. The NSDAP no longer seemed dangerous and in these circumstances Hindenburg was persuaded by a small group (including his son and von Papen) to appoint Hitler as Chancellor |
|---------------|--|

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Stephen Lee | Hitler came to power largely ‘through a conspiracy’. |
|-------------|--|

## **Section 8 – South Africa: Race and Power, 1902-1984**

### **Part A – Historical Issues**

#### **Question 57**

**Evidence which supports view that defeat in the Boer War accounts for growing opposition to British rule:**

- British ‘scorched earth’ policy saw 30,000 Boer farms destroyed following Kitchener’s orders
- 7,000 Boers killed in the fighting
- Britain criticised (even in Westminster cited ‘methods of barbarism’) for treatment of Boers, particularly concentration camps – of 110,000 Boers imprisoned, 28,000 died (94% of these were women and children)
- many Afrikaners believed the British had embarked on a deliberate policy of genocide (although this was not the case)
- increasing resentment amongst the Boers that the British were arming blacks to fight for the British
- Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, although compensating the Boers for property losses, still laid the blame at the feet of the Boers
- Vereeniging saw the two Boer republics acknowledging the authority of the British King
- Boer Republic resentment at Vereeniging negotiations delaying the question the native franchise
- after the war, the Boer Republics were forced to give up their independence, but this was restored in 1907 in an attempt to improve relations
- Milners’ dictatorial attitude to negotiating peace infuriated de Wet & Boer leaders
- Boer ‘Bitterenders’ resented the peace settlement and had insisted on continuing the fight
- while the war remained prominent in folk memory of the Afrikaners, it was only with the vigorous promotion of Afrikaans after 1925 that it became increasingly possible to reach the masses in writing.

**Evidence which does not support view that defeat in the Boer War accounts for growing opposition to British rule:**

#### **Influence of individuals & organisations**

- role of Dutch Reformed Church in the promotion of Afrikaner nationalism
- many of the large diamond and gold companies were English owned and based in London
- Het Volk in the Transvaal led by Botha and Smuts mobilised Afrikaner solidarity against a divided English vote
- in the Orange Free State, Hertzog’s Orangia Unie became the dominant party once self-government was reinstated in 1907
- by 1908, Afrikaners had taken power in three colonies
- educational policies and promotion of white labour by Botha and Hertzog’s parties attracted Afrikaners and increased criticism of British rule
- 1906 Bambatha Rebellion used by nationalists to provoke fear of blacks.

### Criticisms of the Milner and Selborne Governments

- Milner – passionate British imperialist sought to unify the four republics
- civil service was run by talented but controversial young Oxford graduates ‘Milner’s Kindergarten’
- Milner’s post war ‘Reconstruction’ period saw 60,000 Chinese workers join the mines. Immigration policy and the use of African labour was opposed by those who wished to see white only labour used
- resentment over Milner’s Anglicisation of South Africa with an influx of British settlers as he is seen to be trying to expand the empire
- Selborne regarded as more liberal – supports movement for union to avoid disputes between the colonies
- Liberal Party post 1906 grant instant self-government to Boer colonies going some way to improve relations with Britain
- failed policies of Milner and Selborne to reduce nationalism led to Dutch speakers establishing Afrikaaner/Christian National Schools
- increasing identification as a national group amongst Afrikaners rather than occupations (Boer).

### Historical grievances

- British seizure of the Cape resented by settlers (1795) which never dissipated
- Transvaal had been briefly annexed by the British before Boer victory at Majuba Hill in 1881 had seen its independence regained
- Boers blamed the British for starting the war through resentment of mining profits in the Transvaal
- 1895 Britain annexed Tongaland meaning the Transvaal had no direct access to the sea
- deterioration of relations between Britain and Transvaal following Jameson Raid of 1895 which failed to overthrow Kruger.

| Historians        | Perspective on the issue   |
|-------------------|--|
| Albert Grundlingh | argues that the Boer War entrenched a bitterness between English speakers and Afrikaners which would endure throughout the twentieth century   |
| James Barber      | argues that by 1908 ‘the political balance across South Africa had swung against the old imperialism’ and acknowledges the role of Afrikaner parties including Het Volk in the Boer Republics in increasing opposition to British rule   |
| Nigel Worden      | cites Milner and his ‘hawkish expansionist goals’ as contributing to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in this period and the strengthening of Afrikaner political mobility  |
| Leonard Thompson  | highlights British imperialism as being central to the policies as Milner and Selbourne were both in favour of an easy resolution. Thompson also argues that anti-imperialist Afrikaners saw the post war period of reconstruction as a chance to weaken British imperial influence. |

## Question 58

**Evidence that supports the view that demand for cheap labour in the mines was the main reason for introduction of segregationist policies:**

- 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 out with the reserves forces blacks into the migrant labour system or onto farms as wage labourers
- Wolpe's 'reserve labour subsidy' theory – the Land Act was designed to ensure a ready supply of labour to the mines
- 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.

**Evidence that does not support the view that demand for cheap labour in the mines was the main reason for introduction of segregationist policies:**

### **Influence of demands in agriculture**

- 1913 Land Act also designed to aid the needs of poor white farmers for cheap labour
- Trapido describes as 'the union between gold and maize'
- vast majority of Bills passed by the SA Parliament were designed to assist farming
- the laws of 1913 and 1929 ensured that most of the best land stayed in white hands
- Herzog promoted the export of agricultural produce through transport subsidies
- grants given to tackle drought relief and rural unemployment.

### **Influence of attitudes to race**

- 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.

### **Influence of other factors**

- evidence of African Chiefs supporting the migrant labour system to ensure cash returned to the Reserves and potentially troublesome young men worked away
- segregationist legislation developed and escalated pre union legislation introduced by the British as advocated by the Lagden Report. Compounds already existed to maximise profit.

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

#### **Johnstone**

Revisionists argue that the high costs involved in mining and the demand for cheap labour produced the migrant labour system and colour bar

#### **William 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

#### **Charles 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'

#### **Rodney Davenport**

challenges the view that while Smuts favoured mining capital, there was a change of direction under Herzog, and policies were more favourable to mineworkers.

## Question 59

**Evidence that supports the view that apartheid was introduced due to growing African resistance in the 1940s:**

### **Fear of growing African resistance in the 1940s**

- the African Mineworkers Union had 25,000 members by 1943
- 1940s saw an attempt at renewal and radicalisation of the ANC under Alfred Xuma, by 1945 there were 4000 members
- Congress Youth League established in 1943 under Lembede – a commitment to more radical confrontation
- ‘African Claims’ published in 1943 by the ANC – written as demands rather than a polite appeal
- in the 1940s however, resistance leaders still struggled to respond to popular struggles such as the Alexandria bus boycotts
- by 1945, 158,000 blacks were trade union members
- increasing strikes destabilising workforce: 1943 – 60 large scale strikes, 1944 – African Mineworkers Union saw 25,000 strike demanding a minimum wage supported by the Council for Non-European Trade Unions dominated by the Communist Party of South Africa
- 1946 blacks made up 79% of the population increasing fear of ‘die swart gevaar’ – the black menace
- Apartheid was a policy of self-preservation. Fear that equality of the races would lead to the eventual disappearance of the white nation of South Africa
- influx control would restrict process of urbanisation, which had grown rapidly in the 1940s and threatened to create an urban proletariat
- fear over strikes, squatter camps and increasing crime in cities.

### **Socio-economic factors resulting in the introduction of apartheid in 1948**

- white South Africans felt threatened by black political aspirations
- tensions increase as a shortage of basic commodities, adequate housing and servicemen gaining little support in finding jobs after World War Two
- apartheid as a means of extending the benefits of the migrant labour system to manufacturing industry
- decentralisation of industry would enable manufacturers to exploit cheap labour from the reserves – gradual relocation of industry to the fringes of reserves
- reserves no longer able to support Africans therefore other methods discussed such as tighter influx controls and decentralised industry
- commercial farmers would also be granted a ready supply of labour from the reserves
- influx control would restrict process of black urbanisation/therefore development of an urban proletariat while also protecting the interests of white workers threatened with the low wages of black workers
- African urban population grew at an annual rate of 3.4% 1936-1946. This increased to 6.6% over the next six years.

**Evidence that does not support the view that apartheid was introduced due to growing African resistance in the 1940s:**

### **Ideological factors resulting in the introduction of apartheid**

- establishment of SABRA (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs)
- Afrikaner beliefs of ethnic and racial exclusivity vital to the evolution of apartheid, increasingly evident in the works of academics such as Cronje who believed miscegenation led to racial decline
- theology of the Dutch Reformed Church and influence of Abraham Kuyper
- details of relevant legislation such as the Population Registration Act
- the influence of the FAK and 1944 Volkskongres on Afrikaner racial policy
- belief that the volk was an organic identity deriving from creation
- influence of Diederichs, Verwoerd and Cronje who studied in Germany in the 1930s.



| <b>Historians</b>                       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|---|--|
| <b>Nancy Clark &amp; William Worger</b> | emphasise the considerable achievements of organised labour before 1948 and growing concern of the National Party in putting down strikes  |
| <b>Tom Lodge</b>                        | describes the 1940s as a 'watershed in African politics' whereby African resistance in the aftermath of the Second World war brought greater pressure on the white governing minority                      |
| <b>Deborah Posel</b>                    | argues that apartheid was more practical in response to changing socio-economic demands. However, apartheid was initially to preserve the dominance of the white race, primarily the Afrikaners themselves |
| <b>Hermann Giliomee</b>                 | Afrikaner historian describes apartheid as a 'radical survival plan' rooted in the Dutch Reformed Church.  |

## Question 60

### **The ANC Youth League**

- number of Youth League advocated a move to militancy in the 1950s. Mandela and Sisulu had discussed prospect of an armed struggle as early as 1952
- Mandela and others in the CYL believed they needed to act if they were to keep up with the popular mood of increasing strikes
- role of the CYL in the Congress and writing of the powerful 10 point Freedom Charter in 1955
- CYL Defiance Campaign had overcome apathy/aroused spirit of militancy
- CYL members instrumental in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)
- platform and publicity for CYL leaders including Mandela to promote their ideas during the Treason Trial of 1956
- Luthuli's Nobel Peace Prize
- Mandela's 'M-Plan' to tackle organisational difficulties of the ANC.

### **Increasing state controls/worsening socio-economic conditions for blacks**

- banning of the ANC and PAC after Sharpeville forced the movements underground resulting in a change of tactics
- impact of Separate Development – Ends African representation in white politics ends Hertzogian model where Africans were represented by whites. Blacks excluded from white politics on the basis of their alleged political rights within the Bantustans
- forced relocation of millions of Africans
- reaction to worsening conditions for blacks. Low standard of living in the new homelands: most lacked water and electricity – Poverty characterised the homelands: indicators include rates of infant mortality, child malnutrition and incidence of disease
- overpopulation led to environmental degradation: land was cleared in search for firewood
- record immigration of whites post 1960
- coloureds and Indians also defined by race with disagreements within the National Party over how they should be represented
- Defence Act of 1961 extended the period of military training with the establishment of a new police reserve that year also
- police given greater powers to detain without charge
- response to Sharpeville – opportunity for government to implement policies with greater determination – Granite response
- 1961 election campaign fought on security, white unity and apartheid: 'I see it as the party stands for the preservation of the white man, of the white government of South Africa' Verwoerd
- international community largely ignored what was happening
- growth of corruption in the black bureaucracies
- homelands policy gave considerable wealth, patronage and power to local black politicians and bureaucrats, many of whom were Pretoria's puppets.

### **Pressure from other areas of resistance**

- by the 1960s, African resistance was gradually transformed from a loosely organised movement into a clandestine revolutionary elite
- evidence of armed resistance before 1960 in a number of rural uprisings
- frustration over limits of resistance/ANC in the 1950s
- Luthuli – ANC President – committed to passive resistance in face of growing opposition from CYL
- pressure for violent action coming from across political spectrum
- growing African nationalism
- external influences on growing resistance including Malcolm X and Che Guevara
- formation of the PAC in 1959 under Sobukwe.

| <b>Historians</b>     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>John Pampallis</b> | writing from an ANC perspective, has argued that the ANC and CYL were key in planning and sustaining the popular movements of the 1950s  |
| <b>Dan O'Meara</b>    | has argued that the ANC, working alongside the labour movements, created a political base for which a new class consciousness would emerge in the 1950s  |
| <b>Colin Bundy</b>    | is critical of the CYL and ANC leadership, drawing attention to substantial rural protest which was local in origin and which the ANC was unwilling or unable to spearhead. <b>Tom Lodge</b> cites the 1957 unrest in the Transvaal as lacking any CYL/ANC involvement |
| <b>Deborah Posel</b>  | describes a 'second phase' of apartheid emerging after 1960. This new phase of apartheid was more unyielding and ambitious and therefore saw greater resistance to it.   |

## Question 61

**Evidence which supports the view that the collapse of Portugal's African Empire influenced foreign policy of South African government:**

- black majority rule in front line states meant SA faced 'total onslaught' from neighbouring African states
- the French had relinquished control over colonies in west and central Africa and Belgians withdrew from Congo after 1960
- loss of 'buffer zone' of friendly neighbours Angola and Mozambique when Portuguese granted independence in 1975, following the coup in Lisbon
- after 1975, only Rhodesia remained as an enclave of white minority rule, although by 1978 it was barely surviving a fierce civil war and international sanctions
- collapse of Portuguese Empire meant that South Africa was virtually surrounded by African states, all potentially hostile to apartheid
- the ANC set up guerrilla bases within easy reach of Johannesburg and Pretoria – MK organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s
- establishment of MK training grounds and supply routes through former Portuguese colonies.

**Evidence which does not support the view that the collapse of Portugal's African Empire influenced foreign policy of South African government:**

**Perceived threats from African states**

- fear of Communist influence over neighbouring black states and consequent communist support of black resistance movements operating in South Africa
- the impact of liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa
- by 1970 process of granting independence to former British colonies in Africa was almost complete. Britain had transferred power to Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia by 1965. Between 1965-68, power was transferred to Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. Hopes that the defiant South African government could create a peaceful anti-Communist 'constellation' of southern states were dashed
- withdrawal of South African police force from supporting Smith's minority white government in Rhodesia in 1974. Mugabe wins election – strongly anti-South African
- Zimbabwe's Mugabe was regarded by the SA government as a hard-line Marxist and terrorist. Barbour and Barraett argue independence of Zimbabwe meant that 'security was now clearly the overriding factor in regional policies' and 'the influence of the military on policy was thus strengthened'
- few exceptions included Southern Rhodesia
- by 1977 the South African government was admitting it had few diplomatic links in Africa and Vorster was forced to concede that 'some bridges had collapsed'
- when Botha became Prime Minister, the government's commitment to 'total national strategy' was at least partly a response to the deteriorating situation within Southern Africa.
- Leonard Thompson points out, between 1981 and 1983 South African commandos carried out undercover operations against every one of its neighbours
- frontline states economically dependent on SA and this limited their capacity to threaten South Africa directly.

