National Qualifications 2017

History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

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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 (e.g. 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

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will exhibit some but not all of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. Features described in one column may well appear in a response which overall falls more within another column(s). 'Historical interpretations' is the only criteria that should be thought of as a hurdle. The others are not. Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue and not penalise what may have been omitted. Remember, a candidate's arguments and evidence may differ substantially from the marks scheme, but the candidate should still be given whatever credit they deserve.

The grid below guides markers in placing responses within an overall likely mark range, and indicates how to 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						
		0-9	**10-12**	**13-14**	**15-17**	**18-19**	**20-22**	**23-25**
Marking criteria	**Structure**	No attempt to set out a structure for the essay.	An attempt to structure the essay, seen in at least one of the following:	The structure displays a basic organisation but this may be loose. This would refer to:	The structure is readily apparent with a competent presentation of the issues. This would include:	Clearly structured, perceptive, presentation of issues. This would be included in:	Well-defined structure displaying a very confident grasp of the demands of the question:	Structured so that the argument convincingly builds and develops throughout:
		No relevant functional introduction.	Relevant functional introduction.	Relevant functional introduction.	Relevant functional introduction with main interpretations.	Relevant introduction with main interpretations prioritised which looks at the debate and a suggested line of argument.	Relevant introduction with main interpretations prioritised which looks at the debate and a clear line of argument.	Relevant introduction with main interpretations prioritised and clear direction of debate and a clear line of argument.
		No separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.	Separate sections which relate to relevant factors.
		No conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue, bringing together the key issues.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue evaluating the key issues.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue based on synthesis and evaluation of key issues/ points.	Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue based on direct synthesis and evaluation of key issues/points.

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		Mark range						
Marking criteria	THOROUGHNESS/ 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.	Treatment of the issue shows little relevant knowledge. Some elements of the factual content and approach relate only very loosely to the issue.	Treatment of the issue shows sufficient knowledge which reflects a basic understanding of the issue. The factual content links to the issue. The approach relates to analysis.	Treatment of the issue shows an awareness of the width and depth of the knowledge required for a study of the issue. The factual content links to the issue. The approach relates to analysis and evaluation.	Treatment of the issue is based on a fair quantity of research, demonstrating width and depth of knowledge. Evidence is linked to points of analysis or evaluation.	Treatment of the issue is based on wide research and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge. Evidence is clearly linked to points of analysis or evaluation.	Treatment of the issue is clearly based on a wide range of serious reading and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge. Evidence clearly linked to points of analysis or evaluation.

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

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		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 some 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. 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. 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. 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 criterion.

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.

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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
  (contextualising in terms of the significance of the timing of the event, the authorship, the purpose)

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.

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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.

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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.

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SECTION 1 – Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 1

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine arguments on the extent to which there were regional differences in Iron Age society. The candidate could discuss the argument that there was a comparatively uniform, coherent Iron Age society or the view that there were significant regional divergences. The candidate should reach a conclusion on the validity of the view that there were regional differences in the Scottish Iron Age.

Points discussing degree to which there were regional differences

- Many studies have questioned the idea that a unified Iron Age existed, emphasising the often-considerable differences which existed between different parts of Scotland.
- Regional differences have long been recognised, between four provinces of the Scottish Iron Age (Piggott 1966).
- There are regional variations in settlement types, mortuary and ritual practices, as well as different styles and uses of material culture.
- Some regional variations are a factor of climate and geography, but some are due to distinct regional identities, hinting at different life ways and social institutions in adjacent areas.
- Notionally regional differences are evident between Atlantic Scotland, North East Scotland, South West Scotland and South East Scotland whilst Piggott identified Tyne-Forth, Clyde-Solway, Atlantic and North-East as regional areas.
- Ptolemy's much exploited map identified tribal areas, which could be seen as territorial and regional areas.
- Ptolemy's tribal names may mask deeper regional differences – with a cultural break between the Firths of Forth and Tay.
- Unique building styles in different parts/regions of Scotland - open villages and souterrains to the north, enclosed settlements and forts to the south.
- A potential difference between southern Celts and Caledonians neighbours – differences reflected in different response to Roman occupation.
- The most well established 'region' is that of the Atlantic Iron Age – coined by Piggott to include Northern and Western isles, Caithness, Sutherland through to Western Ross, Inverness-shire to Firth of Clyde.
- Argyll and Atlantic Scotland - Forts are more common occurrences in some areas (eg Argyll or Caithness) than others. Promontory locations are proportionately more common than in other parts of Scotland, extreme locations in some cases were utilised (eg narrow precipitous ridges, stacks). Enclosed settlements are in the minority, but occur in some areas, for example Atlantic roundhouses (brochs and duns) within enclosures on Inner Hebrides and Skye and West Highlands brochs associated with 'villages' on the Orkney Islands.
- The archetypal 'Atlantic' settlements were stone built round houses, duns, brochs and wheelhouses.
- Atlantic Scotland has a distinctive ceramic repertory and is reasonably well represented in terms of other domestic artefacts. The fact that the ceramic tradition in the Northern Isles is not the same as in the West testifies to regional autonomy of culture, but they stand together in contrast to the rest of mainland Scotland (D Harding).
- Southern Scotland - Forts and enclosed settlements are extensive across much of the region though a wide range of enclosure forms is present. The number of enclosed settlements

may have increased during the millennium as a result of population increase and settlement expansion consequent upon agricultural expansion "unenclosed settlements" were built over enclosing works from the last quarter of the millennium, although enclosed places continued to be used into at least the first quarter of the first millennium AD.

- Central and Eastern Scotland - Despite favourable topography, hillforts are few and far between in many parts of this area, a higher proportion of vitrified walls than other areas have been noted and there are fewer palisaded sites compared to South-East Scotland. There are concentrations of coastal promontory forts. Armit regarded the evidence of fewer forts and more unenclosed settlements as reflecting a more overtly ranked society than elsewhere in Scotland, though the opposite is arguable depending upon how the structure of society is modelled.

Points discussing the degree to which there was a single coherent Iron Age

- The belief that there was a single, coherent British Iron Age, with a distinct set of common features (specific settlement types, objects, ritual practices and forms of social organisation) has been extremely strong over the last eighty years or more (cf.Cunliffe 1991, 7-18).
- Archaeological distributions of site types and material culture do not equate with ethnically or culturally distinct population groups.
- Whilst there may be evidence of some regionality, circular round houses are uniformly found across the country and they are the main domestic settlement type.
- ScARF are dubious over the notion of regional difference beyond geography and question the justification for subsequent models of regionality - Hingley (1992) separated the Atlantic north and west from the rest of the country, while Harding (2004) used a division of southern, central/eastern, and Atlantic/Argyll in his synthesis of the data, and subsequently suggested a six-fold structure of southern, eastern, central Highlands, north mainland/Northern Isles, Western Isles/Skye/Wester Ross, and Argyll/Inner Hebrides. "None of these variants have seen sustained debate or justification."
- On one hand, some regional studies have confirmed the existence of regional patterns that to some extent sustain the notion of provinces, but, on the other, they have also revealed differences within these regions that blur their boundaries.
- Some archaeologists argue that there are local differences - Richard Feachem defined a series of local groups of monuments such as in Teviotdale, thirty out of the forty forts then known were elongated ridge forts.
- Other local sub-groups include the stone-walled hut-circles that overlie the forts of Roxburgh and Berwick in the eastern Borders, which contrast with those found within forts in Upper Tweeddale.
- Previous regional models suggested that crannogs could be taken as a characteristic site type of the south-west (Piggott 1966), but as surveys of the deep Highland lochs north of the Forth–Clyde line have demonstrated (Dixon 1982; Morrison 1985), lake settlements are much more widespread than had previously been documented, undermining regional model.

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Historians	Perspective on the issue
I Armit:	suggests that despite some unique types of artefacts and settlements, there was an underlying common heritage – a common "Celticness".
D Harding:	"there are certainly some regional distributions that can be distinguished archaeologically…to make a case for common cultural identity across the Iron Age would be misleading".
ScARF:	judges that Piggott's regional subdivision of the country is no longer to be regarded as satisfactory. Harding's tripartite division between the Borders and Southern Scotland/Central and Eastern Scotland/Argyll and Atlantic Scotland yet to be tested in detail.
T Darvill:	emphasises that there were three regional zones in Scotland, 'Enclosed homestead zone', Fortified Homestead zone and northern Hillfort zone and each zone was associated with regional pottery styles or conversely an aceramic existence – for early in the Fortified Homestead zone there is Hebridean Ware whilst in the Borders the ceramics are poor.

Question 2

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which Northern Britain had been conquered by the end of the Flavian occupation. The candidate would be expected to evaluate the extent to which Agricola and his predecessors were able to exert Roman control in the North. The response should reach a conclusion based on the weight of evidence and they should judge the validity of the view that the North was conquered by the end of the Flavian Occupation.

Points suggesting Northern Britain was conquered

- The Flavians conquered by force the Brigantes, Selgovae, Dumnonii and Vacomagi.
- The Flavians incorporated by alliance the Votadini and the Venicones.
- The Flavians were responsible for a 70% increase in the formal size of the province between 77AD and 83AD.
- The Flavians had conquered some 21,000km, including into Caledonia and the Great Glen.
- By the end of the Flavian occupation Britannia expanded across the Lowlands of Scotland, the Eastern Coastal zone of Scotland, from Fife to Aberdeenshire.
- New bases for control had been established – fleet bases on the Solway, Clyde, Tweed and Forth and Tay, legionary fortresses at Caerleon, Chester and Inchtuthill, new forts and fortlets, military roads.
- Rome was sufficiently well established to exploit natural minerals in Scotland – lead and zinc.
- The land had been circumnavigated.
- The Caledonians had lost the set piece battle of Mons Graupius in 83AD.
- Notionally, conquest was nigh on completion until Agricola, having won the alleged stunning victory at Mons Graupius, drew attention to himself, appearing now as a threat to the Emperor. From here he was duly recalled, his career stalled, early death at 56 years – speculatively poisoned on the order of Domitian.

Points suggesting Northern Britain was not conquered

- By 87AD all forts north of the Forth - Clyde isthmus were abandoned, including a legionary fortress.
- By 105AD the Flavians had pulled back to the Tyne-Solway isthmus.
- At no point did the Flavians' control extend over more than half of Scotland's land mass.
- Domitian had no choice but to withdraw troops and leave the North unconquered. Legio II Adiutrix was the only spare legion in the Empire, which was not actually devoted to holding down an established province but to conquering a new province.
- The Caledonians may have lost Mons Graupius but they 'won the war', albeit because Rome could not afford the forces.
- Neither the Flavians or in fact, Rome ever fully pacified Scotland.
- Upon withdrawing to the Stanegate, the garrisons were developed in this area, suggesting a need to defend Roman positions and roads from native forces.
- It was impossible to completely conquer a land with such decentralised political and social systems (M Millet).
- The Flavians were not responsible for any wars of spectacular conquest – neither in conquering Scotland or establishing a settled frontier across what E Luttwak calls "savage Scotland".

Historians	Perspective on the issue
P Coby:	emphasises that Agricola turned Northern Britain into an Integrated Imperial Province, with the habits of Roman life.
B Hoffman:	maintains that Tacitus was correct –maintaining that Britain was conquered and immediately let go – she regards this an accurate summation of Flavian involvement.
WS Hanson:	would argue that Rome's presence, including that of the Flavians was nothing more than a brief interlude with Northern Britain remaining unconquered and unscathed by Rome.
A Smyth:	argues that Rome tried to create an illusion of conquest, circumnavigating the island but in reality…no Roman general could claim to be master of Scotland.

Question 3

Aim of the question:

The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which the conversion of Northern Britain from paganism to Christianity was a pivotal moment, a turning point. Candidates would be expected to examine the extent to which conversion was a watershed or decisive period. Candidates would be expected to reach a conclusion about the extent to which conversion was a turning point.

Conversion was a turning point

- Understanding is thwarted by limited archaeological evidence – mainly carved stones, ruined and dilapidated buildings, building foundations and earthworks in western and northern Scotland, some crop marks in eastern and southern Scotland, and rare ecclesiastical artefacts - is supplemented by a small number of documentary sources (notably Adomán's *Life of Columba*) and scarcely tapped place-name potential.
- The introduction and evolution of Christianity in Scotland (from the late 5th century) lies at the heart of understanding society and settlement in early medieval Scotland – a pivotal point in early medieval Scotland.

Evidence to suggest conversion was a turning point socially and culturally - Christianity was a turning point because it developed a literate society

- Before Christianity there were one or two literacy stones such as that from Traprain Law, inscribed with ABC and a bit of D. By contrast Christianity brought a much greater degree of literacy.
- Conversion brought the Bible and the Psalter in Latin as well as scriptoria and libraries (both situated in monasteries).
- Monks were literate and the percentage of literate laymen in Dal Riata was the highest in Europe. Conversion directly facilitated literacy and the production of works such as the King lists, Annals, Lives of Saints and poetry.
- Literacy impacted upon society because to be able to read and write would be the passport to enlightenment and would bestow the reader and writer with special regard/status.
- The laity may have stuck with and used Oghams as their own written language.
- Literacy changed the way power was held and it may have made early medieval society more reliant on written laws rather than oral rules.

Christianity was a turning point as it transformed kingship and political structures

- Christianity impacted upon Kingship since it influenced how kings were chosen and inaugurated and ensured that kingship and nearness to God were inseparable and so early historic kings would have to sponsor ecclesiastical foundations, art and centres to secure closeness to God.
- The new Christian religion resulted in secular authorities relinquishing control of sacred beliefs and rites of passage, such as burial or inauguration, to emerging ecclesiastical authorities with which they developed a mature mutual dependency.
- Christianity and literacy gave nobles a new way of conveying status and sophistication. Being that literacy was restricted to a few – the Northumbrian kings, Irish, Pictish and Dal Riata nobles were taught to read and write which guaranteed the status & authority associated with being literate.
- The way that a king gained and exercised authority changed as a result of Christianity. One of the most obvious ways in which Christianity impacted upon kingship comes from the fact

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that Pictish Kings were ordained and inaugurated by religious figures (allegedly Aedán mac Gabráin was ordained king of Dalriada in 574 by Columba).
- Christianity bestowed kings with benefits and victories, which explains why Aeden's grandson met with a series of catastrophes ending in his own death because he breached the promise to remain faithful to Iona.
- Kings used Christianity to legitimise their reign and even to gain political stability, for example when Nechtan felt insecure in the North he wrote to Northumbria seeking advice on how to make the Pictish church fall in line with the Northumbrian church. Christianity was being used politically.
- Christianity also affected kings since they fell under the influence of saints' cults which they would wish to be associated with. In the course of the eighth century, the Church of the Picts in turn adopted a cult of Peter, probably in the reign of Nechtan, and a cult of Andrew, perhaps in the next important reign, of Óengus (729-61).
- Pictish kings should begin to see themselves as God-given patrons of the Church and ecclesiastical art, in the fashion of the Roman Christian Emperor Constantine.
- The adoption by Pictish kings of the cult of Constantine (with no less than four kings so called between 789 and 997) mirrors its growing popularity after c.750 in Western Europe, where the majesty of kingship and its nearness to God became increasingly intertwined.
- Christianity aided the creation of the kingdom of Scotland since all peoples: Angles, Scots, Picts and Britons had become Christian. They had a common belief system, common Christian values and this lessened their ethnic and linguistic differences. Scotland was nearly all Christian by 1000AD, a factor in making it a unified nation in some respects.

Christianity was a turning point as it facilitated an artistic revolution
- The introduction of Christianity led to the production of the beautiful illustrated Gospels and Psalters. The monasteries became phenomenal centres of production, creating stunning manuscripts & annals. Some suggest that the most beautiful Book of Kells was started in Iona.
- The Christian artistic style influenced the decoration on cross slabs, Celtic crosses, reliquaries, and metal work and on sarcophagi such as the Saint Andrews Sarcophagus. The Saint Andrew's Sarcophagus (Pictish) ranks amongst one of the high points of early medieval art. Dating to c.750 AD, it is one of the most accomplished pieces of Pictish sculpture to survive.
- Culturally Christianity plugged Northern Britain into a European network. The artistic depiction of the figures shows Mediterranean influence as in the Book of Kells and the Rothbury Cross in Northumberland.
- At larger Christian sites that have been excavated there is clear evidence for a wide range of different activities, eg the location of the monastic schoolhouse at Incharmarnock, or agricultural buildings at Hoddam and Portmahomack. Sites had an economic and technological function, whether vellum manufacture (unique so far to Portmahomack), fine metalworking, and smithying, tanning of leather or corn drying.