## **The Cold War**

- continued support from West as South African seen as a bastion against Communism and the requirement to maintain trade of uranium for nuclear weapons. SA regarded as a valuable ally
- after 1979, Reagan and Thatcher governments shared the determination to oppose the spread of communism in Africa
- pressure declines during 1980s as a result of Détente
- influence of Cold War in limiting Western pressure on SA government – failure of arms embargoes related to Cold War
- large amounts of western capital – over \$26 billion – were invested in South Africa
- BUT – Labour government of 1970s and the USA veto sanctions and largely follow a pro South African policy allowing capital and investment in the country
- successive South African governments worked hard to convince the West that only a stable, white minority government could resist communism getting a hold in South Africa
- the USSR was supplying arms to resistance movements but her involvement may have been exaggerated as a result of Cold War paranoia
- between 1965 and 1980, British governments were preoccupied with Rhodesia. Even under Thatcher Britain continued to oppose sanctions
- under Reagan, South Africa was seen as a key player in the struggle against the USSR. The US government sought ‘constructive engagement’ with the South African government
- only in the mid-1980s, during the latter stages of détente, did coverage of township violence and the brutality of security forces result in significant change from the West. The South African government fought hard to prevent Western disinvestment by starting to moderate the regime – Botha’s ‘adapt or die’
- Botha needed allies in his struggle against the perceived threat of international Communism. Botha befriended Thatcher and Reagan. The US government sought a ‘constructive engagement’ with South Africa
- the USSR was supplying arms to resistance – Exaggeration of USSR’s support for resistance groups as a result of Cold War paranoia.

## **Pressure from the international community**

- South African control of Namibia incurred the increasing hostility of the United Nations, culminating in the 1977 Security Council vote in favour of an arms embargo against South Africa
- migrant labour remained important with over a quarter of a million workers from other countries working in SA
- churches and Christian based organisations significant in spreading awareness
- sporting questions like Basil D’Oliveira affair encouraged white sympathies
- legacy of Soweto and resultant fury could not be ignored
- UN sanctions
- media showed clashes of police and protestors and SA government became increasingly in the spotlight and criticized. 1980s often seen as a decade of funerals where violence often erupted
- pressure from the United Nations including 1968 – General Assembly requested all States and organisations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid
- economic problems such as the falling price of gold, rising price of oil, the balance of payment crisis and rising inflation drives necessity of continued negotiations
- the formation of the National Forum (NF) and the UDF in 1983
- introduction of National Service.

| Historians    | Perspective on the issue   |
|---------------|--|
| Adrian Guelke | provides a balanced evaluation, claiming that changes in the region of Southern Africa, and the end of the Portuguese empire in Africa, had weakened the position of the SA government   |
| Tom Lodge     | 1970s – Disinvestment by west was ‘critical leverage’. He describes the UN as having ‘ <i>weak expression of concern about violence</i> ’ of Sharpeville but this did signify an advance in the UN’s opposition to apartheid   |
| Saul Dubow    | the arrival of the Cold War on South Africa’s ‘doorstep’ created ‘the spectre of the country being surrounded by hostile states directed by Moscow’. This provided opportunities for South Africa’s reformers to downplay apartheid as a system of racial rule by emphasizing the country’s commitment to the defence of Western interests |
| John Barratt  | ‘Pretoria’s regional policy was in tatters. From the tatters a new policy emerged but it was a reaction to adversity not the government’s chosen path’.  |

## Section 8 – South Africa: Race and Power, 1902-1984

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 62

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

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)  |
|---|---|
| SANNC was in the doldrums and led a precarious existence.   | tactics did not deter white government. In spite of some resistance from ANC, segregation legislation continued to increase, further restricting blacks in South Africa |
| The organisation sometimes objected to what it saw as oppressive legislation, but this did not deter the white authority or put it off its stride.  | tactics employed by the ANC were ineffective  |
| a resolution was accepted alleging that the Union Parliament was planning to permanently enslave black South Africans and that a polite request should be made to the governor general not to sign the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 which made provision for residential segregation in the cities on the basis of race. | frequent changes in leadership before 1933 hampered the development of the ANC  |
| Mahabane was a moderate and set himself the task of asking no more than the recognition of black rights in the existing social order.   | many leaders accused of being too moderate and out of touch with the majority of blacks.  |

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|--|--|
| they failed to act together.   | lack of co-operation between different resistance groups led to ineffectiveness    |
| Kadalie's bid to secure international recognition of his union was defeated by the South African Department of Labour. | the ICU faced strong opposition from the state                                     |
| thereafter led no more than a twilight existence.  | ICU was unable to mobilise the workers – Tactics proved ineffective                |
| it died essentially of its own weakness in the face of steady but not overbearing pressure from outside.               | internal problems led to the decline of the ICU rather than external pressures.    |

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

- diversity of African resistance groups and lack of agreement about aims and methods
- nature of white rule in South Africa – political, social and economic difficulties of resistance
- extension of state and employer control made resistance harder
- failure of CPSA to create a mass movement
- influence of Garveyism and those who favoured a more co-operative approach/opposing Garvey's ideas
- financial scandals and disputes which destroyed the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union)
- failure of ICU to identify with everyday problems of ordinary Africans
- ANC played a secondary role throughout much of the 1920s and 1930s
- aims and leadership of the ANC throughout the period
- criticism of early ANC leadership (Meli) as being middle class/educated and therefore elitist
- divisions within ANC leadership. Early 1930s divided with Africanists and Communists – Gumede's flirtation with the Communists deeply divided the party
- ANC commitment to constitutionalism – accepted ideas of trusteeship
- ANC membership did not exceed 1000 by the early 1930s – women played little part
- preoccupation of ANC leadership with 'petit bourgeois interests' such as obtaining a free market/working with those in power bound leaders more closely to them
- failure of international deputations such as that at the Treaty of Versailles
- failure of organisations to mobilise the masses and connect with localised rural resistance – ANC disdainful of this.

**Historians                      Perspective on the issue**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Saul Dubow</b>     | assesses the ANC more leniently than other historians 'The resort to oral suasion was a pragmatic strategy that had to be exhausted before being abandoned'. Nevertheless, he describes the ANC as 'moribund' by the 1930s. Argues that Africans and Communists were trying to pull the ANC in different directions by 1930 |
| <b>James Barber</b>   | the ICU was the 'first effective black movement' which was 'less important for promoting new ideas than for demonstrating the power of a black mass movement'   |
| <b>Andre Odendaal</b> | the early ANC mistakenly pursued a policy of 'hopeful reliance on the common sense of justice and love of freedom so innate in the British character'   |
| <b>Tom Lodge</b>      | ANC leaders were middle class men who feared 'being thrust back into the ranks of the urban and rural poor'.  |



### Question 63

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

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Hertzog and Smuts decided to form a coalition.   | Agreement made by leaders of the NP and SAP to work together                         |
| The fusion provided Hertzog with a fresh opportunity to attempt to solve the so-called 'native question'.                            | Fusion increased chances of agreeing a unified policy for ending the black franchise |
| even Smuts admitted that the franchise for black people in the Cape Province was a lost cause.                                       | Agreement on previously divisive issues  |
| Hertzog softened his previous hardline stance on British imperial links, hoping to win over the English-speaking Natal SAP hotheads. | Hertzog's anti-imperial rhetoric toned down for political favour among opponents.    |

#### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- both Smuts and Hertzog fearful for their own positions
- the 1933 General Election result demonstrated the popularity of the coalition government and paved the way for Fusion
- Tielman Roos announced he was to re-enter politics
- fusion and the subsequent formation of the United Party was a consequence of the Great Depression in South Africa
- depression particularly affected diamond mining and agriculture
- by 1933, approximately 22% of whites and coloureds were unemployed
- between 1928/29 and 1931/2 national income had fallen 19%
- 1929 election had been bitterly contested between Smuts and Hertzog, with Hertzog campaigning on the claim that white civilisation was endangered by the SAP, which made fusion more surprising
- fusion was based on continuing ambiguity about the relationship with the Commonwealth
- issues about the position of South Africa in the Empire appear resolved after the 1926 Balfour Declaration
- some Afrikaners felt betrayed by Hertzog's actions and Malan created the break-away Purified National Party, committed to a South African Republic. Some SAP supporters remained suspicious of Hertzog and formed the Dominion Party
- devaluation urged by Tielman Roos and business leaders throughout 1932 – subsequent devaluation boosted the value of gold shares
- consequences of unemployment highlighted by Carnegie Commission Report of 1932
- Transvaal farmers were key National Party supporters; Cape farmers tended to support the SAP
- the agreed Programme of Principles (June 1934) was the basis on which Fusion formally took place
- Hertzog's fear that the National Party could be defeated at the next election and this could destroy what he had achieved for Afrikanerdom
- Smuts saw Fusion as the Great Experiment – a way of countering the emergence of fascism in Europe by emphasising common ground
- Smuts/Hertzog differences of the 1920s perhaps exaggerated.

| Historians       | Perspective on the issue   |
|------------------|--|
| Rodney Davenport | suggests that Fusion was intended to settle imperial, economic and native issues which had previously divided the white community  |
| Hermann Giliomee | fusion was a way of safeguarding the interests of English voters. Demographic problems militated in favour of fusion – 55:45 ratio between Afrikaner and English voters and the electoral system favoured Afrikaners |
| Marian Lacey     | the SAP had already accepted the government's proposals relating to the Native franchise before Fusion took place. <b>Davenport</b> rejects this view  |
| James Barber     | although Smuts and Hertzog had been political opponents for more than twenty years 'the aftermath of the (economic) crisis underlined their common ground rather than their differences'.                            |

## Question 64

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.

| Aspect of Source D |                                  | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Author             | Steve Biko                       | acknowledged leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. Student at Natal Medical School, initially involved with NUSAS then SASO. Argued Africans' struggle necessitated both psychological liberation then physical liberation. Died in police custody in 1977 |
| Purpose            | published paper for SASO leaders | to educate South African Students Association on the values of Black Consciousness and mobilise support for the movement   |
| Timing             | December 1971                    | following Biko's establishment of the Black Communities Programme, 1970, establishing self-help groups in the community. 1972 – Biko became honorary President of the Black People's Convention.   |

| Point identified in Source D   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)               |
|--|--|
| Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation of the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression. | Biko calls for unity against aggressors/those oppressing blacks in South Africa                  |
| Black Consciousness, therefore takes cognisance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black.                                      | Black South Africans should be proud of being black and not see themselves as inferior to whites |
| There have previously been a lot of suggestions that there can be no viable unity amongst blacks because they hold each other in contempt.               | Biko highlights past tribal differences and conflict   |
| What we should at all times look at is the fact that; We are all oppressed by the same system.   | Black South Africans have a common goal/shared enemy.  |

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

### **Steve Biko & Black Consciousness**

- role of Biko forming SASO, as president of the Black People's Convention and death in 1977 in police custody
- the role of the Black Consciousness Movement as a source of inspiration for the Soweto students
- the Soweto uprising originated with a small group of BCM affiliated High School students
- the role of the South African Students Movement (SASM) and discontent resulting from twenty years of 'Bantu' education
- Biko helped set up the Black Communities Programme in 1970, establishing black self-help groups for black communities
- the influence of the BCM in strikes and protests of 1972-3
- 1975 SASO banned
- Biko rejected policies of violence adopted by ANC/PAC in the 1960s
- the Azanian People's Organisation in 1978 bringing together BPC, BCP and SASO, all organisations which had been banned in 1977 after the Soweto riots
- spread of Black Consciousness ideas among the ANC in exile as large numbers of activists joined ANC training camps
- Black Consciousness failed to penetrate into the working class or peasant communities
- the BCM did not develop a coherent political strategy which limited its effectiveness
- vague and undefined political and economic policies.

### **Other resistance organisations**

- the organisation of the ANC in exile and tenuous links with South Africa
- the Cillie Commission report blamed the Soweto riots on outside 'agitators' and ANC activists later claimed that the ANC had played a major part in organising the revolt
- in 1978, the ANC and SACP set up a small group to ensure greater co-operation with internal political meetings, although the armed section was still envisaged as forming the cutting edge. This amounted to recognition that they failed to take full advantage of Soweto
- some historians relate the Soweto Uprising to increased worker militancy from c. 1973; 160 strikes in March alone. Between January and September 1973 more than 70,000 workers involved in industrial action
- by the late 1970s the ANC was increasingly focusing on urban areas and building mass organisations
- the influence of DuBois and Marcus Garvey on the BCM
- rebirth of African trade unions
- poor living conditions and reaction to oppression
- developments in other African countries, especially the liberation of Angola and Mozambique
- increased size of the African urban workforce, including skilled and semi-skilled workers
- growing unpopularity of the homelands policy of the National Party.

| <b>Historians</b>                        | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|--|--|
| <b>Francis Meli</b>                      | relates the emergence of black consciousness to the international student protest of the late 1960s, as well as to the process of decolonisation. He denies that black consciousness was anything new, but rather sees it as a manifestation of African nationalism, descending directly from the organisations that the government had banned earlier. As an ANC historian, he is critical of the contradictions within the BCM, and of its abandonment of non-racial resistance to injustice |
| <b>Clark &amp; Worger</b>                | emphasise that after Soweto, many young activists joined the ranks of the ANC and PAC in exile, and these new recruits make a major contribution to the sabotage campaign  |
| <b>William Beinart</b>                   | argues that the Black Consciousness movement extended the bounds of possibility and that anger and the symbols of resistance survived the death of Biko and the banning of BC. There remained 'a strong belief' amongst politicised black youths that 'the system was so unjust that it could not last'  |
| <b>Baruch Hirson &amp; Dale McKinley</b> | Marxist historians downplay the importance of the BCM and Biko, claiming that they did not fundamentally threaten the immediate interests of the apartheid state because the movement failed to develop a coherent political strategy. Rather it was a growing class consciousness amongst workers that brought a more cohesive action against the state.  |

## **SECTION 9 – Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914-1945**

### **Part A – Historical Issues**

#### **Question 65**

**Factors which support the case that Tsarism was the main cause of the collapse of Russian autocracy:**

##### **Political**

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

##### **Military**

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

**Points which consider other reasons to prevail:**

##### **Economic**

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

##### **Social**

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

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------|--|
| <b>Kenez</b>      | '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' |
| <b>McKean</b>     | 'The Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight'   |
| <b>Wade</b>       | the long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations  |
| <b>Briggs</b>     | the Tsarina 'was unable to appease mounting discontent with the Imperial Government'.  |

## Question 66

### Factors which show the ideals of the October Revolution were not betrayed:

- the ideology of Bolshevism – ‘What is to be Done’, ‘April Theses’. ‘State and Revolution’ – Appealing to a wide range of Russian society
- sweeping away the pillars of Tsarism – religion frowned upon
- Land Decree October 1917 – gave peasants the right to take over land and divide it among themselves
- Workers Control Decree November 1917 – gave factory committees control over finance and production
- maximum 8 hour working day October 1917
- abolition of titles and class distinctions November 1917
- women declared as equal to men and able to own property November 1917
- Rights of the People of Russia decree November 1917 – gave the right of self-governance to national minorities
- Trotsky’s initial negotiations ‘no war – no peace’.... to delay until worldwide revolution ‘not a duty to fight the capitalist imperialists’. Ending of the war symbolic of the working class revolution – any territory lost would be regained after worldwide revolution
- Constituent Assembly Elections go ahead 25 November 1917
- reform of the Civil Service.

### Factors which show that the ideals of the October Revolution were betrayed by 1924:

- in reality Bolsheviks needed out of the war, army was in ruin and needed to secure peace to ensure continuation of the revolution
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk – land lost Riga, Lithuania and Estonia. Loss of large amount of fertile farming land which would jeopardise promise of ‘bread’
- War Communism used to strictly control the economic sphere of Russia and attempt to solve the bread crisis
- use of terror – Red Terror and Cheka
- de-kulakisation – Red Terror in the countryside
- closure of Constituent Assembly after one meeting due to lack of support for the Bolsheviks =175 seats to Socialist Revolutionaries = 410 seats
- closure of opposition press, allowing only Pravda
- removal of freedoms granted by Provisional Government
- control imposed over the Soviets – compromise from the beginning, ie ‘all power to the Soviets’ denied by the setting up of Sovnarkom
- destruction of opposition parties: Kadets, SRs and Mensheviks
- establishment of central control – pyramid of power; Politburo at the top to eliminate opposition. Loss of proletarian base
- party control over the state – Soviet constitution
- legal system abolished replaced by revolutionary justice
- political power in hands of one man – Lenin.

#### Historians

#### Perspective on the issue

##### Acton

‘No Russian government had ever been more responsive to pressure from below or less able to impose its will upon society’

##### Pipes

Lenin only had one agenda and that was a one party dictatorship

##### Bulgakov/Shiskin

see the Bolsheviks as ‘destructive demagogues’

##### Kowalski

they lost whatever legitimacy they had in October and clung to power by dictatorial means by 1921... the foundations of what we now term Stalinism appear to have been firmly laid.



## Question 67

### A recognition of the positive qualities he had and discussion of their merits:

- 1905 – he held great popularity making volatile speeches against the regime; in Petersburg Soviet, he was outstanding
- 1917 – chief executor of the revolution
- 1920 – the hero of the revolution – because of the Civil War – oratory, leadership as Commissar for War
- 1927 – ostracized, the intellectual, for many the purest in ideological terms.

### An evaluation of the importance of the following:

#### Background

- Jewish origins, although an atheist and no sympathy ever shown to Jewish groups
- Trotsky's affluent upbringing used by Stalin in struggle for power
- upbringing – comfortable, landowning peasants, good education, not a 'bandit' revolutionary (Stalin) rather an émigré revolutionary.

#### Ideology

- 'Permanent Revolution' – and he was awaiting the international phase after October
- Commissar for Foreign Affairs – 1918 Brest-Litovsk 'neither war nor peace' resulting in more costly and humiliating peace, castigated by Lenin, the Party and the nation. But became Commissar for War but this would damage him in the future to be seen as a traitor
- Stalin's 'socialism in one country' – appealed more to Bolsheviks than 'permanent revolution'.

#### Tactics

- mistrust because of constant changing political opinions and enthusiastically embracing previously discredited ideas eg 'democratic centralism' post-Civil War
- the 1904 split from Mensheviks – opportunist?
- pursues his objective and ignores opinion, hence resentment eg post-Civil War militarisation of labour, the recognition of trade unions as part of government
- questioning Lenin's decisions – Stalin did not
- not realising the importance of some decisions eg ban on factions
- devoting time to writing, not Government. Criticising others, causing some to question his loyalty
- 1924 November – Stalin's speech 'Leninism or Trotskyism' result – Trotsky seen as anti-Leninist.

#### Missed opportunities

- that Stalin took all opportunities to further establish himself, by the time of his appointment as General Secretary in 1922, he was in the three leading areas of the Party – The Politburo: the Orgburo: and the Secretariat. He built up loyalty through appointments, Trotsky did not
- Trotsky's arrogance led him to reject posts because of work overload, allegedly. And this could have been a genuine attempt to make him second in command
- no attempt to come back from isolation, frequent absence from Government
- not attending Lenin's funeral – misled by Stalin or not
- not challenging Stalin – over the Georgian question and at the time of Lenin's Testament, in both arrogance or naivety cost him dear.

#### Party's fear of Trotsky

- the talent of 'the pen' resulted in him being feared and seeming stubborn and arrogant
- ruthlessness in the Civil War
- demand for dictatorial policies – reminiscent of Bonaparte, whose power base had also been the army
- conversely Stalin was much more appealing – the team player who they all knew.

### Other contenders

- candidates would discuss the merits of Stalin and indeed the other players, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Rykov, in as much they detract support from Trotsky.

| Historians | Perspective on the issue |
|------------|--------------------------|
|------------|--------------------------|

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| O Figs | Trotsky and émigré revolutionaries ‘tended to be ... international and cosmopolitan in their outlook’ |
|--------|---|

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| R Pipes | ‘Stalin was in an unrivalled position that assured his future career for some time before Lenin’s death’ |
|---------|--|

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| D Volkogonov | of Trotsky’s isolation ‘Stalin’s campaign was greatly assisted by Trotsky himself’. Indeed, he describes this as the ‘decisive event leading to Trotsky’s defeat’ |
|--------------|---|

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| C Ward | ‘socialism in one country’ appealed to most people. |
|--------|---|

## Question 68

**Evidence which supports the view that Collectivisation was more than just an economic disaster:**

### **Economic**

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

### **However**

- agriculture was a disaster: significant numbers of animals slaughtered, enterprising peasants had left the country, fled to city to seize opportunity of upward mobility
- grain procurement crisis 1928-9 – peasants were resisting government policies and not sending goods to market: bread and meat therefore rationed in the cities
- building a social and economic system to make USSR a great power
- those left were in no mood to begin work, and passive resistance was the order of the day – referred to this as ‘second serfdom’
- statistics after 1930 distorted to show alleged success, even though grain harvest 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, same wooden huts
- tractors were largely imaginary.

### **Social**

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

### **However**

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

## Political

- end to peasant 'petit-bourgeois' Kulaks influence which created enemies of the state ripe for purging
- socialist solution not to have private holdings (NEP), but 'socialist agrotowns'
- strengthening control of Central Party apparatus over provinces such as Ukraine and central Asia
- exerting control of local Party cliques from above
- needed to prepare for potential war and to support industrial expansion
- to compete with USA as a superpower.

## However

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

## Historians

### Perspective on the issue

#### Moshe Lewin

creating a 'quicksand society' where the state was in control of everyone and all were 'equal'

#### R Conquest

states that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasant resistance

#### S Cohen

states that the peasantry was seen as 'a vast inert and yet somehow threatening mass of people, barring Russia's path to industrialisation, modernity, socialism: a kingdom of darkness that must be conquered before the Soviet Union could become the Promised Land'

#### Ward

argues that the speed of change had a traumatic effect on the people but the Russian way of life was altered forever to ensure Collectivisation was full implemented.

## Question 69

**Evidence that supports the view that Stalin implemented the Purges out of a desire to control the Communist Party:**

### Political factors

- Stalin replaced Yagoda criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough. Terror prevented criticism of the leadership
- Stalin wanted to remove anyone who could form an alternative government
- debatable who was behind the Kirov murder – the murder provided a good excuse for the Purges – if the Party leadership (Stalin) was behind it, purges came from above, if not, Party members destroying each other – leadership forced to cover-up inner destruction of the Party and carry out the purges
- caused by Lower Party (Local Level) – little control from top people denouncing others for their own advantage
- Show Trials not from thin air: Trotsky formed ‘bloc’ = threat
- the ‘top down’ view – Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power. Use of high profile Show Trials such as Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bukharin
- Stalin simply followed Lenin’s lead from the Red Terror
- wanted Party to be always insecure so kept control – especially with the *nomenklatura* around the Central Committee: lieutenants not sure who Stalin would adopt as ‘his people’
- Central Party’s lack of control over local party branches
- Local Party often had conflicting interests with the Central Party, eg to find Kulaks, valuable men to community: Local Party bosses wanted to reach production targets
- by 1939, less than 1/5 of the membership at the beginning of 1921 remained – but, over 70% of 1939 members had been recruited since 1929
- encouraged lower levels of the Party to criticise those higher up = rush of accusations which got out of control and developed momentum of their own.

**Evidence that does not support the view that Stalin implemented the Purges out of a desire to control the Communist Party:**

### Social Factors

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

### **Economic factors**

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

### **Other Factors**

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

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

#### **Fitzpatrick**

the Purges came from 'below' – the Purges were the result of decisions made by the Communist leadership in reaction to a series of crises in the mid-1930s

#### **Tucker**

anyone who refused to accept Stalin's vision were traitors

#### **Service**

Stalin's personality determined the form the Great Purges took

#### **Gill**

people arrested wanted to gain leniency for themselves and their families by co-operating with the NKVD so were more willing to denounce others.

## PART B – Historical Sources

### Question 70

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.

| Aspect of Source A |                 | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| Author             | Nadya Krupskaya | a highly regarded Bolshevik thinker in her own right. The wife of V I Lenin. She is the author of a number of books on questions of education                                      |
| Purpose            | Reminiscences   | she was a long standing member of the Communist Party, a Soviet statesperson and a distinguished educator. She was born in St Petersburg, where she began her revolutionary career |
| Timing             | 1933            | Her <i>Reminiscences of Lenin</i> were written after Lenin's death, over a number of years and published in parts at different times.  |

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| The seizure of power in October had been carefully thought out and prepared by the Party of the proletariat – the Bolshevik Party.  | it had been carefully thought out. And they appreciated the vital importance of picking the right moment   |
| Ilych, who was hiding in Finland, wrote a letter to the Central Committee in which he said 'Having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in both capitals, the Bolsheviks can and must take power into their hands'.    | Lenin who was in hiding realised the situation had changed by September due to the gaining of majorities in the Soviets; and that the Central Committee should now go ahead with a rising since time was now right |
| 'Our three main forces – the navy, the workers and the army units – must be so combined as to occupy without fail and to hold at the cost of sacrifice the telephone exchange, the telegraph office, the railway stations and, above all, the bridges'. | the Bolsheviks had three main forces at their disposal and planned to capture the main communication centres in Petrograd  |
| 'The most determined elements – our shock forces and young workers, as well as the best of the sailors – must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the more important points and to take part everywhere in all important operations'.        | the Bolsheviks also had shock forces [including sailors and young workers] who would attack and take over anywhere else that was important.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- debates taking place as illustrated in Sukhanov's diary. Other earlier options like the July days had been turned down as possible opportunities
- political divisions had seen the growth of support for the Bolsheviks in the Soviets the most notable of which was the Petrograd Soviet of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies. The other socialist parties were largely seen as failures, the Bolsheviks – now the majority in the ruling committees of the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets – elected Trotsky chairman of the PS
- on October 10, a secret meeting of the Bolshevik Party leaders was held. Lenin eventually convinced the others that it was time for an armed insurrection. They debated through the night, a vote was taken the following morning – it was ten to two in favour of a revolution
- the Kornilov Affair renewed the radicalism of the people and broke remaining bonds between soldiers and their officers, workers and the upper classes; strikes reach their high point, including a 3 day, 700,000 strong railway workers protest
- in 1917, as the main training ship of the Baltic fleet, the Aurora took an active part in the Revolution. On the night of October 25-26 1917, it fired a blank shot at the Winter Palace giving the signal to the rebellious workers, soldiers and sailors of the city to storm the palace.

**Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:****Their organisation was key**

- the Central Committee gave orders to the Soviet who gave orders to the factories
- Lenin's tight control of the party organisation is central and his work with Trotsky
- use of the propaganda machine via 'Pravda'
- April Theses outlined main policies and use of slogans such as 'Peace, Land, Bread' and 'All power to the Soviets'
- the importance of the loyal Red Guards – strength and their number
- German money invested in the Bolsheviks to destabilise Russia.

**Popularity was evident**

- membership grew to 2 million in 3 months
- idea that it was this small vanguard can be countered by the popularity in St Petersburg where only the Bolsheviks were going to bring an end to the disastrous war
- Bolsheviks had control over the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets
- counterpoint that the SRs and Mensheviks had a majority in the Petrograd Soviet until autumn 1917
- Provisional Government had announced elections in November and earlier action was vital to Bolshevik success.

**Conditions of the people by 1917**

- the slaughter of the army and the 'peasant soldiers'
- the lack of food provided to the towns
- the rampant inflation.

**Inability of the Provisional Government to deal with the situation**

- Weakness of the Provisional Government – divisions, lack of cohesion in aims, lack of support from the industrial working class
- July Days
- Kornilov revolt
- Kerensky.