Evidence to suggest conversion was not a turning point

- The lack of tangible evidence for Christian churches can be used to argue that conversion was not a turning point, otherwise there would have been more obvious archaeological and literary evidence – either a low key turning point or rather, not a turning point.
- Conversion was not a decisive moment, as Christianity in the 4-8th century had not achieved the uniformity or social control that it would do in the later Middle Ages. Polities of the 4-8th century were fragmented and religion was fragmented.
- Laity would have remained illiterate.
- Laity would have stuck with Oghams.
- Laity would have continued with polytheism.
- Bede bemoans the Anglo-Saxons as half-hearted Christians – this criticism could be levelled at those further north.
- An organised and disciplined parish life which would regulate the beliefs and behaviour of the British people was still to mature.
- Conversion was not a turning point because the nature of conversion was piecemeal, fragmented and slow.
- Both the southern and northern Picts were slow to convert and thus the notion of a decisive moment is unrealistic.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
R Graham:	highlights the decisive role which Christianity played in uniting the separate Scottish kingdoms, arguing that once there was unity of religious form, three saints were able to unify a country of disparate tribes into an independent whole.
S Foster:	argues that with the advent of Christianity, the nature of kingship was redefined… the Church now interceded on behalf of a king and his people, and clerics began to play a prominent role in inauguration, but in practice some kings acquired saintly attributes and continued to be considered sacred in their own right, in death if not in life. Inauguration ceremonies were of both political and religious significance, since no king succeeded to his throne as a matter of course, and it helped to have the legitimisation which the Church could provide.
B Crawford:	highlights that we cannot claim to have certain contacts with Christianity before the ninth century in part of Pictland and when there is conversion there are inconsistencies, part conversions, conversion from paganism or conversion for a type of Christianity – undermines likelihood of pivotal period.
M Carver:	argues that Christianity in early medieval Scotland could be a set of private beliefs or a political programme but Christianity lacked uniformity across the land and so its impact was localised and inconsistent.

Question 4

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to analyse the origin of the Scots and to engage with the debate on their Irish origins in relation to the view that the Scots were indigenous to Northern Britain. Candidates would be expected to engage with the archaeological and literary evidence on both sides of the debate before reaching a conclusion on the origins of the Scots.

Scots were Irish

- Traditional historical accounts of the origin of the Scots states that the Scots founded the early kingdom of *Dal Riata* in western Scotland having migrated there from northeastern Antrim, Ireland. In the process they displaced a native Pictish or British people from an area roughly equivalent to modern Argyll.
- Present-day archaeological textbooks show a wave of invasive black arrows attacking the west coast of Britain from Ireland in the late 4th /5th centuries (eg Laing 1975).
- There can be little doubt that there has always been contact between the north of Ireland and Argyll from the Neolithic onwards. The 12 miles of sea between Kintyre and Antrim provides a link not a barrier in spite of some dangerous waters, and the early medieval documentation for Scotland makes it clear that seaborne movement was easier than land travel.
- The Irish Annals and Columba's *Life* are full of references to sea travel.
- Has been asserted that Argyll, once Pictish, was colonised by Dal Riata Scots from Co Antrim in Ireland.
- The Historian Bede believed the Picts gave Iona to St Columba, a prince of Dal Riata in Co Antrim.
- Long held view that in the post Roman era some of the settlers in Argyll established a new dynasty of kings, which ruled the people, who had migrated across the Irish Sea from the 3rd C AD.
- The assertion was that until the late 6th C AD the rulers of Dal Riata in Argyll still ruled their homeland in Co Antrim.
- Dal Riata, the Kingdom of the Scots, though they called themselves Goidil (Old Irish) = Gaels, was in Argyll.
- The king lists claim that the first king, Fergus Mor (and his sons) crossed from Co Antrim to Argyll about 500AD.
- The lack of archaeological evidence for emigration has led some to suggest that perhaps there was an elite takeover of the local ruling dynasty, rather than a mass migration of peoples, and that contact may have taken place over a longer time-scale than the conventional view (Foster 1995 13-14).

Scots were not from Ireland

- Leslie Alcock has looked at the archaeological evidence in detail, coming to the conclusion that *'The settlements show very little sign of the transportation of material culture to Dalriadic Scotland or to Dyfed'* (Alcock 1970: 65).
- Argyll does not have Irish types of artifacts and settlements, as it should if its people came from Ireland, eg no ring forts.
- No real archaeological evidence for a migration.
- Actually the people of Dal Riata in Argyll were indigenous to N Britain and shared a common language with their Gaelic neighbours across the Irish Sea.
- The people of Dal Riata in Argyll obviously knew they spoke the same language as the people of Ireland.
- Equally they knew they did not have the same language as their neighbours to the East, the Picts. They therefore naturally concluded they originated in Ireland.
- However Irish and Dal Riata brooches and dress pins are different.
- There are hundreds of Ogham pillars in Ireland: only two in Argyll.
- All the evidence points to a continuity of population in Argyll from the early Iron Age through to the Mediaeval period and away from a migration from Ireland.
- The Dal Riata people in Argyll thought they came from Ireland since they could speak to the people there and therefore invented a migration theory to fit this.
- They could not speak to the Picts or Britons whose languages had developed differently: the Highland massif was a barrier to travel and contact: the Irish Sea was not.
- When there was, for a time, not unnaturally, a joint rulership of Dal Riata in Argyll and Dal Riata in Co Antrim, an origin legend which showed a migration of kings from West to East helped the Argyll Dal Riata claim sovereignty over the Irish Dal Riata.
- However, king lists were compiled after the event and often to bolster dynastic claims: the genealogies in the Senchus Fer nAlban were re-written in the 10th C AD to incorporate the Fergus story.
- Bede cannot be relied upon so far as the origin of Dal Riata in Argyll is concerned.
- The characteristic settlement forms in Ireland are circular enclosures with earthen banks (raths) or stone walls (cashels), and artificial island dwellings (crannogs). Crannogs are found in Argyll, but unfortunately for proponents of an Irish origin for crannogs, dendrochronological dating has shown that Scottish crannogs have been constructed since the early Iron Age (Barber & Crone 1993), while Irish ones almost all date from after AD 600 (Baillie 1985; Lynn 1983), suggesting if anything an influence from Scotland to Ireland.
- The raths and cashels of Ireland are the characteristic early medieval settlement form, with over 30,000 recorded (Stout 1997). None, however, are known from Argyll.
- The characteristic settlement form in Argyll is the hilltop dun, a sub-circular stone walled roofed enclosure with features such as internal wall-stairs and intra-mural chambers (RCAHMS 1988: 31). Radiocarbon dates show that these have been built since the early Iron Age through to the late last millennium AD, and form a coherent area of distinctive settlement type in Argyll in contrast to the brochs, enclosures and forts of other areas of Scotland (Henderson 2000: figure 1). There is therefore no evidence of a change in the normal settlement type at any point in the 1st millennium AD and no basis for suggesting any significant population movement between Antrim and Argyll in the 1st millennium AD.
- The main form of brooch in 4th-6th century Ireland is the zoomorphic penannular brooch. These brooches are widely distributed in Ireland, but not one has been found in Argyll.
- The situation is similar with dress-pins, as one of the commonest types with over 40 examples in Ireland, the spiral-ringed ring-headed pin, was particularly common in the north (Campbell 1999:14. figure), but only one is known in Argyll.

- Conversely, the most common type of brooch in western British areas was the Type G3 penannular. A workshop for Type G3 was found at Dunadd in *Dal Riata* (Lane & Campbell 2000) and other Type G3 production sites have been found in Ireland, at Dooey, Donegal and Movnagh Lough, Meath. The Scottish examples date to the early and mid 7th century, while the Movnagh Lough metalworking phase is dated by dendrochronology to the early 8th century (Bradley 1993). Again, any cultural influence would appear to be in the opposite direction.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
E Campbell:	emphasis is on the view that if there was a mass migration from Ireland to Scotland, there should be some sign of this in the archaeological record, but there is none.
L Alcock:	concludes that if there was Irish dynastic takeover or population movement, the '*Scotti* came without luggage'.
S Foster:	argues that the distribution of prehistoric artefacts and similarities between the Scots and Irish monument types attests to a much longer tradition of contact, beginning in the Neolithic.
D Dumville:	suggests that 'stories of Dalriadic origins cannot be held worthy of acceptance as history'.

Question 5

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to enable the candidate to show their knowledge and understanding of the notion of "The Problem of the Picts". F Wainwright's publication, though written in the 1950s - remains one of the corner stones of Pictish studies. Divided into parts written by different respected authors it identifies the Picts as problematic on the basis of origin, language and cultural ethnicity. Candidates would be required to make a judgement as to the extent to which branding the Picts as problematic presents a distorted view of the Pictish society in early medieval Scotland. Candidates will be expected to refer to evidence, which either concurs with or challenges Wainwright's conclusion that the Picts were problematic.

Evidence that the "Problem of the Picts" presents a distorted view of the Picts

- There is no archaeological difficulty or problem in knowing what and where the Picts were since it was a particularly expressive period in Northern Britain – it just needs explaining.
- The problem with The Problem was that its exponents clung to the idea that a named people were mysterious and elusive.
- The Problem of the Picts, as liberating and inspiring, its title expresses an ideology that determines how we think about the Picts and therefore how we see them.
- Sally M. Foster lists six issues responsible for the evolution and sustenance of the so-called problem:
  1) Pictish symbols - The Pictish symbols, and their interpretation, while a source of controversy, provide information about the geographical distribution of the Picts and are indicators of a society which had surplus resources and stability to support craftsmen.
  2) Pictish language - On Pictish language Professor Nicolaisen says that for the purposes of his exploration of Pictish place-names the option that Pictish was a non-Celtic, non-Indo-European language will not be considered. In discussing the place-name element Pit-, he says it is agreed among scholars to mean piece, portion or share of land and is from a form of p-Celtic.
  3) Matrilineal succession - The issue of matrilineal succession is controversial. That fathers but no mothers' names are given in the Pictish king lists argues against matriliny. That the named fathers were not themselves kings argues against patriliny. It may be that the Picts practised another system of succession, tanistry, in which during the lifetime of a king, his successor was elected from close royal kindred. This system avoided the rule of a boy king in the case of the early death of the ruler.
  4) The Foul Hordes Paradigm (barbarism) - The Foul Hordes Paradigm can be dismissed. It was a convention of writers to describe their enemies as given to monstrous atrocities, ... the commonplace jibes of neighbours.
  5) The lack of Pictish documentary sources - That they are the least understood of the early historic nations of Scotland is debatable. Only one text can be claimed to be Pictish, the so-called king-lists, which give lengths of reigns. A list compiled in 724 may have been derived from notes kept in the margin of Easter tables. However, they were transcribed in the 14th century and obviously contain scribal errors and/or reflect later political interests. Although there is a lack of documentation on the Picts, there is a wealth of archaeological monuments and artefacts now established as Pictish.
  6) The Picts as a lost people - The Picts were not a lost people, their identity was subsumed and they became Scots, but it was the Dal Riata kingship that disappeared, not the Pictish one. Their form of land organisation was adopted (evidenced by the use of the Pit- place-name element), and St. Andrews, the head Church of Pictland, was not eclipsed.

- Most contemporary academics maintain that there is nothing uniquely mysterious or problematic about the Picts: they are a typical northwest European barbaric society, with wide connections and parallels not merely throughout Britain and Ireland, but across northern Europe and into hither Africa, and into the Mediterranean as well.

Evidence that the "Problem of the Picts" does not present a distorted view of the Picts

- Even if out-dated, the publication and notion of problematic Picts is still regarded as inspired for drawing together different disciplines and there are still problems in understanding the Picts due to what Carver calls, "preferred pasts and the mastiffs of entrenched academia".
- The publication sought to "clear the ground" for an improved understanding of the Picts.
- The five authors sought to argue that Pictish language has vanished; that no Pictish literature survived, that the "Gaelisication" of Pictland had gone far by 843AD; that Pictish archaeology can hardly be said to exist; that we cannot affix the label Pictish to a single dwelling or burial; that no artistic developments earlier than the mid seventh century can be ascribed to Pictland.
- Understanding the Picts remains difficult as Carver suggests, "we know less about the Picts than we did 50 years ago" due to a flurry of publications of diverging value.
- In recent times, however, a new orthodoxy has arisen, which argues that the perceived differences of the Picts from their neighbours is an error on the part of over-active scholarly minds and that the Picts were simply a normal 'Celtic' people, not dissimilar to neighbouring Celtic groups. This new viewpoint is criticised by some who believe that it too hastily sweeps aside the problems of the identity of the Picts, and fails to identify the crucial issues involved in the use of the name 'Pict' by a historic kingdom formed around the 6th century AD.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
S Foster:	talks of paradigm for perceiving Picts to be problematic and comments that most perceived issues are not atypical and are true for most early medieval Northern British peoples.
L Alcock:	although Alcock describes Frederick Wainwright's (1955) survey, expounded in The Problem of the Picts, as liberating and inspiring, he claims that its title also expresses an ideology, which determines how we think about the Picts and therefore how we see them.
J Wooding:	takes the view that a large part of the 'problem' is one of scholars' own making rather than a reality or because of any difficulty inherent in the subject.
I Armit:	suggests that the Picts were descendants of the Celtic speaking Iron Age tribes and whilst some archaeological remains, namely the symbol stones has given conscious physical expression to the concept of Pictishness, they are not problematic as life was lived in much the same way for all the respective dynasties in the north.

SECTION 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part B – Historical Issues

Question 6

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

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"artificial linear barriers were not strategically effective"	The strategic intentions of building a wall were misguided and didn't achieve Rome's strategy.
"external forces could mass at whatever point they chose, outnumber the local defenders and, thus, readily, breach the barrier"	The source highlights that the linear barriers could be easily overrun by attackers who made a concerted effort to breach one point.
"several forts were overrun and destroyed"	The source reveals that the Wall was ineffective and failed to sustain peace and stability.
"forts were moved onto the line of Hadrian's Wall during the course of its construction…."	The shortcoming of the Wall was that Rome's troops were better suited to meet aggressors in open land, able to move, rather than constricted by the Wall.

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

- Hadrian's Wall was not militarily successful as reflected in its intermittent occupation and abandonment.
- The length of the Wall meant that manpower was not always evenly distributed along the length of the Wall and so aggressors could identify and target 'weak spots' and break through the Wall, more so on the basis on the regular gateways.
- c.342AD, there were reports of trouble on the Wall involving Roman scouts. Roman forts in North Tynedale may have been burnt down and in 367AD, the Barbarian Conspiracy saw Picts, Irish and Scots, assisted by Saxon pirates from northern Europe, colluding to overrun the Wall.
- Rome preferred to meet her enemy in open combat, allowing her to concentrate on maintaining formation order and use war machines.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

Military limitations of Hadrian's Wall

- An inherent weakness of the Wall was that it was only as strong as fighting garrisons made it - once the Wall was punctured there was nothing left to hold an advancing army.
- Difficult to man adequately.
- Denied Rome the opportunity for open battle.
- 80 mile castles make the Wall permeable.
- Little convincing evidence of fighting or destruction of the Wall.
- It could function as an effective observation platform – providing intelligence on the movement of native tribes and pre-empting raiding parties.
- It would provide a secure base for any troops readying to advance north into the Scottish Lowlands.