**Alternative viewpoints may include:**

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

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------|--|
| <b>O Figes</b>    | re-emphasises the importance of key individuals such as Lenin  |
| <b>Service</b>    | states that Lenin was a key figure   |
| <b>E Acton</b>    | amongst the revisionists who will state that there was a degree of genuine mass support for the Bolsheviks in October 1917       |
| <b>Shukman</b>    | states that Trotsky realised they could not be sure of all the workers and soldiers in Petrograd let alone the country at large. |

## Question 71

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

| Point identified in Source B  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)      |
|---|---|
| The greatest White failure was their alienation of the peasant majority.  | Whites alienated peasant majority, actions of 'self supply' soldiers – criminal looting |
| Denikin's movement was identified with the <i>sharaban</i> , the landlord returning ...   | Whites, even Denikin, associated with the return of the land and the landlord           |
| Only in January 1920 did Denikin advance the slogan 'Land to the peasants and the labouring Cossacks' and by then his armies had been driven back into the Kuban. | Denikin belatedly came up with a slogan to appeal to the peasants and Cossacks          |
| One of the major White weaknesses was a failure to match the scale and quality of Bolshevik propaganda.   | a failure to match the scale and quality of Bolshevik propaganda.                       |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Kolchak's soldiers sold uniforms for money to drink and carouse
- Denikin condoned the 'ethnic cleansing' practices of Cossacks and he helped landowners recover their estates, alienating the peasants
- failure to get support from the peasantry on Land issue. Kolchak returned land to pre-revolution landlords
- Trotsky, Commissar of War, who formed the Red Army, used oratory, propaganda machine, the train, to invoke unity and organisation and centralised communications. His inspirational leadership part of the winning of the hearts and minds.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- analysis of Whites losing because of leadership weaknesses. Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel and other White armies
- geographical factors: White forces scattered around edges of Central Russia
- disunity of White forces; made up of monarchists, republicans, pro Constituent Assembly. Whites' support base was too politically divided
- effect of Allied intervention and provision of supplies and weapons
- September 1919; Allies evacuate Archangel, 1920 Kolchak captured in January, executed by Bolsheviks
- role of the Greens and the insurgents
- Red Army's tough management of the army, attaching political commissars to each unit, introducing death penalty, military specialists, forming labour battalions and recruiting ex-Tsarist officers showed the decisive and strong leadership needed.

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

## Question 72

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

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)    |
|--|---|
| An enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft.                   | Stalin commenting on the preparedness of the German military machine                  |
| The enemy is cruel and implacable.                                     | Stalin reflecting that this machine will impose its values not soviet values          |
| An enemy which was out to seize land, grain and oil.                   | Stalin noting the first area hit by German invasion is rich in resources              |
| They faced the issue of free or fall into slavery 'fascist enslavers'. | Stalin warning of the loss of Communism and the rights of Soviet citizens to be free. |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- propaganda used to instil fear in the Russian people that the enemy will want to restore Tsarism
- the Germans took the Soviets completely by surprise, advanced hundreds of miles in just a few weeks, killed or captured several million Soviet troops, and seized an area containing 40 percent of the USSR's population, as well as most of its coal, iron ore, aluminium, and armaments industry
- the war for the Russian Motherland not the USSR, and loyalty to the Motherland and to Stalin.

| Point identified in Source D                                      | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|---|--|
| The inferior equipment which they had.                            | noting the minimal material available  |
| The command economy had problems, but despite this it met demand. | noting the limits of the Five Year Plans in meeting targets                        |
| The necessary movement of the factories to the Urals.             | the difficulty in moving the industrial base                                       |
| That 10 million workers had to be moved eastwards.                | the efforts involved in moving this population.                                    |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Russian strengths might include the economic stability allowing the supply of the military with adequate material; the constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support; Kursk – evidence of Russian military development enough to beat the Germans in tank battles
- the Five Year Plans meeting quotas in delivering machinery and therefore helping collectivisation
- the rigour with which the factories were decommissioned and all heavy plant equipment taken and relocated. This significant effort would prove to be challenging. Yet the scorched earth policy was employed
- workers moved willingly to save the Motherland.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

### **Propaganda and Stalin's leadership**

- the war for the Russian Motherland not the USSR, and loyalty to the Motherland and to Stalin
- the role of Stalin in rallying the people and his status as Generalissimo combined with the impact on the people of his refusal to leave Moscow
- Stalin had a unified system of command in the STAKVA, Supreme Command which co-ordinated political, military and economic strategy
- Stalin had able individuals such as Molotov (diplomacy), Voznesensky (economic planning), Krushchev (administration) and Zhukov (military). The latter commended Stalin on his readiness to learn about military strategy
- role of propaganda and the Orthodox Church, turning the negatives around of rationing, conscription, loss of homes.

### **Economic security**

- the readiness for war – that after 1937 major industrial works were completed and economic growth resumes by 1941 which meant survival at the beginning of the war
- the economic system was already suited to war because of established central planning, unlike Germany which did not have total war economy until 1942.

### **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', which alongside the 'dogged, rugged, Siberian obstinacy' and 'the stamina of Soviet soldiers was incredible' shows the determination involved
- considering enemy weaknesses (dealing with Russian climate, land mass meaning Germans over-stretched and could apply same tactics as in France), and so errors occurred – altered the focus of the offensive and delayed the attack on Moscow
- effects of Allied bombing of Germany; Allied invasion in the West.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Roy Medvev</b>    | criticises the Generalissimo as being 'short sighted and cruel, careless of losses'  |
| <b>Chris Ward</b>    | notes the economic, military and the political, but also points out the importance of the social factors – the people's war. He also notes Hitler's blunders |
| <b>Richard Sakwa</b> | notes that Stalin 'appeal(ed) to Russian pride rather than Marxism or Leninism as inspiration for resistance'  |
| <b>John Laver</b>    | highlights the establishment of a command economy and authoritarian rule and the appeal to patriotism in order to galvanise support for 'Mother Russia'.     |

## Section 10 – Spain: The Civil War – Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923 – 1945

### Part A – Historical Issues

#### Questions 73

##### **Evidence which agrees with the view that Alfonso was responsible for his own downfall:**

- the Dictadura had become linked with the Monarchy in a way which discredited both. The removal of Primo de Rivero in 1930 lost further support from sections of the Army and others. Alfonso was seen as untrustworthy by all sides. The support of the Dictadura and the subsequent Dictablanda meant that anyone wishing Spain to be democratic also became pro-Republican
- the Monarchy had failed to act on fundamental problems in Spanish society, including agrarian reform, regional tension and the power of the church. Alfonso appeared increasingly aloof. Alfonso was viewed as someone completely out of touch with the Spanish people. Almost anyone who wanted reform in any sphere of Spanish life, increasingly saw Alfonso as an obstacle due to his detachment
- the growing political unrest increasingly focused on Alfonso and the Monarchy as a barrier to reform. Alfonso became the personification of the problems of Spain and his removal a necessity. The anti-monarchic sentiment became a rallying point for all those who wanted to progress, with Alfonso as the villain in chief
- the actions of Alfonso in his private life meant that he was perceived as being incompetent and unworthy as a leader and out of touch with his people. His adulterous, playboy lifestyle showed both his own hypocrisy and that of his position as Spain's most Catholic Majesty.

##### **Evidence which shows that the downfall of Alfonso was due to other reasons:**

- decline of the church and loss of faith in the clergy amongst many of the poor. The church had been declining in active membership for a number of years, with priests sometimes saying Mass to no congregation. The secularisation of Spanish society went hand-in-hand with the growth of republicanism and Alfonso's downfall was therefore as much a result of the tide of events as anything else
- Alfonso was 'His Most Catholic Majesty' and had become linked to an increasingly anti-liberal institution, now dominated more than ever by the large land owners. Those who were anti-clerical were therefore anti-Monarchy
- the army was a massively powerful force in Spain and could put down any rebellion, as happened in the failed coup of December 1930, but they failed to provide support to Alfonso in the end which meant he could not continue. The Monarchy could not continue because the Army had decided that it should not. This showed that yet again it was the Army who was effectively deciding the course of events in Spanish politics
- bad harvests had made a poor agrarian situation even worse and the economy was badly affected by the world economic crisis in 1930. These events helped to provide the catalyst needed for change. Spanish society's many problems were highlighted and accentuated by these events, over which Alfonso had no control
- there had been a growth of political ideologies in Spain which were pro-republican such as liberalism, socialism and anarchism. These did not have an outlet under the Dictadura as elections were non-existent. Even many of the politicians of the corrupt Turno Pacifico now saw the need for real change in Spain and began to work with others to bring this about. By 1931 this meant getting rid of the Monarchy regardless of the actions of Alfonso as the institution was a part of the system which had to change
- the Pact of San Sebastian in 1930 coalesced the Republican forces into a coherent force. Now all of those who wanted reform of virtually any type in Spain were united and the Monarchy was left increasingly on the other side. One of the few outlets was the support for Republican candidates in the municipal elections of 1931 and the result was a victory for Republicans which Alfonso could not withstand.

| <b>Historians</b>    | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Raymond Carr</b>  | <p>the Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch ... The Socialists considered (it) reactionary ... The anarchists rejected it. To the regionalists it ... strangled local interests ... the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform ...</p> <p>(it was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy). The conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy</p> |
| <b>Gerald Brenan</b> | <p>the ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes ... to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too.</p> <p>Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign. The Army had become increasingly sensitive to any criticisms...</p>  |
| <b>Antony Beevor</b> | <p>Alfonso treated the ruling of Spain as little more than a fascinating hobby. The Spanish Church was said to have owned up to one-third of the total wealth of Spain.</p> <p>(The Latifundias') subjects were treated almost as a subject race</p>  |
| <b>Paul Preston</b>  | <p>loss of Imperial power coincided with emergence of left wing movements. (The monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power.</p>   |

## Question 74

### **Evidence which agrees with the statement that the new Republic was politically divided:**

- although most agreed with the removal of the monarch, there was little agreement about what came next. The Pact of San Sebastian had provided a vehicle for change, but the details of what was to follow the removal of Alfonso were less clear. There was no consensus around the degree or nature of change
- the Provisional Government had a façade of unity which soon faded with resignations. There was such a diversity of views within it that what was supposed to be its strength became a weakness
- there were a lot of debates over the Constitution, battle lines for the future were drawn up. In particular, the nature of the Spanish state and the degree to which it would be secular. The debate over the church clauses were some of the fiercest and provided a clear dividing line in Spanish politics
- the Government were divided along party lines, within parties and over the pace and nature of reform. There was a mixture of different parties within the Government, let alone within the country. The nature of some of these divisions were such as to make some of the parties supposedly in coalition completely opposed on many issues
- there was great division within the Cortes with allegiances coming and going and alliances forming and breaking. The lack of a history of parliamentary democracy meant that there were virtually no precedents for cooperative working and the forming of stable political alliances
- there was even greater political division outwith as anarchists on the left and the Carlists (and those who would later form CEDA and the Falange) on the Right. From the outset there were those who did not want to see the Republic succeed regardless of the nature of the Government or of individual policies, this led to a polarisation of division within Parliament and outside it
- there was political violence and disturbances, including strikes and army/civil guard repression. This continued to plague the Republic throughout its lifetime and meant that stability was almost impossible from the outset
- the army which had largely welcomed the Republic now had Generals plotting against it. Even though most of the Army had supported the abolition of the Monarchy, they were not about to let any civilian politicians decide to set Spain on a course contrary to what they saw as their interests
- there was great division among the regions of Spain. Many in Catalonia saw this as the opportunity to achieve independence and indeed declared this at the outset. The new Government was being pulled in two different directions by the separatists and the centralists. Other regions were also flexing their political muscles and rehearsing old grievances
- the elections to the Cortes showed a very fragmented system, with over 30 parties having Deputies elected. Spain had no political consensus and making effective coalitions was extremely difficult.

**Evidence which shows that the Republic was not politically divided:**

- the Pact of San Sebastian showed great political unity and brought together virtually all shades of opinion. This had demonstrated an overwhelming desire to bring about political change in Spain and had shown that diverse interests could be brought together to achieve common goals
- the first cabinet had members from a variety of parties, with none dominant. This showed that many were able to set aside narrow differences for the good of the country
- Zamora was from only the sixth largest party but was made President and lasted until 1936. This shows the degree to which people could work together, with Governments of the Left and Right accepting a moderate, conservative politician as head of state
- the political debate in the Cortes showed democracy was working, there were disagreements but this was in sharp contrast to the lack of open debate which had gone before. Ordinary parliamentary disagreement shows democracy in action rather than division
- the Constitution was passed and although Maura resigned, the governing coalition broadly held. This was despite widespread belief that the Government could not survive the passing of the constitution intact
- rapid political and social change was introduced through democratic means. The reforms which went through Parliamentary debate and committees were a result of consensus seeking and compromise
- there was overwhelming support for the idea of a Republic, virtually every party in the elections was overtly committed to it. There was even a Monarchist Republican Party, such was the belief in a democratic, republican state as the only way forward for Spain
- it could be argued that the country was more united in 1931 than at any other time. This was in some ways the highpoint of Spanish democracy.

**Historians                      Perspective on the issue**

**Hugh Thomas**                      both Left and Right, at first, contemplated collaboration.  
The country was constructed upon quarrels

**Raymond Carr**                      the provisional Government was a compromise between the different  
classes which together had overturned the throne but whose interests were  
mutually antagonistic

**William Phillips  
and Carla  
Phillips**                      in 1931, disgruntled factions of both left and right decided to test the  
government's authority

**Paul Preston**                      Azaña was caught between two fires – that of the Left which wanted  
reform, and that of the Right, which rejected it.



## Question 75

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

- this was an armed insurrection by elements on the Left who had munitions and explosives. This was not a normal part of a healthy democracy
- the brutality of the oppression which followed showed how the army was ready to take on the workers in armed combat, like the battles with militia which were to come. Regular troops against armed trade unionists was like a foretelling of the early days of the Civil War in 1936
- the Left had good reason to fear Robles' rhetoric. The CEDA leader wanted to crush reform and any form of socialism. If that meant abandoning democracy, he was prepared to do that too
- the Asturias uprising was inspired by the legal inclusion of elected members, therefore it was an illegal attack on the Government. Short-term devastation over and above that required to restore order, therefore an attack on workers by the forces of reaction. This was a country with sides so divided that it was in armed conflict with itself
- Asturias was not alone, there were strikes all over Spain. Although the Asturias was the longest lasting and fiercest fighting, it was not isolated
- declaration of Catalan State on announcement of Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA) delegates was undemocratic. This showed an abandonment of due process by some of those who had helped to set up the Republic
- insurrectionary behaviour of Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT), Union General de Trabajadores (UGT), Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI). There were many strikes and illegal acts by the unions who showed a disregard for democracy
- reactions to Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Tierra (FNTT) strikes, banned on grounds of harvest being 'sacred'
- suspension of El Obrero de la Tierra
- suspension of strike meetings
- Azaña, Companys and Caballero imprisoned
- government of Catalonia disbanded
- statute of autonomy suspended
- martial law.