Other evidence of counter argument

- 18 robust forts situated in the vicinity of the curtain wall – making fighting troops in reasonable proximity to any point of the Wall.
- Made good use of natural defensive features such as the Whin Sill, a volcanic outcrop forming a line of north facing crags.
- There were obstacles to the north and south of the Wall – v shaped trench to the north and vallum to the south.
- The monumentality of the Wall made it militarily strong - the scale of the Wall suggests it was not merely a customs barrier but a military response to a threat.
- Hadrian's Wall was not a military failure; it was only abandoned when the supporting legions could no longer justify their presence on the Wall in the face of greater threats on the Continent – possibly to support Constantine's field army in the 4th century.
- Arguably, linear barriers were expected to be breached and they functioned by slowing the advance.
- Hadrian's Wall may have been a success as the sheer vision of such a formidable linear barrier may have deterred attackers, prompting natives to retreat – daunted by a stone wall some 3.6m high.
- Natives could not have sustained a long term siege of the Wall as it would have been too great a logistical strain on their economy.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
B Stirling:	suggests that the Wall, if nothing else, bolstered Rome's deterrent capabilities.
I Ralston:	suggests military defence was clearly one of the Wall's prime functions, and it worked well proactively and reactively.
M Todd:	states that the Hadrianic frontier completed Rome's system of military control by the end of Hadrian's reign.
R Hingley:	suggests that the Wall should not be judged in military terms because it was designed to allow observation and monitoring of people much like the Israeli Separation Wall today – it also served to symbolise Roman identity and integrate soldiers from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Question 7

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

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

Aspect of the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Alcuin the Scholar	Alcuin was "the most learned man around". Educated in the cathedral school in York, whilst he was not actually a monk he lived his life as one. Based in the Carolingian Court, a learned and respected scholar.
Purpose	Letters to convey his horror and distress	To convey sympathy to the kingdom of Northumbria and the community of Lindisfarne following Viking raids – Lindisfarne was repeatedly attacked whilst Alcuin was in the Carolingian Court.
Timing	790s	Contemporary with the Viking incursions and able to convey the full horror and shock felt by Northern Britons, Northumbrians specifically.

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"never before has such terror appeared in Britain as we have now suffered from a pagan race, nor was it thought that such an inroad from the sea could be made"	The source emphasises the unprecedented horror of the Norse raids, launching surprise raids from the sea.
"the church of St. Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of all its ornaments"	The source indicates that the Vikings had no respect for Christian saints or the Christian church, desecrating Lindisfarne.
"What assurance is there for the churches of Britain, if St Cuthbert, with so great a number of saints, defends not its own"	The source reveals the ripple effect of the Viking attacks – unnerving the Christian community, given that if their most Sacred Saint's resting place is not safe, where is?
"else the sins of the inhabitants have called it upon them"	The source emphasises that contemporaries believed that the Norsemen have been sent by God to punish the sinful.

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

- The raid on Lindisfarne is seen to mark the beginning of the 'Viking era', causing great concern across the Christian west.
- Lindisfarne and St Cuthbert were central to the church – venerated saint and place. It was the base for Christian evangelising in the North of England.
- The Vikings consciously chose to attack the most sacred of places, defile and destroy holy places out of antipathy to Christianity. This was especially shocking as British Christians respected the property and places of the saints.
- The Vikings seemed to ominously confirm the words of the prophet Jeremiah, "out of the North shall an evil break forth upon the inhabitants of the land" – this convinced people that they were being punished for failing to observe Christian morals and teaching.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- 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.
- Between 795 and 806 Iona was raided three times, the monastery and community were laid waste, with the Vikings carrying off anything and everything they thought to be of value or use.
- Given that the surviving sources are almost entirely monastic in origin they emphasise the destruction which the Vikings wrought but for many areas, the Vikings meant the destruction of monastic life.
- Vikings receive a 'uniformly hostile press' since these unlettered men left no contemporary records to challenge those of the native analysts and chroniclers.
- Simeon of Durham, writing in the 12th century likened them to "stinging hornets" and "ravenous wolves".
- A buried hoard of silver objects from St Ninians' Isle date to c.800 and is thought to have been buried for safekeeping from the Norse attack which presumably claimed the owner's life.
- The Viking impact on the church diminished over time due to assimilation with the natives, such as the Picts in Orkney where intermarriage with native women is postulated.
- Viking religion was not intolerant or aggressive and it could adapt to make room for a Christian God, explaining why their impact on the church abated as they were exposed to conversion.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
A Smyth:	refers to monasteries as intellectual and spiritual powerhouses, emphasising the repercussions the Viking attacks had on these sites.
G Holmes:	confirms that there would have been a short-term period of disruption to monastic life and monastic workshops - a short lived but intensive disruption.
P Sawyer:	argues that in places the Vikings would have regenerated the church, convincing Christian men of their duty to defend the church against the Heathens.
Barbara Crawford, Beverley Ballin Smith:	suggests a Viking tolerance of the Christian church, minimising the Norse impact.

Question 8

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

Point in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"middle of the ninth century saw the Scots and the Picts who settled in the northern portions of Scotland, united under the sceptre of Kenneth, the son of Alpin"	The source states that Kenneth MacAlpin forged the union of the Scots and Picts, through his sceptre/sword.
"The advent of this union was long deferred…"	It had taken a long time to try to unify the two kingdoms and he was the one that achieved this.
"the blending took place by force upon the battlefield"	The source underlines that Kenneth forged union by fighting and destroying the Picts.
"From that bloody battlefield the Scots and Picts somehow emerged as one nation. One of the two thrones had been defeated."	The source indicates that following the defeat of the Picts in battle, Kenneth was able to create a new kingdom, Alba.

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"historians repeatedly maintained that the political order had been founded by Cináed mac Ailpín who conquered and destroyed the Picts"	The source highlights the traditional view that Kenneth MacAlpin defeated and destroyed the Picts.
"Such stories … included some device which enabled an important element of continuity to be presented"	The source offers other views on how the fusion between the two kingdoms could have happened.
"Nothing of the sort is apparent in this case, however, indeed, the annihilation of the Picts made the break unambiguously decisive"	The source emphasises that Kenneth's defeat of the Picts was the reason he was so easily able to create a new kingdom.
"the portrayal of Cináed as founder can readily be explained by the fact that his descendants monopolised the kingship"	The source highlights that Kenneth's descendants actively sought to create the myth of a unifying leader to give themselves authority and legitimacy.

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

- Kenneth allegedly battled the seven Pictish 'provincial' kings to eventually exploit a power vacuum and become king of Picts and Scots by 843AD.
- The 19th-century historian Charles Roger claimed a standing stone at Airthrey near Stirling marked the site of the 843AD battle, saying it was "believed that it was reared to commemorate the total defeat of the Picts by the Scots, under Kenneth MacAlpin, and which led to the destruction of the Pictish kingdom". He added: "It is beyond doubt that the battle which finally overthrew the Picts was fought in this vicinity."
- Alba was forged following the defeat of the Picts, whereby Pictish identity declined and a new national state and identity grew or developed.
- The perception that Kenneth MacAlpin conquered the Picts and created Alba arose in the centuries after his death, when the Chronicle of the Kings of Alba was compiled. The annalist wrote: So Kinadius son of Alpinus, first of the Scots, ruled this Pictland prosperously for 16 years. Pictland was named after the Picts, whom, as we have said, Kinadius destroyed. ... Two years before he came to Pictland, he had received the kingdom of Dál Riata.
- Traditional sources and contemporary academics suggest that Kenneth was a Pict by female descent (notionally his mother was a princess of the royal lines of the Picts) – thus presenting a pre-existing connection between conqueror and conquered.
- Since the Chronicle of the Kings of Alba was compiled much detail has evolved to bolster ideas of Kenneth's conquest but consensus now suggests that there was no conquest or annihilation – events such as the Treason may be wholly fabricated.
- The 'House of Alpin' ruled Pictland from the 840s through to 1034 with the death of Malcolm II and all these kings traced their descent to Kenneth MacAlpin, forging the notion that Kenneth's accession to the throne was the pivotal point in the creation of Alba.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- There is no compelling evidence that Kenneth either conquered the Picts or that he forged a United Kingdom.
- Kenneth and his descendants were keen to promote the view that Pictish identity did not disappear.
- It is likely that Kenneth saw no contradiction in being both a Pictish king and a royal Gael – duality need not be a problem for Kenneth, clearly seen to be acceptable for his son, Constantin.
- Giraldus Cambresis in *De Instructione Principus* recounts how a great banquet was held at Scone, and the Pictish King and his nobles were plied with drinks and became quite drunk. Once the Picts were drunk, the Scots allegedly pulled bolts from the benches, trapping the Picts in concealed earthen hollows under the benches; additionally, the traps were set with sharp blades, such that the falling Picts impaled themselves.
- *The Prophecy of St. Berchan* tells that *"...[Mac Alpin] plunged them in the pitted earth, sown with deadly blades..."*). Trapped and unable to defend themselves, the surviving Picts were then murdered from above and their bodies, clothes and ornaments "plundered."
- Modern historians would reject the myth of Kenneth conquering the Picts. A Woolf states, "it's about 1210, 1220 that that's first talked about. There's actually no hint at all that he was a Scot. ... If you look at contemporary sources there are four other Pictish kings after him. So he's the fifth last of the Pictish kings rather than the first Scottish king".
- Amongst contemporary historians there is an emerging consensus, namely, that the kingships of Gaels and Picts underwent a process of gradual fusion, starting with Kenneth, and rounded off in the reign of Constantine II.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
S Foster:	suggests that Kenneth has been credited with the foundation of the nation of Alba because he was the founder of the first Scottish royal dynasty.
D Turnock:	suggests that it was the pressure of the Vikings, which forged the creation of Alba under the Scottish king, Kenneth MacAlpin.
A Smyth:	stresses that Kenneth's conquest or annexation can no longer be viewed as a revolutionary development, he was not the first king of Picts and Scots.
D Broun:	points out that the Picts were very much in existence after Kenneth MacAlpin and it is only in 900 that we see the term Picti replaced with Alba.

SECTION 2 – Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 9

Aim of the question:

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about whether or not King Alexander III successfully negotiated the problems which arose during his adult reign. Candidates may examine other factors that could suggest that Alexander III was not successful.

Evidence that King Alexander was able to successfully negotiate the problems which arose during his reign

The Succession Crises

- Alexander called a parliament immediately after the death of his eldest son in 1284 to deal with the succession crisis which had arisen after the death of his first wife, in 1275, and his three children.
- Alexander was able to gain recognition from his political community for his infant granddaughter, Margaret Maid of Norway, as his heir-presumptive.
- Alexander immediately began the process of looking for a new wife, culminating in his marriage to Yolande of Dreux on 1 November 1285.
- Alexander's second wife was possibly pregnant when he died, which would have provided the kingdom with a new heir.

Conflict with Norway

- Alexander III was able to raise and lead an army to defend his realm when necessary, such as against the Norwegians (1261-1264).
- In 1263, the King was able to call upon a 'common army' to defend Scotland, including creating defences at ports throughout Scotland to defend his kingdom against potential Norwegian attacks.
- Alexander III controlled the situation over the Western Isles, negotiating with the Norwegians to create the Treaty of Perth (1266).

Relations with England

- Alexander was strong enough as king to ignore attempts by King Henry III of England to mediate between the Scots and the Norwegians in 1262.
- Alexander was able to press the English king for payment of outstanding dowry instalments for his wife (Margaret) in 1260.
- When a crisis arose in England in 1264, Alexander was able to resist efforts to engage him with the enemies of the English king, and instead aided Henry III.
- In 1272, he attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I. There he resisted demands to recognise English kingly rights over Scotland and only paid homage for his lands in England.
- Alexander III attended the English coronation in 1272 with 2 archbishops and 3 earls, to reflect his kingly status.
- In the later 1270s, Alexander stood up to the English over a dispute on the Anglo-Scottish border near Berwick.

Expanding the kingdom

- Alexander was able to maintain a body of household knights and sergeants for defence – similar numbers to those kept by the French and English kings, suggesting he had a similar status and was able to defend the kingship 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.
- Alexander was able to arbitrate between his noble factions. He prevented competition between nobles becoming feuds, eg John Comyn Lord of Badenoch against the Earl of Atholl in 1269.
- His personal lordship as king and his relationships with his magnates was vital for Alexander's control and expansion of the kingdom.
- Alexander was able to maintain strong links with Europe, such as marrying his eldest son, Prince Alexander, to the daughter of the Count of Flanders in November 1282, while his daughter, Princess Margaret, married King Eric II of Norway.

Evidence that King Alexander was not able to successfully negotiate the problems which arose during his reign

The Succession Crises

- Alexander's first wife, Margaret of England, had been dead for 9 years by the time Prince Alexander died. Had the king remarried earlier, this crisis might not have arisen.
- Alexander failed to establish detailed provisions for a minority, either for his infant granddaughter or for any new heir. Given the conflicts and problems which arose during his own minority, this was a substantial oversight and became a serious problem for the Scots from 1286.
- Alexander's second wife likely suffered a miscarriage soon after his death, leaving the kingdom with an infant, female monarch who lived in another country.
- Alexander failed to establish an alternative line of succession should he fail to provide a new heir and his heir-presumptive died. Given the young age of his granddaughter, this was another serious failing of the 1284 settlement.

Conflict with Norway

- Alexander relied on his magnates to push royal authority into the west.
- Alexander delegated his authority to his great lords at the fringes of his kingdom, enabling them to act semi-independently in expanding the kingdom. For example, he gave his Earls the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Wigtown and Dumbarton.
- Although Alexander regained the Western Isles, his control over the area remained largely nominal.
- The Treaty of Perth forced the Scots to pay the Norwegians a lump sum of 4,000 marks as well as an annuity of 100 marks. Issues over paying this money caused further tensions in future years.

Relations with England

- While Alexander did not acknowledge English overlordship in 1272, he did not completely solve the problem. Edward I was able to register the claim again in 1278. This left the issue open for Edward to resurrect in the future, such as after Alexander's death, when his kingdom was weakened by the absence of an adult monarch.
- Alexander's second marriage to Yolande of Dreux reduced English links with Scotland. This was possibly a deliberate move by the Scottish king, reflecting a less stable or peaceful relationship between the two countries than has previously been suggested.

Expanding the kingdom

- Alexander depended on the service of his nobility for war, taxation and enforcing his judgement. He only retained a handful of professional clerics – families of his magnates filled all other royal offices.
- Alexander's control of magnate factionalism was based upon his own personal control – it was not a lasting solution. Disputes were not solved and were able to resurface once a minority or void in the rule of a strong adult king arose, as it did in 1286.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Geoffrey Barrow:	Takes the view that the Scottish monarch had survived and considerably extended their dominion, and the country was obviously strong and stable.
Richard Oram:	Takes the view that Alexander brought the realm to the peak of its medieval prestige, power and prosperity, presiding over a United Kingdom.
Michael Brown:	Takes the view that while Alexander depended upon the support and cohesion of his lords during the Norwegian conflict, the Treaty of Perth was a personal victory for the king, adding land to his country and restoring the primacy of his lordship over his magnates.
Dauvit Broun:	Takes the view that by the early 1280s, the Scottish kingdom and country had become one and all its inhabitants were now Scots.

Question 10

Aim of the question:

The candidate is required to make a judgement about the role of William Wallace as a key figure in Scottish resistance from 1297.

Evidence that William Wallace was not that important in Scottish resistance from 1297

Wallace was not the main leader of Scottish resistance

- 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.
- Bruce possibly rose to claim the right of his family to the throne of Scotland.
- When Wallace rose up at Lanark, he did so under the knight, Richard of Lundie. Wallace was at best a co-leader or second-in-command during the attack on Hazelrig, sheriff of Lanark.
- After Lundie had changed sides and capitulated to Edward I at Irvine, Wallace joined up with William Douglas, knight and lord of Douglas to attack the English justiciar, William Ormsby, at Scone. Again, Wallace did not lead his men, but joined up with another knight – a more natural leader of Scottish resistance.
- With Douglas's capture at Berwick in July 1297, Wallace joined up with a third knight – Andrew Murray. Murray remained the outright leader due to his superior rank – his name leads on all surviving documents and he is believed to have supplied the tactics for the victory at Stirling Bridge due to his superior military training and experience over that of Wallace.
- Wallace only led the Scottish military and government after Murray died from wounds incurred at the Battle of Stirling Bridge.

Wallace was not that important in the Scottish resistance from 1297

- Wallace gathered together an army, but this was predominantly made up of outlaws rather than trained soldiers.
- Victory at Stirling Bridge was always likely to provoke Edward I into a personal response – and he was a more formidable enemy than Warenne and Cressingham.
- 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 7 years while Wallace looked 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 was an embarrassment for those who had capitulated to Edward I.