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

- coordinated by trade unions therefore a 'normal strike'. This was effectively a general strike, similar to that held in Britain in 1926
- the Civil War did not break out until 1936 and when it did, it was initiated by the Right. Therefore, there was not only time between these events and the Civil War but a reversal of roles
- Labour conditions in Asturias were horrendous and strike action was justified. The miners were fighting against dangerous and outdated working practices
- brutality of Casas Viejas
- Cortes not disbanded. There was no attempt, even by CEDA to abandon parliamentary democracy. They continued in Government and even held fair elections in 1936, which led to the Popular Front gaining control
- no right-wing coup. This was not used as pretence for the staging of a takeover from the Right. Ultimately there was a return to democracy after the Asturias uprising
- Socialist Party and trade unions not proscribed. Both were allowed to continue with many of those originally imprisoned later released
- both sides participated in the 1936 election and initially accepted the results
- it was election defeat which persuaded the Right to rebel.

**Evidence which suggests that while this increased tension, it was not the ‘first battle of the civil war’:**

- the uprising convinced the Right that the Left had abandoned democracy. This raised the stakes. Civil War was closer, if not necessarily inevitable
- the acceptance of CEDA into the cabinet and the reversal of reform convinced the Left that any gains made in 1931-33 were doomed. It seemed as if Spain was going backwards and that the modest success of the Bienio Reformista was being undone
- one result of the failure of the Asturias uprising was that the Left knew that unity was essential. The divisions which were partly to blame for the lack of success of the strikes outside of the Asturias showed the need for those on the Left to work together
- polarisation between Right and Left.

| <b>Historians</b> | <b>Perspective on the issue</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|-------------------|---------------------------------|

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>Raymond Carr</b> | 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’ |
|---------------------|---|

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>Paul Preston</b> | emphasises the increasing mimicking of Fascist tactics: ‘A crowd of 20,000 gathered and shouted “¡jefe!¡jefe!¡jefe!” and “Our Leaders never make mistakes!”’ |
|---------------------|--|

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>Hugh Thomas</b> | 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’ |
|--------------------|--|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Gerald Brenan</b> | Asturias ‘first battle of the Civil War’ (left united against CEDA). |
|----------------------|--|

## Question 76

### **Evidence which suggests that Franco's rise was a result of the absence of effective rivals:**

- deaths of Sotelo and Sanjurjo meant that Franco was placed in a fortunate position. Sotelo's assassination before the Civil War provided a spark for the rebellion but also removed one of the most charismatic politicians of the extreme Right. Sanjurjo's death at the beginning of the coup also removed the General who was meant to take charge. Both of these were blows to the Right in the early days but greatly aided the rise of Franco, whose path to leadership was now a great deal clearer
- the other main political obstacle to Franco's assumption of power was Primo de Rivera. His imprisonment at the beginning of the conflict meant that Franco could cultivate the cult of the 'absent one' to block any rival from the Falange. Primo's death then removed him as a rival completely
- others, such as Fal Conde and Hedilla, underestimated Franco, who outmanoeuvred them
- the Right wanted to unite behind one leader, once Franco had assumed this position it was difficult for any other rival to emerge
- Franco had resources at his disposal, including aid from Germany and Italy not available to anyone else. This meant that any other potential leader could not be as effective
- Franco skilfully manipulated the political vacuum to become the undisputed leader. Other Generals, such as Mola, were content to let Franco lead while the war was ongoing, even though Mola had much better credentials as one of the main plotters of the coup at a time when Franco was ambivalent towards it at best.

### **Evidence which suggests that Franco's rise was due to other factors:**

- the need of various groups on the Right to find a unifying leader; it was the ideology of the Right as much as anything else which ensured Franco would be unrivalled. The precedents for the Right were clear to see, in Mussolini and Hitler. Franco encouraged this belief regardless of his own political indifference
- Franco was revered by the Army of Africa and viewed by them as the leader; Franco used this against other generals. The Army of Africa was the greatest force the Spanish had. Their allegiance and loyalty to Franco were crucial in his gaining and retaining the respect (sometimes reluctant) of others on the Nationalist side
- Franco made military mistakes including at Alcazar, Madrid and Brunette, but they did not prove crucial, leaving his reputation largely intact. In this way he can be seen as fortunate as his errors were fatal neither to the Nationalists' victory nor to himself
- military tactics: Franco argued that the delayed military victory was deliberate in order to ensure complete political control of the country. A quick win would have given him less time to consolidate his power and be seen as the natural leader of the victorious side in the post-conflict Spain
- Franco's skill in negotiating with Hitler and Mussolini to deliver foreign aid meant that he was unchallengeable as the conduit for aid. From early on both countries agreed to channel all their support through Franco. This helped his cause immeasurably.

| <b>Historians</b>    | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Hugh Thomas</b>   | 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’ |
| <b>Antony Beevor</b> | states that ‘(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command’  |
| <b>Paul Preston</b>  | 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’  |
| <b>Raymond Carr</b>  | after consultation with the Nazi party representatives and the Italians, the German Ambassador came to the conclusion that ‘in spite of all their inclinations towards the Falange’ they must support Franco at all costs.  |

## Question 77

### Evidence which suggests the Republic was defeated because of internal weaknesses:

- Popular Front politicians had little in common. Similarly, many of the Republican combatants hated each other as much as the rebels. This exploded in May 1937
- the 'war or revolution' debate dominated the Republican side for nearly the first year of the war. This was only ended when the communists effectively took over control of the Spanish Government
- the command structure within the Republic meant that in the first few months many of the militia operated outside of the control of the Government
- 'the Right were united as to what they were fighting against, the Left were divided over what they were fighting for'
- there were numerous changes of leader for the Republicans, with political and military command separate at times.

### Evidence which suggests that the Republic lost for reasons other than their opponent's superior forces:

- although the outbreak of the war had seen Spain's forces approximately halved, the best of the junior officers had joined the Nationalists
- the Army of Africa were the best of the Spanish Army and swept through the South in the early stages of the war
- any apparent equality was soon negated by the arrival of the tens of thousands of Italian troops with limitless ammunition alongside the superior German air-force and other troops from Germany, the logistics, financial aid, equipment and Condor Legion were all crucial. All were delivered unconditionally with a view to Nationalist victory
- by contrast the Republic found it difficult to buy equipment and there were shortages of ammunition
- although initially boosted by Soviet planes, the Republic lost air superiority which left cities and troops defenceless. Franco's leadership: Often argued to lack direction and to tend towards procrastination (to Hitler's chagrin) but also interpreted as cleverly controlled to ensure total political control. Franco also merits acclaim for personal involvement in securing aid without conceding much
- Geographical/Political advantages: Rebels held farmland and raw materials as well as southern ports
- Britain's stance and Non-Intervention
- argument also made that Britain favoured a Franco victory and French policy dominated by need for alliance with Britain.

| Historians | Perspective on the issue |
|------------|--------------------------|
|------------|--------------------------|

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Paul Preston     | 'Communist efforts against the revolutionists had let their own control in the war effort slip. Their efforts led to a second civil war within the Civil War'   |
| Gerald Brenan    | foreign intervention was crucial.<br>'Stalin saw to it that the arms which he supplied...should secure the predominance of the communist party'   |
| Raymond Carr     | 'The war was kept going by Soviet supplies and the Popular Army.' '(del Vayo) ... was unconditionally in the service of the Communist party.' 'Many Conservatives (in Britain) ... because of their fear of bolshevism privately hoped Franco would win.'<br>Axis fears of rebel defeat led to extra aid in November 1938. Republican government blamed lack of unity   |
| Sheelagh 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.'<br>Although Soviet aid may have helped or extended the life of the Republic, ultimately it was counterproductive in labelling it communist and therefore ensuring the western democracies would not come to their assistance. |

## Section 10 – Spain: The Civil War – Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923-1945

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 78

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

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| The Socialists were concerned ... that would strengthen their union.  | the source suggests one of the impacts of the attempts at reform was to strengthen the Socialist Union   |
| Largo Caballero, as Minister of Labour, issued decrees which forbade landowners to employ labour from outside the municipality. | this was significant as it would deprive landowners of one of their most useful weapons against the braceros   |
| Labourers were granted access to the Mixed Committees to settle labour disputes.  | this raised the status of agrarian workers   |
| A spate of decrees applied to all workers: an eight hour day, sickness benefits, holidays with pay.                             | Caballero, as Minister of Labour made a number of decrees which were aimed at all workers but which – for the first time – also applied to agricultural labourers. |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the Socialists were worried about losing agricultural workers to the anarchists, however they also had a genuine interest in land reform and workers' rights
- the laws were frequently not enforced because the local Civil Guard was loyal to the landowners
- agricultural workers had originally been excluded from the Mixed Committees which were set up to resolve disputes
- these decrees were made by Caballero under the Provisional Government and were done quickly, compared to the laborious process of other agrarian reforms.

#### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- the Agrarian issue was probably the most pressing one facing Spain and the new Government
- the Socialists were keen to address the issue and Caballero's decrees (the eight laws) did more good than all of the other agrarian reforms to come
- when Azaña's Government did act, on the back of the failed Sanjurjo coup, it was never going to be enough to satisfy the demands of the braceros
- it was however far too much for the landowners, the Right and their press who attacked the reforms as an illegal landgrab
- Largo Caballero called the agrarian reforms, 'An aspirin to cure appendicitis'
- other reforms: Reforms to the church had a big impact on the church as an organisation and on the Right which galvanised around its protection
- reforms to the army led to the Sanjurjada and the loss of loyal officers as well as creating a paid, disgruntled group of plotters
- regional reform led to the promise of real change, but little in effect before the election of 1933
- social reforms led to divorce, secular schooling, votes for all, including women and the emergence of a free press.

| <b>Historians</b>       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <b>Stanley Payne</b>    | 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   |
| <b>Edward Malefakis</b> | '... 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'   |
| <b>Paul Preston</b>     | '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'  |
| <b>Hugh Thomas</b>      | '... the law of Términos municipales adversely affected migrant workers. Its effect was to prevent a further drift of labour to the cities ... if it had been carried out fairly ... it might have had a startling effect ... But the reform was not properly introduced at all ... the only real solution to the agrarian problem was to find a way to reduce the population on the land by encouraging industry'. |

## Question 79

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.

| Aspect of Source B |  | Possible comment on the provenance of the source   |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Author             | Quiapo de Llano  | General in the Nationalist army, who captured Seville and ordered a brutal repression of the civilian population, as he did elsewhere  |
| Purpose            | Propaganda, to discredit the Republican forces and also to put fear into civilians in the Republican zone. | the source was one of several radio broadcasts Quiapo made, which were then published in the following day's Nationalist newspaper     |
| Timing             | A week after the attempted coup.   | the timing of this shows that Terror was used as an instrument of war from early on (or limits as very little happened at this point). |

| Point identified in Source B  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)         |
|---|--|
| Attacking right-wing individuals who had not provoked them.                               | the source highlights the Terror on the Republican side                                    |
| I remind them all that, for every honourable person that dies, I will shoot at least ten. | the Terror on the Nationalist side was deliberately worse than that in the Republican zone |
| Since I will drag them out of the ground if necessary to implement the law.               | no one was to be spared, there was no hiding place   |
| And incidentally the wives of the reds too.   | women would not be spared.   |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- although this is propaganda, it still highlights incidences of right-wingers being killed in the Republican zone
- the Terror was undoubtedly a feature of both zones, however there were significant differences. The use of these tactics was a strategic decision taken by those leading the Nationalists; in the Republican zone it was spontaneous acts by locals
- the Red Terror was demonised in the Right-wing press and much of this found a ready home in the news outlets in Britain and elsewhere, ready to believe tales of a Communist threat
- the Church were often the target of the Red Terror
- the Nationalists undoubtedly committed the worst acts
- news of the Terror that would be visited on populations of towns captured by the Nationalists, particularly the Army of Africa, caused panic in the Republican zone
- people in hospital, injured prisoners – even the dead – had their bodies mutilated
- rape was used as an instrument of war by the Nationalists.