Evidence that William Wallace's role was vital in Scottish resistance from 1297

Wallace as the main leader of Scottish resistance from 1297

- 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.
- The Scottish political community knighted Wallace to ensure that he had sufficient status to act as Guardian.
- 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 important in the Scottish resistance from 1297

- Wallace was able to raise and lead a significant army from his base in the south-west of Scotland.
- 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.
- Wallace was prepared to continue fighting when more traditional leaders capitulated to Edward I in July 1297 at Irvine.
- Wallace co-led the Scots to an iconic victory against the English at Stirling Bridge.
- The victory at Stirling Bridge boosted Scots morale while highlighting that the Edwardian war machine was vulnerable.
- Wallace led the Scots as Guardian in the name of King John.
- 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 schiltron, hit and retreat tactics etc.
- Wallace began raiding into northern England to pressurise the English to abandon their claims to overlordship over Scotland.
- Wallace continued his resistance even after resigning the Guardianship – going abroad to seek aid and support from the French and the papacy.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Fiona Watson:	Takes the view that Wallace was likely in communication with the other rebellions led by the nobles and by Andrew Murray in the north.
Archie Duncan:	Takes the view that, like Murray, Wallace showed a determination to end English occupation wherever he could attack it with advantage.
Alexander Grant:	Takes the view that Wallace's modern image rests upon a mass of artificial constructs which would not exist if he had not been executed and transformed into a martyr by Edward I.
Andrew Fisher:	Takes the view that Wallace's calibre is displayed in his ability to wield his army of outlaws into a coherent and successful force able to defeat the English at Stirling.

Question 11

Aim of the question:

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate whether Bannockburn marked a turning point in the war between Scotland and England. In so doing they might also evaluate events in the war before and after this battle to decide whether this made any difference in the tactics or outcome of the conflict.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert's victory at Bannockburn was a turning point in the Anglo-Scottish war

Bruce's military tactics

- Having abandoned pitched battles after his defeats across 1306, King Robert proved he was prepared to use any technique necessary to defeat the English within Scotland.
- King Robert was able to use the battle to prove his military abilities over those of King Edward II and highlight his strength as the war continued.
- Although Bannockburn was a pitched battle, the fact that King Robert knew its particulars a year in advance meant he could prepare the land and employ his guerrilla tactics for the pitched battle.

Ireland

- Success at Bannockburn enabled King Robert to open a second front against the English in Ireland.
- The Scots were able to prevent the English using Ireland to gain supplies for the war against Scotland.
- King Robert was able to send his brother to fight in Ireland, eventually establishing him as High King of Ireland.

Raiding northern England

- King Robert was able to use his loyal lieutenants to increase the range, impetus and ambition of raids into northern England.
- By intensifying the use of an existing tactic, King Robert tried to force the English to recognise his position.
- King Robert's position in the north of England was so strong that he could extract large sums of money and even gain individual truces with local lords.
- Edward II was unable to counter Brucean raids after Bannockburn, and was instead forced to rely on truces to delay the war rather than end it (1318, 1319, 1321, 1323).

English strongholds in Scotland

- Victory at Bannockburn allowed the Scots to take Stirling from English control.
- In 1318, the Scots were able to re-take Berwick, removing all English strongholds from within Scotland.
- Even if the English were able to re-exert their influence over Scotland, after Bannockburn they no longer had any geographical control to act as a foundation for any re-conquest or occupation.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert's victory at Bannockburn was not a turning point in the Anglo-Scottish war

Bruce's military tactics

- Failure to capture Edward II at the end of Bannockburn meant King Robert had no serious leverage to force the English king to recognise Scottish independence and Robert's kingship.
- After Bannockburn, King Robert returned to guerrilla tactics, avoiding pitched battles against his enemies again, suggesting the situation in June 1314 was forced upon the Scottish king through the actions of his brother, rather than a policy choice designed to further his campaign for Scottish independence.

Ireland

- The attempt to open a second front overstretched the Scots, making their military less effective against the English.
- King Robert lost his last surviving brother (and heir), Edward, to the conflict in Ireland, weakening rather than strengthening his overall position.
- Events in Ireland made little or no difference to the Anglo-Scottish wars – the Scots were still unable to force the English to recognise their independence and the English remained unable to re-conquer Scotland.

Raiding northern England

- King Robert had employed the tactic of raiding northern England since 1310 – this was not a new tactic deployed due to the victory at Bannockburn.
- Edward II's failure to defend his northern territories against Scottish attacks had led to increasing problems for the king in England even before his failure at Bannockburn.

English strongholds in Scotland

- Between 1310 and 1314, King Robert and his forces had already been able to remove the majority of English influence within Scotland.
- Using guerrilla tactics including climbing walls and crossing moats, King Robert was able to push the English from Scottish strongholds including Dundee and Roxburgh.
- By 1314, King Robert had already reduced English influence within Scotland to only Stirling and Berwick – too small an influence for an English occupation of Scotland.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Aryeh Nusbacher:	Takes the view that the Battle of Bannockburn was not an especially significant battle as it did not help Bruce establish his Scottish kingdom, instead he continued his guerrilla campaign for the rest of his life.
Michael Brown:	Takes the view that major clashes which could be regarded as decisive were unusual in the medieval period.
Michael Prestwich:	Takes the view that even after Bannockburn, Edward II was not prepared to concede Bruce's right to the Scottish throne.
John Sadler:	Takes the view that Bannockburn was a disaster for both the English army and the northern counties as it permitted Bruce to pursue a more aggressive strategy, taking the war far beyond the borders of Scotland.

Question 12

Aim of the question:

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the extent to which the actions of King Robert while governing Scotland reflect a need to overcome his status as a usurper. Candidates may examine the king's parliamentary business, his dealings with the enemy and international relations to determine whether Robert's position was strong enough to overcome the disadvantageous start to his reign.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert's actions governing Scotland can all be seen as his attempts to overcome his status as a 'usurper king'

Parliaments

- King Robert used parliaments to repeatedly make tailzies – securing his successor(s) to maintain the Bruce dynasty.
- Robert moved the succession away from his daughter to ensure the succession of an adult male (his brother Edward) – a more useful leader to defend their new dynasty during times of war.
- In 1318, Robert was forced to issues statutes against 'rumours' – likely as those who continued to see him as a usurper of the Balliol throne threatened his reign.
- Robert could not gain the support of all Scots and was forced to create the 'Disinherited' in 1314 – exiling those who still believed he was a usurper king.
- King Robert was forced to hand out large tracts of land to buy support from Scots who had previously opposed his rule as illegitimate.

Attempted rebellions

- Several signatures to the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), supporting Robert as King, went on to participate in or organise the Soules Conspiracy within months.
- The Soules Conspiracy sought to kill King Robert, replacing him with Edward Balliol or William de Soules.
- King Robert had to deal harshly with the Soules conspirators at his Black Parliament (1320) – hanging and imprisoning their leaders – to try to secure his regime.
- Many of the Disinherited retained ties with those who remained in Scotland and viewed the removal of Robert for Edward Balliol as their most pragmatic method of regaining their lands in Scotland.
- By 1320, many Scots were unhappy with continued warfare and saw Robert as the obstacle to securing peace, which they felt Balliol could do as a legitimate king.

Relations with the Papacy

- Continually ignoring papal letters addressed to 'the lord Robert' rather than King undermined Robert's position internationally.
- 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.
- Having been excommunicated in 1306, the Pope re-excommunicated Robert in 1318 along with his key supporters, Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, placing Scotland under an interdict for following Robert as their king.

Relations with England

- King Robert was forced to accept truces with Edward II of England as he was incapable of forcing the English king to recognise his kingship.
- The English king was able to exploit the insecurity of Robert's position in Scotland to offer truces such as that of May 1319 when he promised Robert life and peace if he recognised Edward's overlordship over Scotland.
- In 1318, Edward II welcomed Edward Balliol, son of the late Scottish king, into England and Balliol served the English king in Berwick in 1319 to further undermine King Robert's status.

Evidence which suggests that King Robert's actions governing Scotland cannot all be seen as his attempts to overcome his status as a 'usurper king'

Establishing royal authority

- King Robert was able to restore, strengthen and extend royal parliaments, justice etc to re-establish royal authority after the confusion of years of warfare.
- Over 50 of King Robert's acts linked his rule to that of Alexander III – enabling him to claim the full traditional powers of the old royal dynasty for his own rule.
- Robert pursued the full territorial interests of King Alexander, including his recovery of the Isle of Man in the 1320s, highlighting his strength and effectiveness as king.
- King Robert was able to settle the inevitable disputes which arose in the regions, such as the conflict between the Earl of Ross and Andrew Moray.
- King Robert recognised that sheriffs were crucial agents of local royal government and increased the landed resources of each to strengthen their overall power.
- King Robert was able to effectively revive royal administration, including the roles of chamberlain, justiciar etc.

Support for King Robert

- The Soules Conspiracy (1320) was the only known attempt to overthrow King Robert after 1309.
- In 1320, two lords newly converted to support King Robert informed him of the Soules plot – Earl Patrick of Dunbar and Murdoch Menteith. They decided to side with the Scottish king over the rebels.
- King Robert was able to increase his support by rewarding loyalty. For example, Menteith gained an earldom for his part in informing the king of the Soules plot.
- Victory at Bannockburn proved the king's military genius to his country and gained him further support as their leader.
- King Robert redistributed land and rights across the country on a scale unparalleled in late medieval Scotland.
- Redistributing land was not simply paying political debts – King Robert restructured his nobility, promoting men and women who were loyal and capable so that they had a vested interest in maintaining and securing the Bruce kingship, regardless of its origins.
- King Robert ensured that the return of Edward Balliol and the Disinherited would threaten his political community as much as his own kingship.

Support for Edward Balliol

- Most Scots realised that the restoration of a Balliol king would have meant accepting English overlordship, which was unacceptable for the majority.
- Although Edward II allowed Edward Balliol into England, he did not provide English aid or an army to put Balliol onto the Scottish throne.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard Oram:	Takes the view that Bruce had to grant out huge amounts of lands, money and offices to ensure he had loyal supporters in all corners of Scotland.
GWS Barrow:	Emphasises the fact that with Bannockburn, King Robert had attained a position of unshakeable authority and vindicated his claim to the Scottish throne.
Michael Penman:	Takes the view that the Soules plot was a significant blip in Bruce's assertion of royal authority as they had the potential to destabilise Robert's control.
Roland Tanner:	Takes the view that Bruce was willing to repeatedly and blatantly falsify names on his parliamentary records to make his support look respectable.

Question 13

Aim of the question:

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate whether the actions of Edward Balliol after 1329 were the most disruptive to the newly created peace settlement between Scotland and England. Candidates may examine different factors which suggest that others were more disruptive in the period to 1334.

Evidence which suggests that Edward Balliol was the most important factor in the disruption of the peace between Scotland and England after 1329

The influence of Edward Balliol

- Edward Balliol returned to England in 1331, providing leadership and a focus for those who wished to oppose the rule of David Bruce.
- Many Scots felt an adult ruler such as Edward Balliol was more appealing than that of the infant David Bruce.
- Edward Balliol assembled a small army and fleet to attack Scotland.
- Edward fought and defeated the Scots at Dupplin Moor (1332). The Scottish leaders were all killed and many were trapped in the crush, leading to high casualty figures among the Scots.
- Many who had previously supported David Bruce switched sides to support Edward Balliol after Dupplin Moor, including the Earls of Fife and Strathearn.
- Edward Balliol was crowned king of Scots on 24 September 1332.
- Following victory at Halidon Hill (1333), Edward Balliol was restored to the Scottish throne.
- Edward Balliol held a parliament at Perth in October 1333 where he reinstated the Disinherited to their former lands.
- After Halidon Hill, Edward Balliol gave homage to Edward III for Scotland, recognising English overlordship and ceding Lothian to the English king.

Evidence which suggests that other factors were more important in the disruption of the peace between Scotland and England after 1329

Divisions within the Bruce camp

- The Guardians established by King Robert to govern for his infant son were all elderly when the king died in 1329, weakening their influence.
- Many of the group who had surrounded and supported King Robert died within a few years of him, leaving a power vacuum.
- Thomas Randolph died in July 1332; James Douglas died in Spain in 1330.
- The next Guardian appointed for David Bruce was Donald Earl of Mar. However, he was an ex-Balliol supporter.
- Mar's elevation to Guardian caused divisions within the Bruce camp, with Mar accused of treason by Robert Bruce of Liddesdale.
- The Scots went through a variety of Guardians for David Bruce, including Andrew Murray, Archibald Douglas and then Robert Stewart.
- In the disarray after their defeat at Halidon Hill, the Scots sent David Bruce and his Queen to France for safety.

The Disinherited

- Exiled by King Robert from 1314, the Disinherited wanted to oust David Bruce for Edward Balliol in order to regain their lost lands and power in Scotland.
- The Disinherited formed a significant power base outside of Scotland.
- The Disinherited retained significant links to those who had remained within Scotland.
- Some of the Disinherited were willing to accept English overlordship in order to remove the Bruce family from power and regain their lands.
- The Disinherited included some significant figures, such as David Strathbogie (claimant to Atholl and Badenoch) and the Mowbray family.
- Other significant Anglo-Scottish families were part of the Disinherited, including the Umfravilles, the Ferrars, Gilbert Talbot (who had married the Comyn heiress) and Henry Beaumont (a French lord whose wife was Alice Comyn, heiress to Buchan).
- In 1332 they began military preparations to invade Scotland despite Edward III of England's refusal to give them open support.

Edward III

- Edward III viewed the peace treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton (1328) as a humiliation created by his mother and her lover.
- Edward III refused to support the peace, not even attending the marriage of his sister, Joan, to David Bruce on 24 November 1331, which had been one of the terms of the 1328 treaty designed to create lasting peace between the two countries.
- Edward III sought to invoke English overlordship of Scotland in a manner similar to his grandfather, Edward I.
- Edward III was prepared to use Edward Balliol as a pawn to control Scotland.
- Edward Balliol offered Edward III of England homage for the kingdom of Scotland in November 1332 in return for military aid.
- In March 1333, Edward III launched attacks into Scotland.
- 9 May 1333, Edward III personally joined Edward Balliol in Scotland.
- Edward III beat the Scots at the Battle of Halidon Hill (1333), leaving the natural Scottish leaders dead or in hiding.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Michael Penman:	Takes the view that after an initial period of calm, the death of Randolph threw the Bruce Scots into disarray and, left without any natural leaders, disputes quickly arose.
Amanda Beam:	Takes the view that Edward Balliol needed the support of the Disinherited and the English king in order to press his claim to Scotland.
Michael Brown:	Takes the view that the Disinherited saw their opportunity in the early 1330s to launch a war to win back their rights.
Peter Traquair:	Takes the view that Edward Balliol was aware that he was indebted to Edward III for winning back Scotland, and that he would need English help to hold it.

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 in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"when, in 1249, Durward sought to formalise his position as head of government during the minority by knighting the young Alexander before he was enthroned as Alexander III, it was not only the Comyns who objected."	Durward tried to use the minority of Alexander III to advance his own position. However, his main enemy, the Comyns, objected to his attempts.
"It seems that the Scottish nobility by the mid-thirteenth century were already well entrenched and less than welcoming of forceful aspirants to that elite."	The entire Scottish political community did not like the idea of social mobility, or the idea that Durward might use the minority to join the upper levels of society.
"From 1249 to 1251 it is clear that the Durwards had insufficient support to control the country."	The Durwards did not have enough support across the country to maintain their government on behalf of the young Alexander.
"a joint magnate/clergy invitation to Henry III which led to a change of government in 1251, with the Comyns gaining control."	In 1251, the Scottish magnates and clergy asked Henry III for help replacing the Durward government with one led by the Comyns.

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

- The unexpected death of the late Alexander II meant that no provisions had been established for the future of the young king or to set up suitable Guardians for his minority.
- The young age of Alexander III meant the country would face a very long minority.
- The Scots faced internal divisions over who their young king should marry, as well as whether he needed to be knighted before his coronation.
- Alan Durward tried to use the king's great seal to legitimise his wife (the king's illegitimate sister) so that she would be Alexander III's heir.
- The Scots believed that the support of the English king, Henry III, helped bring stability.

Point in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
[Henry III's] … "fatherly concern for the children went hand in hand with direct interference in Scottish affairs."	Henry III interfered in Scottish affairs through his position as the king's father-in-law.
"The magnates of Scotland were split into two factions … between those who received his support and stood for English influence and those … who opposed him and tried to remove the young king from his tutelage [guidance]."	The Scottish nobility divided between those who opposed English interference in Scotland and those who gained from Henry III's actions and therefore supported them.
"Durward's party gained the upper hand in 1255 by a coup in which they captured the king in Edinburgh castle and hauled him away to Roxburgh."	Durward kidnapped King Alexander from Edinburgh Castle and took him to Roxburgh.
"… the Comyns and other objectionable lords were to be removed from the king's council."	Durward controlled the government while they had possession of the young king, so they removed the Comyns from positions of power.

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

- Henry III used the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Alexander III as an excuse to get Englishmen into the Scottish government, including Robert de Ros, lord of Wark, Helmsley and Sanquhar, and John de Balliol.
- Some Scots believed that Henry III rescued his son-in-law and daughter from near imprisonment in 1255.
- Durward was able to gain English support against the Comyns in 1255 after he had travelled to Gascony to serve with the English king. Gaining Henry's trust ensured English aid for a counter-coup.
- The 1255 government was a council of 15 – highlighting that Durward had less support in Scotland than Comyn had enjoyed 1251-55.
- Durward was unable to gain control of the earldom of Mar or prevent the consecration of Gamelin – the Comyn's chancellor – as Bishop of St Andrews.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- The English king attempted to exploit the wedding celebrations of Alexander III and Margaret of England to extract homage from the young Scottish king for English overlordship over Scotland.
- Before sending Alexander to England for his marriage, the Scottish nobility trained their young king to rebuff English attempts at overlordship without causing offence.
- In 1257, the Comyns led another counter-coup against the Durward government.
- The increasingly violent tactics of the nobility during Alexander's minority was a threat to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom.
- In 1258, Alexander III asked Henry III for a deputation to a parliament at Stirling, possibly aiming to bring the two factions of his nobility together.
- Henry III was unable to aid his son-in-law from 1258 onwards due to increasing problems within England.
- Alexander III created a compromise government, with Durward and Comyn representatives on his council.
- In 1259, Alexander III started to take personal control of his government.

- By 1260, the young king was in full command of his kingdom.
- Traditionally it was believed that the personal rule of Alexander III ended factionalism amongst the Scottish nobility. However, many historians have come to believe that Comyn dominance continued after 1260.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
D E R Watt:	Takes the view that the minority raised serious constitutional and political problems.
Michael Brown:	Takes the view that although the rapid shifts in power were driven by the antagonisms of Scottish politics, the interventions of the English king increased the instability.
Archie Duncan:	Takes the view that Henry III intervened only as a neighbour and concerned father-in-law, not through lordship.
Norman Reid:	Takes the view that traditional references to the Durwards as 'pro-English' and the Comyns as 'anti-English' are no longer valid.

Question 15

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

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

Aspect of the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Written in the name of the King of France	Written by well-educated French clerics, who would have been present at negotiations for the Scoto-French treaty. They wrote to the Scottish king and parliament, negotiating between the monarchs concerning their mutual enemy, England.
Purpose	A letter	Detailing the formal terms of the French offer which the Scots noted before making their response.
Timing	23 February 1296	From the final year of King John's reign, before the invasion of Scotland by King Edward I of England but after the Scots had refused to attend the English muster and their subsequent rebellion against English overlordship.

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"[John] … sent to us … his emissaries [ambassadors], specially appointed to agree alliances and bonds of friendship for the future."	King John sent an embassy to the King of France to negotiate an alliance between the two countries.
"… a marriage should be contracted between Edward, the firstborn son of the said king and Jeanne the firstborn daughter of our brother [Charles count of Valois and Anjou]."	Part of the agreement was a marriage contract between the Scottish king's son, Edward, and the French king's niece, Jeanne.
"… he [John] should publicly and openly assist us and our successors if a war occurs against England"	As part of the treaty, the Scots agreed to help the French in any war against England.
"We shall also not be able to settle our aforesaid war or enter into peace or truce unless the Scots are included in the peace or truce."	In return, the French promised not to negotiate a truce or peace with the king of England without including the Scots within those negotiations.

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

- Arguably, some historians believe the Scottish political community took power away from John through the Council of 12, who then arranged the Auld Alliance with France.
- By allying with England's enemy, the Scots disobeyed their overlord and risked 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 prepare for likely war against England.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- At the English parliament at Westminster in September 1293 regarding the MacDuff case, John tried to argue 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, the Scots sought absolution from the Pope for promises made to Edward, which they 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.
- The Scots decided to resist Edward I despite the English king's order that English lands belonging to the rebels would be seized if John failed to appear at his next parliament.
- The Scots ignored final summons to meet Edward I at Newcastle in early March 1296.
- John renounced his homage to Edward I by letter.
- The Scots tried to forestall Edward I by raiding northern England.
- The Scots refused to surrender before Edward sacked Berwick.
- Despite the destruction of Berwick, the Scots continued to resist, gathering to meet Edward at Dunbar.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
GWS Barrow:	Takes the view that John's attempts to resist Edward were likely the result of occasional pressure from more forceful councillors, as John was personally weak.
Fiona Watson:	Emphasises the fact that their limited attempts at rebellion against Edward was due to the threat of war as a consequence.
Michael Prestwich:	Takes the view that the Scots had not anticipated Edward's summons for military service, and their response was to remove power from John in favour of the Council of Twelve, who made the treaty with France.
Amanda Beam:	Takes the view that John did attempt to exert some authority as king, including refusing to attend parliament in 1293 or send attorneys to his defence.

Question 16

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

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"… it was King Robert's particular genius to elevate what had been merely a means of harrying superior forces into an effective method of defeating them."	King Robert was successful due to his military genius, elevating previously utilised tactics to greater successes on the battlefield.
"… the King was able to fund his war by extorting 'blackmail' from enemy communities, who if not willingly at least thankfully paid for immunity from destruction."	King Robert was able to blackmail people who were desperate to end his devastating attacks for funds for his wars.
"… one taste of "herschip" was usually enough."	King Robert used extreme tactics like the Herschip of Buchan which deterred others from fighting against him.
"When Robert began to capture strongholds, he systematically destroyed them, to prevent their being any use to the enemy should the site be recaptured."	King Robert destroyed castles, thereby removing strongholds from his enemies, forcing them to capitulate.

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

- Bruce was active militarily across Scotland very quickly after he took the throne.
- Bruce's victories at Glen Trool and Loudoun Hill sowed seeds of doubt amongst English officials and exposed the fragility of English rule in Scotland.
- Rumours that Bruce rose from his sickbed to lead victories led some to believe he was invincible.
- Devastated areas forced men to leave the country or accept Bruce's rule, eg William of Ross.
- Bruce's use of lieutenants to maximise his attacks on enemies made it seem as though he was impossible to defeat, so resistance was useless.
- Bruce forced those he had defeated to recognise his kingship, such as the Earl of Ross, James Stewart and Thomas Randolph.
- Bruce was prepared to be lenient towards those he defeated in order to gain allies, prepared to submit, rather than crushed and resentful subjects.
- Bruce was able to campaign throughout autumn and winter, outside the normal campaigning season, which was an advantage his English enemies could not undo.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Preachers broadcast news of the war from their pulpit, encouraging people to support the movement against England.
- Some clergy provided active support for Bruce, such as David Murray, Bishop of Moray, who provided soldiers.
- Robert Bruce made a pact with Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews as early as 1304.

- Bruce was able to exploit the Comyn-domination of the 1305 Ordinance and the government of Scotland to convince men such as Earl John of Atholl and James Stewart to eventually support Bruce.
- Bruce was able to gather support from the Isles and Ireland across the winter of 1306-7.
- Rumours spread in 1307 that Bruce had "the goodwill of the people" and had "destroyed Edward's power among the Scots" which led many to believe he was more powerful than he actually was.
- Bruce was able to exploit the death of King Edward I of England on 7 July 1307, at Burgh-on-Sands near Carlisle. Those who supported English rule in Scotland felt abandoned by Edward II who quickly left Scotland in 1307 and did not return until 1310.
- Bruce gained more supporters by manipulating Edward II's failure to aid those who wrote asking for help against Bruce, including Lorne and Ross.
- Gaining control over Aberdeen in 1308 opened up trade routes to Flanders, Germany, Scandinavia and even England, which meant Bruce could afford to buy arms and armour for his men and campaigns.
- Bruce was prepared to reward his followers with gifts of land, jobs or even marriage to his family members.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Richard Oram:	Takes the view that Robert returned to Scotland in February 1307 to his homelands of Carrick so that he could use his natural followers to launch an attack on the English.
Alexander Grant:	Takes the view that the support of the majority of the Church was vital for Robert, not censuring him or excommunicating him for the Comyn murder.
Michael Brown:	Takes the view that it was Bruce's military skill that was decisive in defeating his enemies and helping him gather supporters.
Michael Penman:	Takes the view that Bruce mixed pressure, pardon and patronage to gain supporters across the civil war.

SECTION 3 – Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 17

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the extent to which developments in art and architecture in Renaissance Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century can be considered revolutionary. Consideration should also be given to alternative views, such as the arguments that change was evolutionary rather than revolutionary and that innovation was inconsistent with older styles of art co-existing with new ones. Candidates are expected to reach a balanced conclusion on the basis of the evidence they have used.

Evidence to support the view that innovations in art and architecture in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century were revolutionary

- The use of perspective by artists such as Masaccio and Paolo Uccello gave a greater realism to their work than anything attempted in the previous century. Masaccio's "Tribute Money" and Uccello's "Battle of San Romano" demonstrate this new skill.
- Both Alberti in "Della Pittura" and Brunelleschi wrote about perspective. It was a dramatic move away from the highly stylised art of the late medieval period.
- Perspective had been known in classical times, however, the skill had largely been lost before the fifteenth century.
- Portraiture was an innovation of the fifteenth century, coming about partly through a new prominence for humanism and the belief in man's dignity and worth.
- Previously the individual had been represented in profile as a donor, kneeling at the base of the painting. The great novelty of the fifteenth century was the development of the independent portrait (ie not a donor portrait).
- The first secular portraits date from Masaccio and Uccello in the 1420s and 1430s, followed by Fra Filippo Lippi in 1440s and 1450s.
- The rediscovery of the elements of classical architecture and their employment by architects such as Brunelleschi was something new in Florence in the early 15th century.
- A copy of Vitruvius's "Ten Chapters on Architecture" had been found and copied by Bracciolini. Its explanation of the five orders of classical architecture had a dramatic impact on Brunelleschi who applied Vitruvian principles to his designs for both the Ospedale degli Innocenti and the Pazzi Chapel.
- The emphasis on the rounded Roman arch was a revolutionary break from the pointed Gothic arch of late medieval buildings.
- Donatello's 'David' was the first free-standing human figure since classical times.

Factors which contradict the view that developments in art and architecture were revolutionary

Changes were evolutionary rather than revolutionary

- The art of the early fifteenth century shows considerable continuity with some art of the fourteenth century.
- Duccio (Sienna, active late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) and Cimabuie (Florence, late thirteenth century) started to break away from the Byzantine style of painting; later, Giotto was influenced by the sculptures of Arnolfo di Cambio to produce much more lifelike figures, ie in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.
- Much art was commissioned by the same families as had commissioned art in earlier centuries, and for similar reasons.
- Contracts for such work often show similarities in terms of materials, time allocated to the project and costs.
- Brunelleschi and Donatello visited Rome and were greatly influenced by the ruins they saw there. Much of their subsequent work was inspired by what they saw.
- Brunelleschi's use of classical style was a revival rather than a revolution.
- In completing the Dome on Florence cathedral, Brunelleschi was probably influenced by the re-publication of Vitruvius' De Architectura, which described hoisting machines used to build the Pantheon in Rome.
- Perspective had been known about and understood by ancient artists. Knowledge of it was rediscovered in Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century. It was not radically new and not therefore revolutionary.
- Much Italian architecture of the fifteenth century owed more to Romanesque examples than to the direct influence of antique models.

Inconsistencies undermining the view that changes were revolutionary

- The International Gothic style of painting influenced many artists, including Gozzoli when he painted the Medici chapel.
- Other city states, with great artistic traditions, did not develop in the same way as Florence. Having been one of the great centres of artistic production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Siena produced few new ideas in the early fifteenth century.
- Venetian art was largely unaffected by developments elsewhere in Italy for the first half of the fifteenth century.
- Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello decorated the Doge's Palace with frescos in the International Gothic style.
- Both the new façade for the Doge's palace and the Porta della Carta were designed in the late Gothic style.
- Before 1450, most art was still produced for religious purposes, as was the case in the previous centuries.
- Many artistic techniques remained unchanged; for example, in the use of tempera paint with ultramarine blue and gilding.
- The sixteenth century artist, Giorgio Vasari, who was based in Florence, was largely responsible for the view that the Renaissance saw a revolution in art.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
EH Gombrich:	"What strikes us in the vocabulary of quattrocento architecture is less its classical character than its link with the medieval past".
Keith Christiansen:	Takes the view that the fifteenth century was the first great age of portraiture in Europe. Portraiture began in Florence, moved to the courts, and came late to Venice.
Jacob Burckhardt:	Saw fifteenth-century Italy as the place where the notion of the individual was born. As artists strove to evoke the identity or personality of the sitter - from heads of state and church, military commanders, and wealthy patrons to scholars, poets, and artists - they evolved daring new representational strategies that would profoundly influence the course of Western art.
E Welch:	Describes the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy as a period of both tremendous transition and remarkable continuity. "Any story of art which focuses on the appearance and development of a single visual style, such as the reuse and adaptation of classical motifs and linear perspective, has limitations as well as advantages. It is told at the expense of works which do not fit into a neat pattern and ignores continuity in favour of change".

Question 18

Aim of the question:

The aim of this question is allow candidates to show their understanding of the nature of Renaissance humanism and to evaluate the ways in which the character and preoccupations of humanism may have evolved during the course of the fifteenth century. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion about the extent of these changes.

Evidence suggesting that the character and preoccupations of humanism evolved over the course of the fifteenth century

Early humanism and the preoccupation with the discovery and editing of classical texts

- Early humanist scholars were great collectors of antique manuscripts.
- Petrarch is often regarded as the father of Renaissance humanism, as a result of his rediscovery of Cicero's letters.
- Poggio Bracciolini recovered lost classical manuscripts in the monasteries of Switzerland and Germany. His most famous discovery was the only surviving manuscript of Lucretius' On the Nature of Things.
- Lorenzo Valla exposed the forgery of the Donation of Constantine, basing his argument on philological arguments.
- Niccolo de Niccoli copied and collated classical manuscripts for Cosimo de Medici.
- Vespasiano da Bisticci was employed by Cosimo de Medici to provide him with manuscript copies of classical texts. In less than two years Vespasiano had over 200 manuscripts copied by 45 copyists.
- Byzantine emigres brought previously unknown manuscripts to Italy after the sack of Constantinople in 1453.

Humanism and education

- A humanist education –the studia humanitatis – became the distinguishing badge of the elite, differentiating leaders from followers.
- Humanist education abandoned the logic taught during the middle ages, adding history, Greek, and moral philosophy to the traditional teaching of grammar and rhetoric.
- Humanist schools for the elite were established such as Vittorino de Feltre's La Casa Gioisa in Mantua.

Early humanists and moral philosophy: the origins of 'civic humanism'

- Coluccio Salutati brought Chrysoloras to Florence to teach Greek between 1397 and 1400. Arguably, this gave rise to the enthusiasm for the ancient world and everything associated with it.
- Leonardo Bruni (secretary at the Papal court until 1415 then Chancellor of Florence until his death in 1444) wrote in Praise of the City of Florence (c. 1403-4). In this he extolled Florentine republican virtues which had helped the city overcome the external threat from the Visconti.
- Civic humanism drew on the writers of classical antiquity (Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, among others) to emphasise that it was the duty of the citizen to involve himself in public life.
- Bruni also wrote a History of the Florentine People (1442) based on his research in the Florentine archives. It is often regarded as the first modern history.

- Writing in 1955, Hans Baron claimed that the threat posed to the Florentine Republic by the despotic Visconti of Milan, led to an upsurge of patriotic republicanism in Florence, drawing on classical ideas about active participation in civic life.
- More recent historians have challenged Baron's assertion that these values were only associated with republicanism.