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

- there was a systematic attempt to 'purge' the previously held Republican zones and root out every possible Left sympathiser
- there was no attempt to win over the civilian population in conquered areas. The Nationalists wanted to be feared
- the Nationalists wanted to create refugees who would 'clog-up' the Republican zone. They also bombed and shelled the lines of refugees. To the Nationalists being in the wrong zone made you a target
- the use of militia was significant in the early part of the war. The Republic did not create a unified army until 1937
- other methods included the use of airplanes. The Spanish Civil War saw the first mass air transport of troops. This was the first European war with significant aerial bombing. Madrid, Barcelona and other Republican towns and cities were under bombardment for years. Guernica showed the utter devastation that could be caused by bombers
- Franco's tactics were to conquer every part of the country, leaving no republican behind
- this was also the first war to have real tank battles as machines had improved significantly
- there were naval blockades, in particular by Italy
- the Republic were desperate for a victory, often leading to defeat in battles such as Brunete, Teruel and the Ebro.

| Historians      | Perspective on the issue  |
|-----------------|---|
| Julian Casanova | the Church suffered brutal persecution  |
| Paul Preston    | they applied in Spain the exemplary terror they had learned in North Africa   |
| Harry Browne    | the Republic suffered from its inability to control its supporters. In the Nationalist zone, on the other hand, the zealots were in power and terror was the order of the day |
| Antony Beevor   | the Nationalists felt compelled to carry out a harsh and intense repression.  |

### Question 80

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

| Point identified in Source C  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| On 15 October, Soviet tanks, planes and advisors started arriving in Spain to support the Republican Government against General Francisco Franco, backed by Hitler and Mussolini. | the Soviet Union provided substantial support for the Republicans, to oppose the Nationalists who were receiving wider international backing |
| Stalin's real interest was to keep the war going as long as possible, embroiling Hitler without offending the Western Powers.   | Stalin wanted to prolong the war to keep Hitler busy while not antagonising the British and French   |
| Stalin systematically swindled the Spanish of several million dollars by rescuing their gold reserves and then tricking them into paying inflated prices for their arms.          | Stalin was more concerned with enriching the Soviet Union than helping Spain   |
| Gradually he (Stalin) presided over the effective NKVD [Soviet Secret Police] takeover of the Republic itself.  | the Republic was effectively taken over by Soviet backed communists.   |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the arrival of the first Soviet weapons were crucial to the Republic's survival
- the deals done for arms were weighted in the Soviets' favour
- after May 1937, communist sympathisers were effectively in charge of the Republican Government
- to combat Trotskyites and prevent revolution, Stalin wanted to prolong the war to keep Hitler busy while not antagonising the British and French
- the Nationalists received aid from Italy – significant intervention and Germany – Condor Legion.

| Point identified in Source D  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)                           |
|---|--|
| Russian personnel numbered five hundred by 1 November 1936. There were field officers, pilots, tank specialists or flying instructors, with some translators.<br>Most of these Russians acted as 'advisors'...  | there were relatively few Russians, mainly specialists. The Russians didn't want to get too heavily involved |
| Caballero later accused him of operating independently of the republican ministry of defence and of being disdainful towards those Spaniards who were not communists.   | the Soviets wanted to aid fellow communists and acted on their own behalf                                    |
| The deliveries of men and materials were not made by Russia as a friendly contribution to the revolutionary cause. They had to be paid for. This was done by the shipment to Russia of most of the gold which hitherto had guaranteed the Spanish currency. | their attitude was that their aid had to be paid for and Spanish gold was transferred to the Soviet Union    |
| Another element of Russian help to the Republic was volunteers raised internationally.  | the International Brigades were organised by Communist parties, sanctioned by the Soviet Union.              |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- the Soviets at times acted independently of the Republican army and supplies went to elements sympathetic to the communists
- there are various accounts of the nature of the transactions, but all of them show that the Republic got a poor deal
- although not everyone in the International Brigades was a communist, they were under communist and effectively Russian control
- by June 1937, the Communists had a great deal of control over the Republican Government in Spain
- Abraham Lincoln Battalion (US), Connolly Column (Irish), British Battalion (UK) and Thälmann Battalion (German).

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

- candidate should refer to the attitudes of other major powers, eg UK/France – non-intervention, USA – maverick oil tanker captains
- this came after the May days in Barcelona when anarchists and POUM members fought with communists
- the Communists imposed necessary military discipline on a disorganised Republic. The incorporation of the militia into one army in 1937 made them more effective but lost some support and enthusiasm from some of the militiamen
- if Fascist support had been unopposed, the Republic would have been defeated sooner. Although it can be argued that the Soviet Union never provided enough materiel for the Republic to win, it can also be argued that they were in no position to do so, especially because of the logistical problems in transporting heavy equipment
- the Communists organised the International Brigades, which showed that solidarity was part of the motivation behind their actions and provided propaganda victories for the Republic. The contribution of the International Brigades militarily and numerically was significant
- argument that 'accounting deficit' was small and that gaining the gold reserves was therefore not a main motivator. The Soviets under Stalins orders took years to count the gold and there was very little prospect of any of it ever being returned
- tanks were excellent and the 'Mosca' was significant in aerial defence. During the latter part of 1936 and early 1937, the Republic had air superiority and better tanks than the Nationalists. Therefore, the Soviets were committed to defending the Republic from their intervention in October 1936

- the Soviet Union was seen in a better light internationally by supporting the Republic, they provided a huge boost to morale
- the murder of Nin and others and their persecution of the POUM showed how politically motivated their intervention was. It also had the effect of alienating some of the Republic's supporters from the cause
- the increasing involvement of the Soviet Union meant that the scare stories of Spain turning Bolshevik became self-fulfilling prophecies as the Western powers were even less likely to support the Republic when it had Soviet backing.

| Historians      | Perspective on the issue   |
|-----------------|--|
| George Esenwein | states that '...the communists were determined to 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 antifascism'  |
| Gerald Brenan   | 'Stalin saw to it that the arms which he supplied... should secure the predominance of the Communist party'  |
| Raymond 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.<br>... the communists ... virtually controlled the destinies of the left camp' |
| Antony Beevor   | mentions that 'British hypocrisy pretending to be the international policeman while flagrantly turning a blind eye towards the way that the Germans and the Italians were helping Franco ... was far from even-handed'.  |

## **Section 11 – Britain: At War and Peace, 1938-1951**

### **Part A – Historical Issues**

#### **Question 81**

**Evidence that supports the view that unemployment was the main social and economic issue facing the British government by 1939:**

- the scale of unemployment acknowledging regional and sector disparity
- heavy industry in the north of England, south Wales and the west of Scotland was adversely affected because of the global economic downturn of the Depression years
- however, within depressed areas certain industries were thriving
- industries such as coal, iron and steel, textiles and shipbuilding were especially badly hit
- the ancillary services for these industries were affected by the decline of traditional industries
- the general effect of unemployment upon the pre-war economy
- the effect of the decline in British overseas trade resulting in a loss of jobs in Britain.

#### **Financial repercussions of unemployment**

- with high unemployment tax revenue was reduced and government spending on welfare increased. This became a serious political issue for the National Government
- arguably the government needed to expand the British economy to stimulate growth and in turn increase employment.

#### **Social effects of unemployment**

- high unemployment caused stagnation in social mobility; it allowed many to descend into poverty, especially those workers who were on or teetering around the breadline
- rents were sometimes not met and choices were made about the quantity, and quality of food bought
- an evaluation of how the unemployed were provided with an income and how they were incentivised to work by government and non-governmental organisations.

#### **Political responses to unemployment**

- example(s) of any political pressure which highlighted the effects of unemployment eg the 1936 Jarrow Hunger march
- high unemployment gave rise to political unrest. Riots and demonstrations by the unemployed were not uncommon in the industrialised heartlands of Britain
- this was at a time when countries such as Germany and Italy were mobilising their unemployed to complete government funded projects to improve their infrastructure, a route we didn't follow in Britain
- however, the UK avoided the social and political upheaval seen in some other countries. Extremist parties made little headway in the UK unlike other European countries most notably Germany and Italy.

**Evidence that does not support the view that unemployment was the main social and economic issue facing the British government by 1939:**

**Other domestic issues facing the National Government of the 1930s**

- the stifling effect of the class system in the 1930s which had a negative effect on social mobility
- the falling cost of living compared against the poor diet, and poor standard of living suffered by many
- unequal access to education. Although education was supposed to reflect a meritocratic philosophy, the reality was that intelligent children from the working class still found it difficult to access an academic education because there was still an element of payment needed. There were also issues with gender in our education system and the opportunities for girls to progress academically regardless of class were still limited
- at this time Britain's housing stock was mainly owned by private landlords. This housing was occupied in the main by the working class. Housing conditions were poor, rents were high and overcrowding was common. These conditions had an effect on the overall health of the urban population. Nevertheless, this government had planned on clearing these 'slums' to provide better housing for the working classes; however the economic downturn prevented them from committing fully to large capital projects like this.

**Increased employment opportunities for many**

- certain sectors of the economy were thriving, light engineering, plastics, chemicals and electrical engineering, motor vehicle and the aircraft industry
- within the Depressed areas those individuals employed outwith the heavy industries often fared well
- the banking sector including Building Societies grew providing mortgages for homeowners and employment for many in the financial sector
- white collar employment increased
- growth of national chain stores eg Woolworths and Boots the Chemist, which not only provided employment but also demonstrated that many people had more disposable income
- from 1937 onwards increased armaments production created employment
- many workers were forced to move home to find employment eg unemployed workers from Wales moved to Oxford to work in the car industry
- in general British agriculture did well in the 1930s.

**Government policies to boost the economy**

- the National Government introduced the Special Areas Act to attract light industries to distressed areas
- local councils built 500,000 council houses, which not only helped the housing shortage situation but also pumped money into the economy.

**Economic factors which stimulated the economy**

- interest rates were low during the 1930s which encouraged borrowing for both businesses and home owners
- Britain left the gold standard which reduced the cost of British exports and contributed to a fall in prices.

## **Health and Housing**

- the falling standard of living for many resulted in a poor diet for millions and subsequent decline in the population's health
- Britain's housing stock was mainly owned by private landlords, not council housing. This housing was occupied in the main by the working class. Housing conditions were often poor, rents were high and overcrowding was common. These conditions had effect on the overall health of the population
- rents were frequently not met and harsh choices were made about the quantity, and quality of food bought
- government slum clearance plans to provide better housing for the working classes were shelved due to poor economic conditions
- soup kitchens became common
- a government report in the mid-1930s estimated that around 25% of the UK's population existed on a subsistence diet
- child malnutrition, scurvy, rickets and tuberculosis existed.

## **Education**

- unequal access to education. Although education was supposed to reflect a meritocratic philosophy, the reality was that intelligent children from the working class still found it difficult to access an academic education because there was still an element of payment needed
- the stifling effect of the class system in the 1930s.

## **Increasing Prosperity for Many:**

### **Leisure**

- in general, family sizes fell which gave many more disposable income
- prices fell in the Depression, which meant more money for luxuries for those in employment
- there was a growth in leisure activities which indicates general higher disposable income
- the 1930s was a golden age for advertising and the cinema. The popularity of professional sport especially football, dance halls, and a thriving fashion industry aimed at the middle classes
- sales of ice-cream and confectionary increased during the 1930s (Mars Bar 1932, Milky Way 1935, Smarties 1937)
- improvements at work such as reduction in working hours, holidays with pay
- seaside holidays for many
- huge increase in car ownership but it was still not the norm
- television began in Britain in 1936 when the BBC began broadcasting.

### **Health and Housing**

- during the 1930s, for most people with a job, living standards rose significantly
- by 1939 about 27% of the population owned their own house
- three million new houses were built in the 1930s
- there was a 1200 per cent increase in homes with electricity
- more than half of all households had a radio by 1939
- hire-purchase allowed people to pay up luxury items
- vacuum cleaners and washing machines became more widespread
- a better diet and improved health for many
- free school milk was introduced after 1934.

| <b>Historians</b>          | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <b>Tony Mason</b>          | is critical of the unequal distribution of wealth in Britain at this time despite Britain's position as one of the richest countries in the world  |
| <b>Charles Loch Mowatt</b> | argued that Britain at this time was a divided nation. Mowatt argued that a national class consciousness emerged in the thirties brought about through literature and the threat from fascism in Spain   |
| <b>Martin Pugh</b>         | is critical of the National Government arguing that they could have done more to ease the plight of the unemployed. 'The timidity of the ministers was not due to the absence of alternative economic theories but to a failure of political will' |
| <b>Angus Calder</b>        | it was the best of times, it was the worst of times. It was a time of intense political activity for the few, and apathy for the many; of derelict shipyards and packed super-cinemas; of neglected farmland and pluperfect batting wickets.       |



## Question 82

**Evidence which supports the view that aircraft were the great menace for submarines:**

### **RAF Coastal Command and the U-boats**

- after initial limited success against the U-boats from 1942 onwards Coastal Command proved to be very successful against the U-boats
- Bomber Harris was finally persuaded to release more long-range aircraft for the purpose of attacking U-boats, instead of bombing U-boat pens and production facilities as he favoured
- by January 1943 Coastal Command had effective Long Range and Very Long Range aircraft in service including, Catalinas, Halifaxes, Liberators, Sunderlands and Wellingtons
- VLR aircraft forced U-boats to patrol in the mid-Atlantic which was further from their bases.
- Sunderland Flying Boats equipped with Leigh light (powerful searchlight) was developed for Coastal Command
- destruction of some U-boat bases by Bomber Command (although some bombing of U-boat bases was unsuccessful and resulted in the death of many French civilians)
- increased use of aircraft carriers provided convoys with air cover in the vulnerable mid-Atlantic Gap
- by the end of the war in Europe, air power had sunk more U-boats than surface vessels.

**Evidence which does not support the view that aircraft were the great menace for submarines:**

### **Allied technological improvements to counter the U-boats**

- the use of High Frequency Direction Finding equipment (Huff-Duff) on escort ships further improved U-boat detection on the convoys
- improved radio communication from ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore helped significantly in avoiding lurking U-boats
- ASV (air to surface radar) radar helped detect surfaced U-boats at a far greater distance and aircraft could be directed towards them speedily
- the deployment of VLR aircraft in the shape of Liberators with centimetric radar helped to close the mid-Atlantic gap and helped immensely in the detection of U-boats
- the development of the 'hedgehog' multiple mortar system, fired from the front of escort vessels instead of the rear as depth charges were, was a big improvement in U-boat destruction
- the 250 pound depth-charge introduced in 1941 was an improvement on the earlier anti-submarine bomb which was a failure.

### **The Convoy System**

- in 1939 the Admiralty believed that U-boats could be defeated by a combination of asdic and convoys. This faith proved to be misplaced
- corvettes, small warships of less than 1000 tons, were added to the convoys to help plug the gaps in the Royal Navy's escort capability
- although these ships were slow and not very well armed they did have considerable success against the U-boats
- convoy system was improved throughout the war.

### **Cracking the German Enigma Code**

- the capture of the Enigma Code machine in March 1941 was a vital breakthrough in intelligence and the resulting 'Ultra' intelligence gave the British a priceless advantage
- code-breakers at Bletchley Park worked throughout the war to keep their information current. With advance notice of where the U-boats were operating, the British were able to divert convoys away from where the wolf packs were operating
- a team of top mathematicians was recruited to work at Bletchley Park in the south of England and a bank of early computers was built to work out the Enigma's vast number of settings
- the Germans were convinced that Enigma output could not be broken, so they used the machine for all sorts of communications on the battlefield, at sea, in the sky and also within its secret services
- British described any intelligence gained from Enigma as 'Ultra', Ultra was top secret
- only a select few commanders were made aware of the full significance of Ultra, and used it sparingly to prevent the Germans from realising that their code had been broken.

### **Allied navies**

- allied occupation of Iceland gave Britain valuable Atlantic bases
- the Royal Navy received 50 old US warships in exchange for US access to British bases (Destroyers for Bases Agreement)
- the Royal Canadian Navy grew enormously and played a crucial role in convoy protection
- the US Navy took over convoy protection in the western Atlantic and their naval strength eventually wore down the U-boats in this theatre.