Humanism after c.1450: the spread of humanist learning and the influence of Neo-Platonism

- The invention of the printing press, which reached Rome and then Venice by the 1460s, increased the availability of classical texts.
- With the greater availability of classical texts, detailed commentary and textual analysis became more common.
- Poliziano introduced new standards for textual commentaries, comparing and evaluating different sources and emphasising the importance of the Greek sources of Latin works.
- Poliziano was also employed to tutor the Medici children, and later became a close friend of Lorenzo de Medici.
- Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola laid the foundations for the most innovative aspect of Renaissance humanism – the revival of Platonism.
- Mirandola's Oration on the Dignity of Man (1486) accords Man a unique position in creation, for he alone has been granted the ability to ascend or descend the great chain of being. 'To man it is allowed to be whatever he chooses to be!'. In theory such views appeared to undermine the Church's teaching about the Fall of Man, liberating him to achieve whatever he wished. To some historians, this is seen as the most revolutionary idea of the Renaissance.

Evidence suggesting considerable continuity in the character and preoccupations of humanism during the fifteenth century

- Many humanists were churchmen and, as such, committed Christians.
- Most considered that classical and pagan philosophy was compatible with Christian doctrine.
- A significant proportion of humanist writing focused on religious themes and cited Christian texts.
- Pico della Mirandola became a follower of Savonarola at the end of his life, apparently rejecting many of his earlier views.
- The study of classical texts remained central to all fifteenth century humanism, even if the emphasis changed.
- Humanism had medieval origins, owing much to the teaching of rhetoric and grammar in medieval universities.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
JR Hale:	Writes that humanism concerned man, his nature and his achievements. He also said that "unless our understanding of humanism retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead". In other words, he sees humanists as being first and foremost scholars dedicated to scholarly pursuits, rather than radical thinkers. He goes on to argue that most humanist scholars saw their work as supplementing Christian beliefs, not undermining them.
Lauro Martines:	Wrote that "from 1440 to 1500 princes and the ruling classes enjoyed a kindred vision of the world; it came forth from their bold self-confidence and it imbued humanism with the passionate belief that men could truly imitate the achievements of antiquity and draw positive, applicable precepts from the lessons of history".
George Holmes:	Argues that in spite of its origins in its enjoyment of the pagan classics, humanism did not come seriously into conflict with ecclesiastical authority. Popes, notably Nicholas V (1447-55), happily patronized the translation of Thucydides and other Greek writers into Latin with as much equanimity as they planned the rebuilding of Rome to revive ancient glories. He writes of a "friendly alliance of classics and Christianity".
A F Grafton:	Identified three major changes in humanism in the second half of the fifteenth century. Firstly, humanistically educated princes and prelates assembled large collections of manuscripts so that classical works were more readily available. Secondly, the invention of the printing press meant that hundreds of copies of texts became available. Thirdly, and most important, the emphasis of scholarship moved away from grammar and rhetoric (which could easily be learned thanks to the philological efforts of the early humanists); instead they turned to detailed commentaries and textual criticism.

Question 19

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess Venice's reputation as being the best governed state of the Italian Renaissance by examining the strengths and potential weaknesses of the Venetian state, probably in terms of stability and the creation of prosperity for its citizens. These strengths and potential weaknesses may be compared and contrasted with the ways in which other states – notably Florence – were successfully governed in order to reach a balanced conclusion about the extent to which Venice's reputation as the best governed state of the Italian Renaissance is justified.

Evidence suggesting that Venice was the most successfully governed state of the Italian Renaissance

- Venice became tremendously wealthy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Its merchants travelled to the eastern end of the Mediterranean and brought back products such as high quality silks and spices which could be sold for a high price in the markets of northern Europe and beyond.
- The palaces of the Grand Canal attest to the wealth of their merchant owners.
- There was no attempt by the citizens of Venice to bring about major change in the governance of their state.
- Venice remained unconquered until 1797 and the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- The city was governed by its merchant elite, who had a vested interest in the status quo.
- Even those not in the Golden Book felt that the state had much to offer them through their employment in the civil service or in their membership of the guilds and confraternities.
- The government had elements of monarchy (the Doge), oligarchy (the Ten), and democracy (the Great Council).
- Venice successfully adapted to the Portuguese discovery of a sea route to the Indies and even to Columbus' discovery of the New World. The Venetian economy seems to have survived these shocks.
- The government protected its monopolies and the expertise of its craftsmen. The glass-makers of Murano were forbidden to leave Venice.
- The ship-building in the Arsenal was state-organised and state-funded, ensuring a ready supply of suitable vessels to maintain the trade links of the empire.
- The employment of condottieri enabled Venice to expand into the terra firma in the first half of the fifteenth century
- Unlike Florence, Venice lacked destabilising hostile factions to intrigue against those in power
- Princely states such as Mantua and Milan were very dependent on the character and interests of the individual Prince and his dynastic ambitions.

Evidence which may contradict the view that Venice was the most successfully governed state of the Italian Renaissance

Weaknesses within the Venetian system of government

- The stability of Venice is often referred to as the Myth of Venice. Venetians were very proud of the governance of their state but in practice the organisation of it was very complex and few people genuinely understood how it worked.
- The determination of the Venetian state to expand into the terra firma in the first half of the fifteenth century nearly bankrupted the Treasury.
- Successive doges made little attempt to curb excessive expenditure.
- After the fall of Constantinople, the Turkish fleet was able to threaten Venetian dominance in the eastern Mediterranean and by the end of the century Venice had lost the important colonies of Lepanto, Modon and Corone.
- Though the constitution forbade the doge from becoming overly powerful, some doges started to see themselves as ruling for their own good rather than for the general good of the city. Doge Niccolo Tron put his face on Venetian coins, hardly the act of a servant of the people.
- Venetian involvement in the League of Cambrai, and the 1508 decision of other European powers to punish Venice for her aggressive mainland policy, led to almost a decade of war, with catastrophic results for Venice – economically, politically and in terms of loss of life. This amounted to the most serious military assault on her independence in her history.

The strengths of the government of other states

- The claims of other states including Florence, a city which also amassed great wealth in this period and was proud of its civic liberty.
- The Medici remained powerful influences in the city but it survived at least nominally as a republic throughout the fifteenth century.
- More favourable comparisons might be made with other states, including Mantua, Milan, Rome and Urbino.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Elizabeth Horodowich:	Explains the contentment in Venice through the inclusion of commoners in the political culture. The scuole or confraternities gave everyday Venetians a sense of political importance and civic participation even if they could not vote in the Great Council. Power was distributed broadly and this encouraged patricians to subordinate their individual interests to the interests of the republic.
J.H Plumb:	Refers to Venice as “the most organized state west of Byzantium”.
Margaret L. King:	Asserts that Venice discovered the secret of preventing rebellion by providing adequately for the needs of the citizens and not imposing on them judicial malpractice, the miseries of war, and the deprivations caused by over-taxation. These things had led to revolts elsewhere.
John Najemy:	Says that Venice, alone amongst the republics, was governed by a closed and hereditary nobility whose members constituted the Great Council and who had exclusive right to hold executive office. This engendered an enviable political stability in the city and beyond that, in the Venetian empire.

Question 20

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to reach a balanced conclusion about the significance of the contribution made by Cosimo il Vecchio to the status of fifteenth century Florence, in comparison with the contribution of others, most notably his grandson, Lorenzo de Medici, but also that made by the other *ottimati* families, and the wealthy guilds.

Evidence which may suggest that Cosimo was the most significant contributor to the status of fifteenth century Florence

Contribution to the prosperity of Florence

- Cosimo expanded the Medici bank.
- He was awarded the contract to collect taxes due to the Papacy, from which great profits flowed.
- Branches of the Medici bank were established in Rome, Venice, Geneva, Bruges, Ancona and Milan.
- The Medici bank became indispensable to trans-Alpine trade which helped enrich Florence.
- Medici bank agents handled trade in a huge array of exotic and expensive goods, including silver, jewels, paintings and tapestries.
- Cosimo invested in silk and textile businesses, probably motivated more by the desire to provide employment than by profit.
- Medici wealth ensured that Cosimo and his *amici* were able to manipulate the government of Florence.
- Cosimo used his personal wealth to make generous gifts to churches and religious orders.
- He was a member of the Wool guild – one of the most prestigious of the Florentine guilds.
- Lorenzo de Medici neglected the Medici bank and many of its international branches collapsed. By 1492 all branches outside Florence had closed and the Medici power base had gone.

Contribution to the power of Florence

- The Medici bank provided contacts and information throughout Europe.
- It also brought Cosimo into contact with two Emperors – Frederick III and John Paleologue.
- Cosimo played a pivotal role in bringing the 1439 Council of the Church to Florence.
- Many outsiders, including Pius II, viewed Cosimo as the *signore*, or effective leader of Florence.
- Cosimo favoured a special relationship with Milan, the traditional enemy of Florence, rather than a Venetian alliance. The Treaty of Lodi (1454) brought an imperfect peace - and relative stability - to central Italy for the following forty years.
- Much of Florence's foreign policy was conducted from the Medici Palace and the Milanese Ambassador, Nicodemo da Pontremoli, resided there.

Contribution to the prestige of Florence

- Cosimo contributed to the prestige of Florence through his patronage of scholars (Ficino, Bracciolino, Vespasiano, Niccolo de Niccoli).
- He was also the patron of Donatello, Brunelleschi, Michelozzo, Ghiberti, all of whose work enhanced the prestige and reputation of the city.

- He is said to have spent more on building than any contemporary throughout Italy.
- His building projects included The Medici Palace (Michelozzo) and the Badia at Fiesole, as well as the rebuilding of much of San Marco, parts of San Lorenzo and the Church of the Annunciation.
- Cosimo founded the first public library in Florence, at San Marco.
- When Cosimo died, the Signoria awarded him the title 'pater patriae' which was engraved on his tomb in San Lorenzo.

Factors which may suggest that Cosimo's was not the most significant contribution to the status of Florence

- A range of factors led to wealth creation, including the textile industry, represented by the various guilds (the Arte di Calimala, the Arte della Lana and the Arte della Seta) as well as other leading Florentine families (the *ottimati)* who acted as patrons of the arts and whose wealth had often originated in banking (ie Strozzi and Pazzi families).
- Collectively, the seven major guilds contributed greatly to the patronage of the arts, commissioning works for public buildings such as Orsanmichele, and Florence cathedral.
- The Medici Palace was in fact only one of approximately 100 new palaces built in Florence during the fifteenth century.
- Cosimo operated covertly in Florentine politics, assuming the office of gonfalonier of justice only three times. In the view of some historians, his role in Florentine government has been exaggerated.

The contribution of Lorenzo de Medici

- Lorenzo was overt in his manipulation of the constitution, ensuring his friends obtained positions in the government.
- Although Lorenzo lacked the wealth of his grandfather, he had greater political influence. He crushed those who threatened his position, in the Volterra massacre for example.
- After the Pazzi Conspiracy Lorenzo took a much firmer control of the levers of power in Florence, eradicating his enemies and establishing his own power in a way which he had not employed before 1478.
- Lorenzo used marriage to extend Medici influence, marrying into a powerful Roman dynasty, the Orsini family.
- In 1488 he obtained a promise from Innocent VIII that his thirteen-year-old son, Giovanni, would be appointed a cardinal. In 1492 Giovanni was duly admitted to the College of Cardinals.
- Lorenzo was famed for his interest in philosophy, his collection of antiquities and his patronage of the arts and music.
- The festivities and tournaments organised by Lorenzo attracted tens of thousands of spectators and were famed throughout Italy.
- He arranged for artists, sculptors and architects to take up commissions outside Florence, so spreading knowledge of Florentine pre-eminence in the arts.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Dale Kent:	describes the Medici hegemony as the almost complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest: "a single party embraced the state". However, she also acknowledges the inclusive nature of the Medici oligarchy.
Jerry Brotton:	sees the Council of Florence of 1438 as a defining moment in the Renaissance. As a religious summit, it was a failure, but as a political and cultural event it was a triumph. It allowed the Italian states to challenge the authority of a weakened papacy and strengthen commercial relations to the east. Ruling families such as the Medici cleverly manipulated their own role in the Council, through sumptuous art objects like Gozzoli's later frescos that claimed Medici pre-eminence in bringing about the (abortive) reconciliation between the Catholic and Byzantine churches.
R Hale:	"Cosimo did not create the conditions that produced the marvellous efflorescence of early quattrocento humanism and art. He responded, he encouraged but, save in the scale of his building programme, he did not initiate, nor was his patronage different in kind from that of other individuals or groups". Hale goes on to argue that except perhaps for the close relationship with Rome,and perhaps for his patronage of Ficino, "the development of Florentine humanism can be described with little reference to Cosimo, as can the direction taken by the arts".
M Levey:	writes that it was not merely in retrospect that Lorenzo's Florence appeared to be virtually as "magnificent" as he himself was. What characterized the city in the years of his rule was a sense – half irrational and half-justified – that, thanks to him, Florence was enjoying a period of peaceful, creative felicity.
R. Goldthwaite:	takes a revisionist view of the Medici, refusing to praise either Cosimo or Lorenzo de' Medici, despite their status as the conventional heroes of Renaissance Florence. Writing in The Economics of Renaissance Florence, and investigating the origins of Florentine wealth creation, he argues that 'one could write the history of Florentine banking in the fifteenth century without so much as mentioning the Medici'
Gene Brucker:	describes Lorenzo as "the most intelligent and skilled statesman of his generation, more aware than most of his contemporaries of the fragility of the political system that he had inherited and learned to manipulate. He played the mediator among Italian states to maintain the fragile balance of peace on which his regime depended for survival. His was a virtuoso performance, even though its effects were temporary, and ultimately futile".

Question 21

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and evaluate the motives of High Renaissance Popes as patrons of the arts. Candidates may wish to consider the Church's desire to assert its authority in Rome, and the need to strengthen the image of Christianity throughout the Western world, as well as the High Renaissance Popes' decision to employ many of the finest artists of the day to carry out their commissions. To reach a balanced conclusion, candidates are expected to consider other possible motives for papal patronage of the arts, including the amassing of personal wealth, and using art to glorify themselves and their families.

Factors which support the view that in their mission to strengthen Christianity the Popes employed the finest artists of the time

The desire to reassert the authority of the Church in Rome and strengthen Christianity

- The Church faced a massive task of reconstruction after the Great Schism. When Martin V returned to Rome in 1420 he found it "so dilapidated and deserted that it bore hardly any resemblance to a city."
- The rebuilding of Rome in order to assert the authority of the Church had already begun in the fifteenth century, so the Popes of the early sixteenth century were continuing the undertakings of earlier popes such as Sixtus IV.
- The Papacy had faced a serious challenge from Savonarola in Florence. Savonarola had condemned Alexander VI "Popes and prelates speak against worldly pride and ambition, and are plunged in it up to their ears".
- In northern Europe, Erasmus was also calling for reform of the Church.
- It was essential to re-assert papal supremacy and the reputation of the Vicar of Christ.
- From 1517 onwards, the Papacy faced a major challenge from Martin Luther and the Protestant movement.

The artists commissioned by the High Renaissance popes

- Raphael, Michelangelo and Bramante all received commissions from the Papacy.
- Vasari described Michelangelo's talent as "something divine" who demonstrated "the meaning of perfection in the art of design". Regarding Raphael, he claimed "those who possess such gifts as Raphael are not mere men, but rather mortal gods".

Commissioning art and architecture as a way of strengthening Christianity

- Bramante's design for St. Peter's was intended to be more impressive than Hagia Sophia – the most important church in the Christian world.
- Bramante intended the building to take the form of a huge Greek cross with four equal arms topped by a dome, although his plans were later altered by various architects, including Michelangelo.
- Raphael's Disputation of the Sacraments, painted in the Pope's private library in the Vatican, commissioned by Julius II, has a clear doctrinal message about the nature of the Eucharist.
- The subject matter of The School of Athens and the other frescoes in the private library represents an attempt to bring together Christian faith and classical paganism, as seemed appropriate to many humanists of the time.
- Raphael painted a further room in the Vatican for Leo X: The Stanza di Eliodoro, in which the frescoes emphasised papal power ie the Deliverance of St Peter from Prison and The Miracle of the Mass at Bolsena.

- Michelangelo completed the Sistine Chapel ceiling between 1508 and 1512 with frescoes "which breathe the spirit of Humanist Christianity; the whole design a celebration of human beauty and divine grace in creation and redemption" (Duffy).
- The Last Judgement was completed later (1533-41), after the Sack of Rome.
- Michelangelo's designs for the tomb of Julius II (unfinished) can be interpreted as a supreme statement of the power and importance of the Papacy.

Factors which suggest other motives such as the amassing of personal wealth and the glorification of themselves and their families

- Erasmus felt that Julius' motivation was vainglory. His "Julius Exclusus" sees the Pope as the anti-Christ, more concerned with the display of wealth than with spiritual concerns or genuine Christianity.
- Julius was a notorious pluralist, accumulating eight bishoprics, the archbishopric of Avignon and numerous abbacies.
- Julius commissioned a medal with his portrait on one side and the projected façade of St Peter's on the other.
- Julius' tomb was to comprise forty life-size statues and was intended to be the most magnificent tomb since antiquity. This can be interpreted as an act of vanity on Julius' part.
- Writing in 1553, Ascanio Condivi suggested that the figures of the slaves sculpted for the tomb represent the liberal arts which will die with Julius, their supreme patron.
- Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel might also be seen as a vanity project. The Sistine Chapel was the Pope's personal chapel and though distinguished churchmen might attend mass there, it is unlikely that it was seen by people whose faith was faltering.
- Raphael's finest work in the papal apartments may have been primarily intended to show Julius II as an enlightened humanist.
- The Vatican Stanze may have aimed to outdo in magnificence the papal apartments of Alexander VI, the Borgia Apartments, which are directly below. Julius abandoned the Borgia apartments and they were shut up.
- With many of the leading cardinals living up to their role as princes of the Church, for whom patronage of the arts was more important than their religious commitment, the worldliness of the Popes is not surprising.
- Leo X, the second son of Lorenzo de Medici, is alleged to have said "If God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it". When elected to the Papacy he was not actually in priestly orders, and was only consecrated a priest four days before he was crowned as Pope.
- Francesco Guicciardini (who served three Popes) was highly critical of the papacy, suggesting that the Popes were motivated by greed and ambition. They became interested in the accumulation of worldly treasures.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Lauro Martines:	writes that Julius II and Leo X used artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo "to glorify themselves personally, their families, and their office".
JR Hale:	suggests that the creation of a cultural capital, through lavish patronage of artists, scholars and men of letters, contributed to an atmosphere of worldliness that aroused criticism. It may have diverted the Popes from registering the true import of the spiritual movements that were to cause the Reformation conflict of faith. Hale attributes to Julius II an honest attempt to rescue the church from the control of any secular power.
George Holmes:	sees the rebuilding of St Peter's as necessary rather than vanity. The most important church in Western Christendom but at that time it was much less impressive than Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Rome was to be rebuilt to make it fit to be the capital of Christianity.
Eamonn Duffy:	"the Renaissance Popes harnessed the new educational skills of the humanists, as they harnessed the skill of painters and architects, to create for the Papacy an image of greatness". Duffy argues that the "Renaissance popes were determined to restore Rome to a position of greatness. They set about planning new streets and raising buildings which would perpetuate their own and their families names, buildings which would be worthy both of the centre of the Church and of the greatest of all earthly cities, the mother of Europe".

SECTION 3 – Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part B – Historical Sources

Question 22

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)**
"This prejudice against manual labour accorded with the medieval view that the visual arts belonged to the mechanical arts, an attitude that survived into the Renaissance."	There was prejudice against artists because they used their hands in their work.
"Both humanism and art could teach human dignity and perfectibility. Both instructed viewers to lead ethical lives of good citizenship, virtuous action, and spiritual betterment. "	Artists shared the same ideas of human nature as humanists.
"to understand perspective, classical subject matter, and the language of classical architecture, artists increasingly required knowledge of the liberal arts such as mathematics, ancient literature, history, and mythology."	Artists required education to understand perspective, classical references and architecture.
"Nearly all Renaissance artists came from the lower artisan and shopkeeper classes and only rarely from the middle, professional, or patrician ranks"	Renaissance artists were from humble origins.

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

- Aristotle had excluded craftsmen from citizenship as their work was mechanical. Plutarch declared in his Life of Pericles that no man of a good family would want to be a sculptor.
- Leonardo da Vinci in his notebook complained that artists were looked down upon because they used their hands in their work. He felt this was unfair because poets also used their hands, to hold their pen.
- Mantegna was held in high regard by the Gonzaga family in Mantua. They wrote a polite letter requesting that he come and work for them in their palace and offering him very favourable terms.
- Whilst Partridge suggests that artists were held in low esteem in classical times, Pliny rated Apelles of Kos from the fourth century BC very highly. He was said to have produced a portrait of Alexander the Great. Apelles' painting of "The Calumny" was described in detail by Lucian. Myron of Athens was also famed throughout the Renaissance for his bronzes.
- A survey by Peter Burke found that the majority of artists were themselves born in a family of artists, from poorer parts of Florence.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"Artists of energy and distinction were anxious to reflect in their work the glories of nature and to attain perfect artistic discernment. However, their efforts were in vain."	Medieval artists failed to live up to the achievement of Giotto despite their best efforts.
"He decided to send into the world an artist who would be skilled in each and every craft, whose work would teach us how to attain perfection in design, in sculpture and in architecture."	Michelangelo was considered to have achieved perfection in design, sculpture and architecture.
"This artist would be acclaimed as divine."	Michelangelo was considered as divine, with God-given powers.
"in the practice of the arts the Tuscans have always been pre-eminent."	Tuscan artists had always been the finest in Italy.

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

- Giotto, who died in 1337, was a famous Italian artist. His frescoes in Assisi, the Bardi Chapel in Rome and the Arena Chapel in Padua are amongst the finest of the period. In many ways his art paved the way for artists such as Masaccio.
- Vasari is guilty of playing down the achievements of fourteenth century artists in order to make his analysis of the fifteenth century and beyond the more dramatic.
- Vasari divided the period up into a bronze, silver and golden age. Michelangelo was the culmination of all that had come before.
- The idea of Michelangelo as the divine accorded with Vasari's central point that the history of art is on progress, with each artist building upon the achievement of earlier artists, until the arrival of Michelangelo, whose work was seen as perfection.
- Vasari's focus was very much on Tuscan art to the detriment of artists from other areas of Italy. Gusto de' Menabuoi in the baptistery of Padua is now widely seen as showing a precocious talent in 1378.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Medieval artists were usually anonymous. Renaissance artists had names.
- During the Renaissance the artist evolved socially from the artisan, a nameless but admired worker, to a genius, a creator of superhuman insight and energy.
- Artists in the High Renaissance were clearly educated, though not necessarily formally so. Leonardo dissected cadavers in order to gain an understanding of musculature.
- Raphael demonstrated a detailed knowledge of ancient scholars in his School of Athens.
- Signing a painting or sculpture implies a high status for the artist. The finest example of this is the inscribed sash that Michelangelo carved into the Virgin's garment in his Pieta.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
J R Hale:	argues that the social status of artists was pegged low because they were required to be a member of a trades guild.
M Baxandall:	tells us that Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, paid for his paintings by the square foot. The frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia cost ten Bolognese lire per square foot. This suggests that Borso regarded artists as skilled craftsmen who need not be afforded special attention.
P Burke:	writes that there was a "status dissonance" amongst the creative elite. Some gained high status, whilst others did not. Literature, humanism and science enjoyed more respect than the visual arts and music.
T Nichols:	argues that artists were often apprenticed to a master at the age of ten and did not go to school or university. They were sometimes thought therefore, to lack education.

Question 23

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

Points identified in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"The family was rigidly male-dominated, with little public authority afforded to women though much domestic power relegated to them, particularly in the raising of children and the management of the family house."	Women had little power in public but did exercise authority in domestic matters.
"Each new alliance provided the labour and support in poorer and less privileged families, where access to even small amounts of credit or labour could make the difference."	Among the poorer classes, a wife was seen as an important source of additional labour.
"Among families with property, marriages were arranged: they were not love matches freely entered into by a young man and a woman."	Women were unable to choose their future husband for themselves.
"Having many daughters provided opportunities to extend family interests in several directions."	Having daughters offered a family some opportunities to extend family interests.

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

- In Leon Battista Alberti's "On the Family" he relegates women to the domestic sphere, claiming they are not suited to a political role.
- Portraits played an important role in arranging marriages. Young girls were often painted in order to show to a prospective marriage partner.
- Providing a dowry was expensive but necessary if a girl was to marry.
- Dowries allowed women a degree of control over their lives because a dowry should be returned to the women on the death of her husband, allowing her some economic autonomy.
- A woman from a high status family would bring with her an impressive and tempting dowry to the marriage. A woman without a dowry had little chance of marriage - Confraternities grew up in Italy, broadly charitable organisations, often raising money to help fathers unable to marry off their daughters for want of money for dowries.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- The Catholic Church maintained its rigid theories of gender and expectations of women's place and nature. The Church showed little flexibility in its attitudes to women, unless they were saints.
- The taint of original sin affected the attitude of Renaissance society towards women.
- There were fears that left unrestrained their nature was lascivious.
- Most women received little by way of an education.
- Convents offered the prospect of women receiving an education, learning to read and write.

- Where families lacked money for dowries, younger daughters were often placed in convents. Convents also became places of refuge for abandoned or abused women.
- Attitudes towards women in courtly circles were changing. Some early humanists such as Leonardo Bruni encouraged women to pursue a classical education. Other humanists such as Leon Battista Alberti retained rigid views of the place of women in the family and in society.
- A small elite group of women acquired an excellent education and managed to escape the confines of the lives of most women. Isabella d'Este from Ferrara, who married into the family of the Gonzagas of Mantua, would be an excellent example of this. She played a key role as a patron in Mantua.
- One legal power women did have was making their wills and disposing of their dowries.
- In the Book of the Courtier (1528) Castiglione describes the qualities of the perfect Court Lady – an accomplished but modestly virtuous woman who would be a credit to the court.
- Courtesans could achieve high status but poorer women who turned to prostitution, were despised.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Joan Kelly:	argues that women were disempowered during the Renaissance and reduced to domesticity. Men controlled women except for their dowries.
Burckhardt:	argued that gender relations during the Renaissance were based upon a perfect equality. He seems to have had in mind only women in elite circles.
Stanley Chojnacki:	refers to the exclusion of women from public life where fathers and sons consorted. Renaissance society could be characterised as one in which mothers contributed but fathers commanded.
Richard Mackenny:	writes that the "stridency of some feminist writing may, one fears, tell subsequent generations more about our preoccupations than about women in the cultures of the Renaissance''.

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 the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Francesco Guicciardini	From a leading aristocratic Florentine family, Francesco Guicciardini is regarded as one of the major political writers of the early sixteenth century, whose historical writing is noted for its use of analysis as well as narrative.
Purpose	To reflect on developments in Florence between 1494 and 1498.	As a child and young man, Guicciardini experienced life in Florence between 1494 and 1498. Savonarola's sway in Florence came to an abrupt end with his excommunication and execution in 1498.
Timing	1509	Guicciardini is writing more than ten years after the execution of Savonarola, and endeavours to arrive at a balanced evaluation of Savonarola, and his contribution to life in Florence, while (elsewhere in this chapter) reserving judgement about his overall significance.

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Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"There had never been as much goodness and religion in Florence as there was in his time. The taverns… women who wore provocative clothing."	Under the influence of Savonarola Florence experienced a period of religious renewal, based on the precepts taught by the Dominican monk. Attempts were made to eliminate alleged vices such as drunkenness, homosexuality and sexual provocation.
"At Carnival, a day generally celebrated with a thousand iniquities, they held a religious procession full of devotion; they would go about collecting dice, cards, make-up, shameful books and pictures, and then they would burn them all in the Piazza."	During the Carnival preceding Lent, citizens were encouraged to burn their frivolous and worldly possessions in the Piazza della Signoria.
"He [also] introduced the Great Council, which restrained all those eager to become masters of the city."	Savonarola established a new Council – the Great Council - which aimed to curtail the arbitrary exercise of power.
"He brought about universal peace simply by stopping those who wanted to punish Medici supporters."	He saved the city from further internal dissent and strife by refusing to permit the punishment of those who had supported the Medici in the past.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source

- Savonarola was well-known for his hellfire preaching before the expulsion of the Medici.
- Savonarola and others had condemned the artistic and social excesses of the Florentine elite.
- Those who opposed Savonarola's condemnation of almost all forms of worldly pleasure nicknamed him and his followers 'Piagnoni', or 'whimperers'.
- The most famous of the 'Bonfires of the Vanities' took place in 1497.
- According to Vasari, Botticelli burned some of his works of art in the Bonfire of the Vanities, although this is disputed by historians.
- Savonarola demanded political reform from the pulpit; a range of both elitist and populist views were expressed about what form this reform should take.
- The Great Council was based largely on the Savonarolan proposals but the creation of a Council of Eighty was a victory for the *ottimati*.
- Savonarola used his sermons to call for an amnesty for those who were associated with the Medici regime. In doing so he was demanding an end to a long-standing tradition of treating defeated rivals as traitors.

Points of recall which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Savonarola came to prominence at a time of crisis for Florence.
- In 1494 the city lost control over Pisa and Charles VIII's invading army was approaching the city.
- Savonarola regarded Charles as God's agent who would help to purify Florence and rid the city of corruption.

- He negotiated with Charles before and during the French army's brief occupation of the city.
- After the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, Savonarola declared that a reformed Florence would become the 'New Jerusalem'.
- The new republican constitution of 1494 was inspired by Savonarola's ideals and modelled on the Venetian form of government.
- In 1497 food shortages and an outbreak of plague made Savonarola's preaching more convincing for many people.
- By 1498 Florence was deeply divided between those who fervently supported Savonarola and the secular clergy, Medici supporters and the so-called *arrabbiati*, who wished to get rid of him.
- Despite the Papal excommunication of Savonarola, his followers continued to support him publicly.
- After his execution, possession of Savonarola's works was made an offence and the friars San Marco were forbidden to discuss his teachings. Nevertheless, his followers continued to influence.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Gene Brucker:	"His followers came mostly from the lower classes, among whom religious fervour and loyalty to the tradition of the republican commune were strong. For Savonarola, the common people were the heroes of the renewal that had to come 'from below'".
Donald Weinstein:	points out that Savonarola was particularly influential among women. "Women [were] a major vocal presence at his sermons and enthusiastic participants in Piagnone – organised processions and festive celebrations."
Lauro Martines:	claims that by 1494 the Florentine political system was so corrupted that it was on the verge of destruction. "In a world of inveterate privilege government could not cleanse itself" and so "revitalising ideas had to come from outside the arena of politics". In a deeply Christian society it is not surprising that Savonarola proved so influential. "He was greeted with approval when he stepped into the middle of an epochal crisis not only for the Church, but also for Italy and for Florence, as attested by the French invasion, the overthrow of the Medici, civil strife, war; and the frightening incidence of pestilence, unemployment and famine."
Paul Strathern:	argues that Savonarola's vision for Florence was the most genuinely democratic and open rule ever envisaged for the city. However, in attempting to establish this "New Jerusalem" it became one of the most repressive and inhuman in Florentine history. "Politically his emphasis on democracy was undoubtedly modern. Yet he was arguably the first in modern Europe to face the problems of leading a revolution where the euphoria of liberty was followed by repression – in the name of maintaining the purity of the revolution".

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

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 25

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the relative importance of the Scottish tobacco trade within the context of the macroeconomic development of the Scottish economy during the eighteenth century. Candidates should analyse the impact of the trade and its multiplier effects on the Scottish economy and compare this with other factors associated with economic growth in Scotland during the eighteenth century. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest the tobacco trade was a key factor in the rapid economic growth Scotland experienced during the eighteenth century.