### **Allied Political decisions**

- the foundation of victory over the U-boats was laid at the Casablanca Conference, January 1943, when Churchill and Roosevelt agreed that the defeat of the U-boats was the Allies' top priority.

### **German errors**

- initially the Germans put their efforts into building large surface vessels with the intention of challenging the Royal Navy on the high seas, eg the Bismarck
- at the outbreak of war, the Germans had only 30 U-boats, too few to seriously disrupt British trade routes
- different models of German U-boats. Type V11 the most produced (700) U-boats and Type 1X, long-range U-boats
- Hitler overruled Admiral Karl Donitz and transferred U-boats to the Mediterranean in 1941
- arguably the U-boats should have been concentrated in the Atlantic to maximise their effect as Donitz wished.

### **The End of the Campaign**

- during the Battle of the Atlantic the Merchant Navy lost 30,000 men and approximately 3,000 ships
- U-boat losses increased dramatically throughout the war – 86 in 1942, 1943 and 249 in 1944
- the German navy lost a total of 783 U-boats and 28,000 sailors during the war.

| <b>Historians</b>             | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <b>Richard Overy</b>          | 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 |
| <b>Professor David Syrett</b> | stresses the huge importance of intelligence in winning the battle and in particular, the cracking of the Enigma code  |
| <b>Jim Lotz</b>               | Canadian historian, praises the enormous contribution of the Canadian Navy to ultimate victory   |
| <b>John Keegan</b>            | stresses the importance of the revamped convoy system as an integral part of the success against the U-boats.  |

### Question 83

#### The economy at the outbreak of war

- A brief explanation of the many shortcomings in the British economy at the outbreak of war.

#### Evidence which supports the view that the Lend-Lease programme prevented the collapse of the British economy:

##### Lend Lease played a crucial role in Britain's wartime economy

- Roosevelt instigated Lend Lease in March 1941, as Britain was running out of money
- Britain was the greatest recipient of Lend -Lease, \$27 billion worth of purchases during the war
- 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 USAAF
- in 1943-44 Lend Lease was supplying about one quarter of the armament received by British and Empire forces
- Lend Lease ended suddenly after the defeat of Japan which left Britain facing a 'financial Dunkirk' (Keynes)
- Britain had to pay for goods received after the defeat of Japan.

##### The Government's economic policies

- 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
- income tax was raised to 50% in 1941
- 1941 Budget promoted savings to prevent inflation
- 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 not resented too much
- food was subsidised, much of the money came from tax revenues from alcohol and cigarettes
- alcohol and cigarettes were not rationed but were heavily taxed to increase government revenue
- shortages of household goods such as furniture and clothing
- Ministry of Supply supplied the army, Ministry of Aircraft Production supplied the RAF, Admiralty supplied the Navy.

#### Evidence which does not support the view that the Lend-Lease programme prevented the collapse of the British economy:

##### Possible criticisms of the Government's economic policies

- 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 majority had to do without (However many people would not buy black market goods)
- the impact of the war on the balance of payments.

### **The workforce**

- Minister of Labour and National Service, Ernest Bevin, was responsible for organizing the nation's workers
- Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940 gave Bevin the authority to force individuals to do war work
- key workers were prevented from joining the armed forces to ensure war materials were produced
- trade unions reluctantly accepted dilution to ensure productivity
- Bevin consulted both unions and employers over policy to avoid industrial unrest, (although strikes did take place)
- 250,000 men and 90,000 women were directed into wartime industrial work
- however Industrial disputes continued throughout the war.

### **Agriculture**

- Women's Land Army – by the end of 1939, 17000 women had volunteered
- Land Girls worked very long hours/pay was poor
- 69% drop in meat output during the war
- Timber crops established in March 1942
- 'Dig for Victory' campaign
- Many conscientious objectors were forced to work on farms/in forestry.

### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

**Paul Addison,  
Angus Calder**

argue that the government's fiscal policies (even a 50% basic income tax rate) and the returns from indirect taxation and the sevenfold increase in personal savings would not be enough to finance the cost of the war

**Robert Mackay**

in the Test of War argues that Britain alone did not have the capital to finance the war

**Correlli Barnett**

Barnett's argues 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

**Mark Donnelly**

argues that it is easy to overlook the constructive role which the workforce played in the improvement of productivity.

## Question 84

**Evidence that supports the view that the Second World War produced significant social and economic improvements for women:**

- the view that the impact of the war on women's role in society was fundamental in changing their lives is central to Arthur Marwick's argument
- Marwick's view is that war work was emancipating, drew women, traditionally housebound, into the world of work, giving them a financial independence and an enhanced sense of their status in society
- during the war many women were employed in 'new to them' jobs and the range of jobs they were called upon to do eg work in shipbuilding, heavy engineering, munitions and on the land
- some employers even went as far as to increase wages for women to the level of men's in like-for-like non-skilled jobs and there was an increase in the female membership of trade unions
- psychologically, women may have developed an alternative view of their subordinate role within marriage after having coped with their enforced position as head of the household, main breadwinner, disciplinarian and family decision maker, in the absence of the male figure in the home. Spiralling divorce rates tend to reinforce this notion
- educational opportunities certainly opened up for all girls post-1945 and an increasing number of girls were attending university by the late fifties
- although equal pay was a long way off, the differentials had been eroded during the war and women were better paid for similar type work as men.

**Evidence that does not support the view that the Second World War produced significant social and economic improvements for women:**

- the number of women remaining in full-time work after the war fell significantly thus contradicting the notion that war work was an emancipating experience
- the marriage rate increased post (and during) war and the baby boom post war would seem to indicate a significant return to the pre-war notion of domesticity and motherhood as women's primary preoccupation
- Mass Observation surveys tend to reinforce the point of view that war work was seen as a temporary phenomenon and that women expected to return to their more traditional roles in society once the conflict ended
- in this respect, the Beveridge Report proved to be a socially conservative document in introducing Family Allowances as a 'reward' for child bearing and in making the retrieval of missed national insurance contributions for women, who took time out to have children, more difficult than for men who returned to work after a break
- the education reforms introduced through the 1944 Butler Education Act certainly reinforced the notion of training for motherhood as a substantial part of the education of those who failed the eleven plus test/qualy, IQ test, in Scotland
- trade union opposition to women members and to women in skilled occupations remained and whilst career opportunities for professional women expanded in the fifties, social norms still centred round a woman as a carer and housewife.

| Historians                        | Perspective on the issue  |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Harold L Smith                    | is dubious about any real lasting impact and in this respect he is partly supported by Penny Summerfield  |
| Arthur Marwick and Richard Titmus | Believe that the war had a profound social impact and that its effects were to be felt long after its conclusion  |
| Peter Hennessy                    | argues that women were more influenced by the community in which they lived with regards to their expectations of life and that the prevailing norm of the fifties was a return to domesticity and motherhood |
| Penny Summerfield                 | accepts that many women did have a different attitude toward marriage after the war but rejects the idea of war work encouraging a feminist dawn.   |

## Question 85

### Britain in 1945

- at the end of the Second World War much of Europe was in ruins. Britain considered the Empire and Commonwealth to be its future
- economic situation in Britain at the end of World War Two; eg much housing destroyed
- UK financially dependent on other countries, not paying for goods etc
- Labour still seeing Great Britain as a Great Power despite the poor economic outlook at the end of the war. Still wanting Britain to be a politically Great Power
- Britain was short of dollars – demand for USA products and dollars to pay for them, 'Desperate for Dollars'
- empire members produced high value goods that dollars would be paid
- high demand for rubber from Malaya
- high demand for cocoa from the Gold Coast
- the 'sterling area', which included the Empire, Commonwealth (the main exception was Canada) and some other countries, accounted for half of the world's trade in the early post-war year
- Britain squeezed the dollars out of the Empire
- Attlee and Bevin believed Britain's economic recovery and the survival of sterling as a great trading currency required closer integration with the old 'white' dominions, especially Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

### Labour and the British Empire

- had a complicated history with the Empire – anti colonialism stance from Labour's formation. Idea that Labour would work towards self-rule to eventual independence for the countries of the Empire
- Labour Party had close links with Indian Nationalist movements
- Labour took seriously the idea of the Commonwealth – moving from exploitative stance where Great Britain is the superior power to a sharing of resources
- Atlantic Charter, 1941 – a new world of self-determination (war not just about defeating Nazis, democracy and self-determination)
- ideological tension between the war aims and the Empire afterwards. Tension about what to do at the end of the war with the Empire
- Indonesia – Dutch owned initially then Japan took over. UK support the Dutch to take over. At odds with self-determination.

### The End of the Raj

- for most of the nineteenth century, India was ruled by the British. India was considered the 'Jewel in the Crown', of the British Empire
- many Tory MPs in Britain were against the whole idea of giving anything whatsoever to India in terms of self-government
- leading Indian figures had strong connections with the Labour Party, educated in England links with Fabian socialism
- showed weakness here. Walked away from the situation
- in 1943 Bengal was ravaged by a famine which claimed the lives of almost 3 million Indians. Churchill did nothing to alleviate the situation
- it has been claimed that the Bengal famine was caused by Britain's imperial policies.

## **India gains independence**

- Attlee appreciated that Britain had no option but to leave India
- the US was firmly against Britain continuing to govern India
- Attlee's appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the last Viceroy of India was arguably a very poor choice
- an Act of Parliament proposed a date for the transfer of power into Indian hands in June 1948, brought forward to August 1947 by Mountbatten. This left a great many issues and interests unresolved at the end of British rule
- mainly Hindu Congress Party led by Nehru wanted India to remain whole
- Muslim demands for a separate state, Muslim League led by Jinnah wanted to establish a Muslim country, Pakistan
- 'Day of Action', August 1946 communal violence broke out
- the India-Pakistan border was hurriedly drawn up by a British lawyer, Cyril Radcliffe, who had little knowledge of India and with the use of out-of-date maps and census materials
- public opinion – loss of India – not particularly concerned (not a traumatic experience). Very strong connections with India especially around Jute. These links continued anyway after Indian independence
- millions died during partition
- Gandhi was assassinated in 1948 by a Hindu extremist.

## **Palestine:**

### **Britain in Palestine**

- Palestine was ruled by the British under a League of Nations mandate after Turkey's defeat during the Great War
- the end of the Second World War brought many more European Jews to Palestine
- America was firmly behind the creation of the state of Israel
- Anglo-American Commission was established in 1945. The Commission was asked to consider the likely repercussions of issuing a further 100,000 Palestine entry certificates to displaced European Jews.

### **Britain leaves Palestine**

- British rule of Palestine was unsustainable, Britain didn't have the troops to maintain the peace between Jews and Arabs
- Britain lacked the funding nor political will to stay in Palestine
- US demanded that the state of Israel should be established and Britain, dependent on US loans, had to accept American demands
- in May 1948, the state of Israel was declared, fighting immediately broke out between Israel and its Arab neighbours but against the odds Israel survives.

### **Britain and the Middle East**

- Britain's strategic defence against the new Soviet threat required forward air bases from which to bomb Southern Russia – the industrial arsenal of the Soviet Union. That meant staying on in the Middle East even after the breakdown of British control in Palestine
- in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and the Gulf, the British were determined to hang on to their treaties and bases, including the vast Suez canal zone. They wanted help from Australia and hoped for Indian support against Soviet influence in Asia
- across the whole spectrum of party opinion, British leaders had no doubt that Britain must uphold its status as the third great power, and that it could only do so by maintaining its empire and the Commonwealth link
- Europe, by contrast, they saw as a zone of economic and political weakness. It was Britain's overseas assets that would help to defend it.



### **Britain's relationship with its Empire**

- in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Empire was very important to Britain. In 19<sup>th</sup> Century – not so much. By 1930s the Empire was very important to Britain 1930s/40s – peak of importance of Empire. After 1951 – the importance of the Empire declined rapidly
- limited spending of Empire countries, Britain wanted to decide what they bought. Britain exploited its dependant countries. All under anti-exploitation and anti-colonisation Labour.
- drive for independence in the 1950s. Empire countries unhappy. Recognition they had been exploited for dollars which Britain was desperate to get hold of
- USA's opinion on the British Empire – committed to Atlantic Charter, jointly established. UN – independent countries stance. USA traditionally liked to present themselves as anti-Empire but they wanted Britain to be a powerful country – didn't want to weaken its key ally Britain
- argument over Britain's policy. Anti-imperialist groups – communist (Indonesia etc)
- USA point of view. In principle, they are against European empires but if the people demanding independence are communist, the European rulers will receive US support.

### **Britain's changing attitude towards its Empire**

- increasingly Britain found it wasn't financially beneficial to have its Empire as Britain was having to help its Caribbean and African colonies to develop
- by the 1950s – debate over the economic value of the Empire
- possession of an Empire generated criticism and opposition. Was it morally wrong to possess an Empire?
- Harold Macmillan was responsible for an 'Empire audit' – which suggested that the Empire had little economic benefit for Britain
- 1950s – economically the Empire is increasingly less important to Britain. Her major trading partners the USA and increasingly Western Europe
- empire made up of mainly poor countries. Britain want sophisticated consumer durable goods – cars, fridges etc. Collectively Great Britain decided they wanted Italian, German and French products
- was Attlee's Government to blame for loss of the Empire, or would it have happened anyway? For example, the momentum of Indian Nationalism was too strong to halt
- Britain couldn't have hung on to the Empire even if Conservatives had been in power
- by the mid-1950s most Conservatives are less enthusiastic about the British Empire. Some like Churchill are pro Empire, but those views were in the minority.

#### **Historians**

#### **Perspective on the issue**

##### **Robert Pearce**

argues that the Government regarded Britain's economic weakness at the end of the war as merely temporary so saw little need to disengage the country from its traditional world role

##### **Martin Pugh**

after the loss of the Indian subcontinent, there was no sudden collapse of the Empire

##### **Correlli Barnett**

believes that the cost of the Empire far outweighed its financial benefits to Britain

##### **EH Carter and RAF Mears**

argues that the international climate of opinion hostile to empires was most important reason for decolonisation.

## Section 11 – Britain: At War and Peace, 1938-1951

### PART B – Historical Sources

#### Question 86

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.

| Aspect of Source A |   | Possible comment on the provenance of the source  |
|--------------------|---|---|
| Author             | Young girl recounting later in life her wartime experiences.                  | written by an individual who experienced evacuation therefore would be extremely knowledgeable about it   |
| Purpose            | To describe the different experiences one evacuee encountered during wartime. | her wartime experiences were mostly negative, although in her first billet she was evacuated with her sister to keep them happy. Her treatment in the second billet was clearly shocking and resulted in her going home early |
| Timing             | Written after the war was over.   | clear memory of the events surrounding her evacuation. Comment on the value of a memoir.  |

| Point identified in Source A  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|---|--|
| When we arrived, we were taken to the Town Hall -where people chose which children they would look after. | adults went to the Town Hall to choose the child(ren) they wished to take in       |
| He went home to ask his wife if she could have two children. She agreed, so he returned to collect us.    | if possible siblings were not separated  |
| When she caught me she locked me in a dark attic.   | some children were badly treated by hosts  |
| When the woman explained, my mum went mad. She took us straight away.                                     | an angry parent decided to take her children back home due to their mistreatment.  |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- it is estimated that between the end of June 1939 and the first week of September some 3,500,000 or 3,750,000 people moved from the areas thought vulnerable to those considered safe
- approximately two million people who were wealthy or had relatives in rural areas made private evacuation arrangements
- the system of evacuation was considered a success however there were shortcomings
- evacuees were often chosen by individuals for selfish reasons, 'Scenes reminiscent of a cross between an early Roman slave market and Selfridge's bargain basement ensued'
- there was evidence that some children were not treated as they had ought to have been with regard to their physical or emotional wellbeing, however this was not a common occurrence
- not only children, but those in the vulnerable categories such as mothers with children under school age, invalids and the blind were also eligible for evacuation
- whilst evacuees were taken from the major cities for their own safety a great number went home during the 'Phoney War' because the imminent bombing campaign by the Luftwaffe had not materialised
- overall the uptake of the evacuation scheme was less than 40%
- the Scottish system was fundamentally different from the English system
- in Scotland, the children were placed in family groups rather than their counterparts in England who were placed in school class groups. The consequence was Scottish children were less likely to be placed away from their siblings.

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

- Sir John Anderson, who was in charge of evacuation, divided the country into three areas, evacuation, neutral and reception areas
- around 500,000 Scots were eligible for the Government's evacuation scheme
- in Scotland 176,000 children were assembled. Within three days 120,000 were evacuated
- with the coming of the Blitz in 1940, many children were once again evacuated
- between September 1940 and December 1941, over 1,250,000 were helped by the government to leave the cities
- Glasgow evacuees typically went to Rothesay, Kintyre, Ayr, Dumfries or to rural Perthshire. If you were from Edinburgh, you were likely to be billeted in the Borders or the Highlands
- when many evacuees arrived at their destinations it was apparent from the start that urban and rural experiences of life were indeed in polar opposition. Suddenly rural communities were faced with children from socially deprived urban areas and they brought with them the maladies of the urban poor, such as lice, scabies, nits, rickets, tuberculosis and diphtheria
- in many studies bed wetting is also used as an indicator of social deprivation. However, we need to be sceptical of this because hosts were paid extra if their evacuees soiled their bedclothes. It has been suggested that records about this were easily falsified to gain extra income
- some evacuees also came with little in the way of clothing and some rural hosts could not believe how their poverty was reflected in their attire
- Government established a Children's Overseas Reception Board which arranged for children to be sent to USA, Canada and Australia
- overseas evacuation was stopped after the City of Bernares was sunk by a U -boat in September 1940 killing 73 children
- the education of many evacuees was disrupted as rural schools could not cope with the influx of children from the cities
- however, many evacuees had their school teachers with them and their schooling continued
- evacuees – Those who found it most difficult were those who came to Britain as refugees from Eastern Europe. Not only did they have to deal with suspicion because of increased xenophobia they were also unsure if they would see their parents or homeland ever again
- nevertheless, for some evacuees it was a grand adventure and the experience has been described as the best of times.

| <b>Historians</b>                     | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <b>John Macnicol</b>                  | suggests that far from pricking middle-class conscience and promoting social welfare reform, evacuation served only to reinforce existing class prejudice about feckless mothers and poor parenting and that what was required to solve the problems of verminous children was better parental education not a welfare system. Echoes of this argument certainly resounded round Whitehall  |
| <b>Richard Titmuss</b>                | believes that evacuation stirred the national conscience and produced important changes in social policies such as the 1944 Education Act   |
| <b>Angus Calder</b>                   | would look more to the impact of big government on people's lives, instilling the notion that what worked in wartime could certainly work in peace time   |
| <b>John Stewart and John Welshman</b> | however, have investigated a Scottish dimension to the attitude in which evacuees were received. In England, they blamed the structure of society or the socioeconomic status of the evacuee for their apparent poverty; absolving them of responsibility for their appearance or demeanour. However, Stewart and Welshman have indicated that in Scotland there was an element of blame laid at the door of the parents of evacuees who were poorly presented or who were perceived to have an attitude that was considered aggressive or anti-social. |

### Question 87

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

| Point identified in Source B   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|--|--|
| Only Winston could enlist Labour and Liberal support for the Government in the Commons and unite the nation in the moment of defeat.   | Churchill alone had the ability not only to form a Coalition Government but to unite the country behind him at this dangerous time |
| his choice of Ernest Bevin was brilliant and showed his acute political awareness and finesse.   | Churchill's inclusion of Ernie Bevin into the War Cabinet was an inspired choice   |
| Instead of the customary shilly-shallying the desks were cleared for action.   | no time was to be wasted, immediate action was now the norm  |
| The expression 'Britain's finest hour' was coined as his magnificent speeches in the Commons and his broadcasts galvanised the nation to fight in an all-out effort and, although there were only flimsy grounds for confidence, his obvious faith in final victory inspired the nation. | Churchill's memorable speeches convinced the British public that victory was possible.   |

#### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Churchill was a great orator with a charismatic personality. His inspiring speeches boosted the morale of the country
- Churchill led Britain to victory over Nazi Germany in 1945, an outcome which seemed very unlikely when he became Prime Minister in May 1940
- Churchill provided strong and decisive leadership skills at a time of national crisis; leading Britain when she was fighting Nazi Germany alone (June 1940 to June 1941)
- he had a single-minded pursuit of victory at all costs and he embodied the British spirit of resistance in the face of formidable odds
- Churchill made it clear that he had no intention of negotiating with Hitler in May/June 1940 despite the advice of other senior politicians. This galvanised the whole country
- Churchill established and led an effective coalition government for five years. His War Cabinet included important Labour politicians most notably Clement Attlee.

| Point identified in Source C   | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s) |
|--|--|
| That he was a great man cannot be doubted.   | clearly Churchill was an outstanding individual                                    |
| His flaws too were on the same heroic scale as the rest of the man.  | the errors made by Churchill's were also on a grand scale                          |
| Churchill was beginning to wonder what he had achieved by resting all his eggs in the basket of American help. | Churchill was questioning his own decision on relying so heavily on US help        |
| This attitude was already making Stalin suspicious of British intentions.                                      | Stalin mistrusted British actions.   |

**Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:**

- Churchill had an excessive ego and believed in his own manifest destiny
- Churchill was impulsive, so much so he had to be reined in by his closest advisors such as Sir Alan Brooke
- Churchill's reluctance to open a Second Front infuriated Stalin who accused Britain of being cowardly
- Churchill has been accused of having sold Britain out to the Americans
- Churchill's diminishing influence in the end-of-war conferences in which Stalin and Roosevelt dominated
- Churchill has been accused of being responsible for the decline of the British Empire
- as a result of Britain's debt and colonial decline her influence on the world political stage diminished. Churchill has been blamed by some for this state of affairs
- Churchill's energies were fully focused on winning the war. He had little desire to organise the Home Front, which he left to Labour coalition ministers. This neglect was a serious political error which consequently helped the Labour Party to win the 1945 General Election and to seize the initiative on the reconstruction debate and set the agenda for reform.

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

- Churchill had been a consistent opponent of appeasement and had recognised the threat which Hitler posed to the peace of Europe, making him the only credible prime minister after Chamberlain was forced to resign
- Churchill visited bombed areas and was visibly moved by the scale of destruction he witnessed. Churchill's empathy was well received by the British public
- Churchill had a military background with a firm grasp of military matters and was therefore eminently suitable to the post of Minister of Defence in addition to his position of Prime Minister
- Churchill's determination to win the war was demonstrated when he took the extremely difficult decision to attack the French navy at Oran/Mers El-Kebir, Algeria in July 1940 (Task force led by HMS Hood). This action was said to have impressed President Roosevelt as it demonstrated Churchill's determination to continue the fight against Nazi Germany
- Churchill was a skilled diplomat who improved Britain's chances of success such as securing Lend Lease from the USA
- Churchill's ability to persuade Roosevelt that the defeat of Germany was the first priority of the Allies after Pearl Harbour. Britain borrowed huge sums of money from the USA \$4.3 billion (£2.2 billion) at two per cent interest rate, a triumph for Churchill who had exerted considerable diplomatic pressure in his efforts to win the loan from the Americans
- it was Churchill's skill as a negotiator and diplomat which bound together the vital alliance of Britain, USA and USSR and forged victory in the war
- Churchill was often brusque. He had a poor relationship with Charles De Gaulle, leader of the Free French
- Churchill's military strategy was often misguided/wrong for instance in Norway, Greece and Italy. Arguably Churchill's decision to defend Greece helped to delay victory in North Africa by two years
- in Singapore, 130,000 Allied troops became prisoners of war. This defeat at the hands of the Japanese was the largest surrender in British military history and Churchill has been blamed for it
- Churchill was ultimately responsible for the actions of Bomber Command which laid waste many of Germany's cities even when it was clear that the Allies were close to victory, eg the controversial bombing of Dresden in February 1945 which caused huge loss of civilian life
- argument that Churchill made a serious military mistake in advocating the area bombing of Germany instead of giving adequate resources to Coastal Command to defeat the U-boats
- Churchill dismissed senior military officers if they did not agree with his military strategies. Were these dismissals justified on military grounds?
- Churchill's insistence on the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers at the Casablanca Conference prolonged the war claimed his critics
- Churchill was party, with Stalin, to the so called 'Naughty Document' (name given by Churchill) which decided the fate of several East European countries without any consultation.

| <b>Historians</b>         | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>Sir Martin Gilbert</b> | Churchill's official biographer. Has researched Churchill's actions from the huge amount of the primary source materials and written numerous books on Churchill. Pro Churchill  |
| <b>John Charmley</b>      | is a well-known critic of Churchill's wartime record. He believes that in winning the war Churchill betrayed his own core values of British independence, Empire, and his anti-socialism. He also argues that this betrayal was further shown when Churchill made Britain subservient to America; and that Halifax would have made a better Prime Minister |
| <b>Richard Lamb</b>       | is generally in support of Churchill. He does not attack Churchill's integrity but prefers to be critical about his strategic awareness. Lamb is not alone in his evaluation of Churchill's naivety in military matters  |
| <b>Stephen Roskill</b>    | criticises Churchill's use of the Air force to primarily bomb Germany rather than support the Navy during the Battle of the Atlantic.  |

## Question 88

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

| Point identified in Source D  | Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)   |
|---|--|
| All basic foodstuffs – grains, fats and meat – were in short supply.  | there was a widespread shortage of foodstuffs  |
| Bread rationing had been prolonged by shipping strikes in the USA which delayed delivery.   | bread rationing in the UK continued because of supply problems in America which slowed up delivery   |
| There was an additional drain on the country's resources because of the need to feed the population of occupied Germany.  | the British people could hardly feed themselves, let alone occupied Germany  |
| In early summer 1946 Attlee had been warned that coal reserves were dangerously low and that Shinwell's confidence in being able to meet winter demand was misplaced. | Attlee had been told that coal reserves were very low and that Shinwell's belief that there was sufficient coal to meet the winter demand was incorrect. |

### Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- the newly nationalised coal industry failed to produce enough coal reserves and Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power, hoped for a mild winter
- power stations ran out of coal, resulting in power cuts to both businesses and homes. Shinwell was blamed for the coal shortages
- imports were reduced to reduce the balance of payments deficit, this affected imported foodstuffs especially and cut the rations still in place after the war
- the winter of 1947 was one of the coldest of the twentieth century, with many areas of the country covered in snow from January to mid-March, blocking roads and railways
- towards the end of February 1947 there were also fears of a food shortage as supplies were cut off and vegetables were frozen into the ground.

### Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- radio broadcasts were limited, television services were suspended, some magazines were ordered to stop being published and newspapers were cut in size
- the winter had severe effects on British industries, causing the loss of around 10 per cent of the year's industrial production, 10 to 20 per cent of cereal and potato crops
- sheep farmers lost one quarter of their livestock
- mid-March brought warmer air to the country which thawed the snow lying on the ground. This snowmelt ran off the frozen ground straight into rivers and caused widespread flooding. More than 100,000 properties were affected and the Army and foreign aid agencies were forced to provide humanitarian aid
- the Labour Government began to lose popularity, which led to their losing seats to Conservative Party at the 1950 election
- Attlee's leadership was attacked, particularly the lack of direction in economic policy
- as early as November 1945, Cripps was being linked with austerity, Conservative jibe, 'Sir Austere Cripps'
- that winter is also cited as a factor in the devaluation of the pound from \$4.03 to \$2.80 in September 1949
- increased emigration from Britain, especially to Australia
- the 'black' market provided extra rations for those who could afford it/prepared to break the law
- 'spivs' became a common term, referring to the characters who could obtain anything, usually illegally



- domestic spending on social services was cut drastically and in 1948 the government introduced a wage freeze
- the TUC agreed to the wage freeze, but in so doing recognised that there would be strong opposition to this from the Left – in particular from the Communist Party which had grown rapidly in membership and influence during the war.

| <b>Historians</b>       | <b>Perspective on the issue</b>  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <b>Roger Eatwell</b>    | argues that Labour's devaluation of the £ was too high in the light of prices, and that 20% would have been a more sensible figure         |
| <b>Sidney Pollard</b>   | is critical of Labour's nationalisation programme and argues that nationalised industries were 'anomalies in a private enterprise economy' |
| <b>Correlli Barnett</b> | has criticised the Labour Governments for failing to intervene to modernise the economy  |
| <b>Robert Pearce</b>    | argues that as Attlee acknowledged that economics was not his field and he did not take the initiative in economics or financial affairs.  |

**[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]**