Development of Glasgow and the Clyde Valley

- Spectacular profitability of the tobacco trade originating in the 1690s provided capital to invest in transport infrastructure linked to wider economic development including the enlarged docking facilities in Glasgow, Greenock and Port Glasgow and the widening and deepening of the Clyde. By the 1750s over 200 wharves and jetties were able to support ocean-going ships.
- 1762 – Largely financed by the profits of the tobacco trade, Glasgow opened the first dry dock, enabling ships to be careened, resulting in quicker, cheaper repair and ultimately more ships which sailed from Glasgow being sea-worthy at any one time.
- Specifically, the Clyde's shipbuilding industry developed from a relatively small scale non-specialised base to a centre of excellence.
- Advances in naval architecture initially applied to tobacco carrying vessels became 'Clyde-built' across the industry.
- Glasgow based banking expertise and financial innovation rose in tandem with the trade, being both financed by and supportive of the industry.
- Capital accruing from tobacco enabled the tobacco barons to diversify their entrepreneurial interests. Related industries included engineering, manufacture and warehousing developed in Glasgow and the emerging industrial hinterland of the Clyde valley.

Macroeconomic impact

- Tobacco trade reversed Scotland's previous pattern of economic development away from importing manufactures and exporting unprocessed raw materials.
- Following decades of sustained growth, the profitability of the tobacco trade peaked in the 1770s. This coincides with the marked acceleration of the growth of the Scottish economy and the modernisation which enabled it to enter the industrial revolution in step with England rather than lagging behind.
- By the 1770s Scotland's economy featured a rapidly expanding industrial base and an increased volume of international trade much of which had either been paid for by the tobacco trade's profits or was a direct result of the actual tobacco trading process.
- Significant multiplier effects benefited industries across Scotland - paper making, brewing, iron smelting, sugar refining and agricultural innovation all received investment accruing from profits made through the tobacco trade.
- Export industries benefited as finished manufactures including linen, glass and porcelain supplied increased demand as return cargoes to the American plantations.
- Consolidation and expansion of trade links with Europe - 90% of all tobacco was re-exported to European markets.

Evidence which may suggest additional factors were key in the rapid economic growth Scotland experienced during the eighteenth century

The textile industry

- The Treaty of Union primarily encouraged Scottish industries which complemented rather than competed with the English economy. Thus the Scottish linen industry grew spectacularly as a result of access to colonial markets. Output doubled between 1707-1735.
- Post 1707 linen weaving increasingly became a full time occupation rather than a part time adjunct to agricultural labour.
- By the 1740s linen production was becoming centralised and partially mechanised. Scottish production shifted from coarse cloth to finer linen as firms increased in size, employed more weavers and were able to specialise.
- 1779 – First large scale, mechanised cotton mill was established in Rothesay. Cotton production expanded rapidly – most famously at New Lanark.

Mining and Heavy Industry

- Steady growth throughout the eighteenth century – production exceeded 700,000 tons by 1750. By 1775 production reached 1 million tons.
- Replaced water as power source for virtually all emerging industrial processes as the century progressed.
- First Newcomen steam engine installed in a Scottish mine in 1719.
- Leaseholding partnerships and joint stock companies replaced landholders as the dominant ownership model, frequently establishing partnerships with iron producers.
- 1759 – Carron Ironworks established, confirming transition to large scale integrated production.

Agricultural Innovation

- Farming no longer subsistence, increasingly an economic driver. Multiplier impact across the Scottish economy. Wealth generated funded transport innovation including turnpike roads and canal construction.

The Slave Trade

- Scotland had one of the highest proportions of slave ownership in Europe during the 18th century – an Edinburgh resident was twice as likely to own a slave as their London counterpart.
- Profits from the slave trade provided a powerful, economic stimulus – Edinburgh's New Town and significant building projects across the country were financed by the slave trade.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Ian Whyte:	notes the spectacular profitability of the tobacco trade, which likely understates the true sums accrued due to the extent of smuggling and their impact upon wider economic development. "The tobacco trade was an area of major growth, the profits of which provided spin off into industry and agricultural improvements."
Alex Murdoch:	argues that tobacco was a central factor in the growth of the Scottish economy. "Scottish ships brought tobacco back from America to help create commercial wealth in the central belt of Scotland, wealth which played a key role in the rapid modernization and industrialization Scotland experienced by the end of the eighteenth century."
Tom Devine:	suggests the textile industries held a pre-eminent importance to economic growth. "The engine of industrialisation…the main motors of growth were the textile industries of cotton, linen and wool…the making of fabrics employed over 257,000 individuals by the early 1800s representing nearly 90 per cent of all those working in manufacturing."
Thomas Smout:	underlines the role played by individual wealthy investors in the development of the Scottish economy.

Question 26

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the relative importance of factors associated with the causation of the 1715 rebellion. Candidates should focus primarily upon the dynastic loyalties to the House of Stuart. Other factors associated with the 1715 rising which may be considered to include the Treaty of Union, the personal ambition of the Earl of Mar, and long term tension between Scotland and England. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest dynastic loyalties was a significant cause of the 1715 Rising

Feudal Loyalty

- Clan society was based on hierarchical feudalism. Thus, just as clansmen followed their chief, so their chief was expected to follow their rightful king.
- Highland clans were remote from government authority, easily motivated and had a rich tradition of warfare.
- Local rivalries motivated some clan chiefs to rise in 1715 in opposition to the Hanoverian clans such as the Campbells.

Religious Adherence

- Episcopalian Protestants embraced a genuine ideological commitment to the House of Stuart as the lawful, natural Royal line.
- Monarchs were appointed by God, and the removal of James II was thus a "great crime and act of blasphemy against the sacred rights of kingship".
- James II's Declaration of Indulgence attempted to grant freedom of conscience to people of all faiths. However, the Act of Toleration (1689) excluded Catholics. This and his Catholic faith attracted some support from the Catholic populace.
- A balanced analysis may also note that James's Catholicism dissuaded some Scots from supporting the Jacobite cause. Also, Catholics accounted for only 2% of the population, thus the role of Catholicism has previously been exaggerated by some commentators.

Evidence which may suggest other factors were significant causes of the 1715 Rising

Treaty of Union

- 1707 - Final terms of the Union were not as some members of the defunct Scottish Parliament had anticipated. Rather than the expected increased patronage, only a minority gained entrance to Westminster creating a sizable group of disaffected Scottish magnates as the Union abolished the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council.
- Prior to Union and continuing from 1707 onwards there were numerous anti-Union demonstrations, literature and occasional riots across Scotland and particularly in Edinburgh.
- Some Scottish nobles were further discontented by a lack of Hanoverian patronage, notably the Earl of Mar.
- The propagation of the notion that the Union failed to deliver economic prosperity in return for the sacrificing of political independence - enthusiastically taken advantage of by Jacobite propagandists.

Mar's Political Ambition

- Mar's links to the formulation of the Treaty of Union prior to his falling out of favour with George I and his subsequent leading of the 1715 rising are indicative of the career politician he undoubtedly was.
- 1715 Mar's proclamation at Braemar ("the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy") declaring the rising was made without prior consultation with James.

Anti-English Sentiment

- Long term anti-English feeling originating from English indifference during the Darien disaster and the imposition of increased taxes to pay for English military campaigns against France between 1689-97.
- English protectionist legislation such as appeared to hamper Scottish trade – tariffs were imposed on Scottish salt, coal and linen in the 1690s while the Alien Act (1705) threatened further tariff barriers.
- The Navigation Laws caused a decline in illicit Scottish trade with England's American colonies.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Andrew MacKillop:	Argues that the role of dynastic loyalty was vital in maintaining support for the Jacobite cause, and specifically so within a Scottish context. "The sense that Scotland had cast aside its long standing national dynasty was the ideological spine that gave Jacobitism its cohesion and longevity."
Christopher Whatley:	Suggests the anti-Union sentiment was key to the 1715 rising whilst reminding us of the regional variations relevant to a consideration of the role of anti-Union feeling. "Glasgow was the only sizeable place thriving in the politically sensitive year of 1715."
Rosalind Mitchison:	Maintains that in the short term at least, there is a very simple explanation as to why the rising occurred. "a snub and dismissal to…the Earl of Mar which triggered off the rising".
Allan MacInnes:	Suggests that Jacobite links to the powerful Whig political elite were vital in ensuring the 1715 rising was viable from the outset.

Question 27

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to consider the extent and impact of the process of urbanisation, and its relationship to the changing nature and composition of Scottish society during the eighteenth century causation. Factors which may be considered include the rise of the skilled working and middle classes and the landed classes within an urban context. Candidates may also discuss the relationship between urban and rural society. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest that urbanisation had created a new social order by 1815

- Urban expansion during the eighteenth century was faster than in any other comparable European country. By the end of the seventeenth century Scotland was one of the least urbanised societies in western Europe, 100 years later it was amongst the most urbanised.
- Rapid growth of towns placed profound pressures on sanitation and amenities which demanded a new societal structure within urban populations and between town dwellers and their rural counterparts.
- Edinburgh's New Town was the most striking example of the new social order as the urban upper and middle classes sought to physically separate themselves from the urban poor - a clear break from the traditional close in which all classes dwelled, though on differing floors.
- Wealth creation - increasing purchasing power of densely concentrated consumers and producers, particularly skilled tradesmen and professional middle classes resulted in an increasing demand for better quality urban accommodation reinforcing geographic differences in housing between classes within urban environments.
- The growing towns became unchallenged as the new strategic lynchpins of Scottish economic power and social order. Their dominance as centres for exchange eclipsed traditional rural markets, creating a new class of urban working class labour as steam replaced water power during the process of industrialisation.
- Regional towns including Stirling, Inverness, Perth and Dumfries developed economic specialisms. Thus new services were provided including legal, financial and commercial facilities resulting in a growth of the urban middle class. Subsequent improvements in education and leisure facilities further consolidated this new class as a defining characteristic of Scottish society.
- Urban working classes became increasingly specialised and organised in contrast to the general skills of the agricultural labourer - for example the Trades House of Glasgow.
- Diversified occupational structure reflected these changes in both the middle and working class.
- The urban population's growing demand for raw materials and food impacted directly upon the rural population and the need for their agricultural produce to meet this demand. Similarly, migration permanently altered the structure of both urban and rural society.

Evidence which may suggest urbanisation did not create a new social order

- Considerable continuity remained - the four biggest Scottish burghs as ancient centres of market exchange at the beginning of the eighteenth century were the four largest Scottish cities in 1815 (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen).
- Urbanisation's impact upon social structure was not homogenous. Edinburgh and to a similar extent Aberdeen experienced less dramatic change in occupational structure and economic base due to the less pronounced impact of industrialisation than was the case in Glasgow and Dundee.
- Edinburgh's reliance upon small-scale consumer industries serving middle and upper classes and large proportion of salaried professionals reflecting the city's pre-eminence in law, government and finance remained relatively unchanged.
- Traditional functions of regional towns such as administration and local government continued through the auspices of expanded infrastructure. Thus the 13 largest regional towns of 1700 were largely unchanged by 1815.
- Though it facilitated the emergence and growth of the middle and upper working classes urbanisation did not produce a serious challenge to the fundamental hegemony of the landed classes over Scottish society. The landed aristocratic elite retained their pre-eminence.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Tom Devine:	Argues that the process of urbanisation heralded a fundamental change in Scottish society – "in the long run perspective of historical development, a change of this magnitude represented a clear break with the past. Plainly a new social order was in the process of formation".
Thomas Smout:	Underlines the regionalised impact of the growth of urban settlement by highlighting the differing nature of the growth of the middle classes as demonstrated by Edinburgh's professional class contrasting with Glasgow's business class.
Ian Donnachie:	Notes the experiences of the emerging urban working class whose experience differed from the rural landless labourers as they were subject to cyclical unemployment and desperate overcrowding in sprawling slums... "the social problems of overcrowding, poverty and disease."
Richard Finlay:	Suggests that the urbanisation of Scottish society sufficiently empowered the emerging middle class to the extent that the power of the landed gentry began to be challenged. "Even the iron grip of the Scottish governing classes began to falter as the forces of the 'new' middle class prepared an assault on the bastions of aristocratic privilege."

Question 28

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to assess the nature of change which took place in Scottish Lowlands agriculture between 1707-1815. The causation and extent of change is key. Central to the debate is whether the development of Scottish agriculture was primarily evolutionary in nature and thus largely an extension of patterns of change pre-dating 1707, or whether the transformation in agricultural husbandry should be interpreted more as a rapid, revolutionary change. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest that the development of Scottish lowlands agriculture between 1707 and 1815 represents revolutionary change

- Replacement of feudal system of agricultural production by a system of farming based upon capitalist landowners resulted in the destruction of a rural society.
- Conceptual change of landowning aristocracy's definition of land ownership – move away from communal holding of land following Union as Scottish landowners became increasingly influenced by their English counterparts.
- Increased commercialisation of agriculture. Land ownership became associated with profit rather than feudal rights. Integration of means of food production with embryonic industry - brewing, distilling and food processing. Market forces emphasised and accelerated regional specialisation – dairy in Galloway, cereals in East Lothian.
- Impact upon rural population – eviction of undesirable tenants, resistant to change – Levellers rising in Galloway in 1724.
- Contribution of radical, driven individuals - Improvers such as Cockburn, Mordaunt and Grant drove the radical transformation of farming practice; committed considerable finance and introduced new methodologies.
- Remodelling of agricultural land on a vast scale - the drainage of large areas such as Blair Drummond. Also tree and hedge planting and the construction of new roads and walls.
- New patterns of rural settlement through construction of planned model villages, such as Ormiston and Eaglesham.
- Productivity gains – 1750-1820 estimated sixfold increase in animal production.
- Nature of innovation – imported technologies from England and Europe represented entirely new techniques and technologies.

Evidence which may suggest that the development of Scottish Lowlands agriculture between 1707 and 1815 did not represent revolutionary change

- Incremental patterns of rural change and a gradual increase in yields pre-dated the 18th century. Examples include advances in fertilisation through crop rotation, liming and manuring, all of which were established across the Lowlands and southern Perthshire during the 17th century.
- 1700-1750 the pace and spread of rural innovation remained gradual. The utilisation of new methodologies was relatively slow – traditional husbandry held sway in large areas in the west coast and Galloway as late as the 1770s.
- Other aspects of regional variation may further support an evolutionary nature of change - specialised cereal growing areas in the east of Scotland such as the Moray Firth and Lothians were established in the 17th century.
- Gradual in comparison to the Highlands, Lowland Clearance started earlier, lasted longer and displaced more people as a result of annually renewed leases which allowed improving landlords to speedily evict tenants unwilling to adopt new husbandry or unable to pay increased rental.

- Specific patterns of land use, ownership and population distribution remained largely constant between 1700 and 1800. Despite celebrated examples of innovation and improvement, the proportion of the population who lived on the land and made their living from the land remained almost unchanged throughout the 18th century.
- Contractual terms including written leases and the use of single tenancies and specific examples of land management – drainage, enclosure and reforestation were a continuation of change originating in the 17th century.
- Agricultural change was synonymous with the earliest stages of industrialisation, most notably linen. However, the linen industry only gradually evolved from a cottage industry to larger scale mill production. Large scale urbanisation due to industrialisation was a largely nineteenth century phenomenon.
- Evolutionary nature of change was the result of market forces evident in the seventeenth century – eastern cereal growing areas such as Fife and the Lothians were exporting relatively large quantities of grain to Europe and England.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Neil Oliver:	Argues that the nature of agricultural change in Scotland during the eighteenth century had both revolutionary and evolutionary aspects. Whilst the nature of change represented an abrupt departure from past practice, he notes that the actual numbers who directly benefited was limited. "innovation in farming lined the pockets of a handful…but the mass continued to live rural lives…when change came it did not improve the lot of the many".
Thomas Smout:	States that the nature of change altered from one which was virtually non-existent prior to the eighteenth century to one of rapid change by 1800 – "... up to 1690 change was scarcely perceptible…by 1830 agrarian society was sharply defined by a sophisticated agricultural system. The envy of Europe, this was the agricultural revolution."
Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt:	Suggest that eighteenth century agricultural development was the culmination of long term change - "it began modestly in the seventeenth century when enterprising landlords undertook estate improvement."
Gavin Sprott:	Balances the debate regarding the nature of agrarian change in the eighteenth century by acknowledging the gradual nature of development which he argues was an unavoidable result of the challenges of introducing mechanised production to a specifically Scottish context.

Question 29

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to analyse the cause and nature of the Scottish Enlightenment and its relationship with previous patterns of intellectual activity and cultural achievement. An assessment of the nature and extent of Scottish intellectual life prior to the Enlightenment (approximately 1730-1800) should establish a comparative context. Candidates may explore causal links with Scotland's educational system, the impact of the Treaty of Union and relationships with Europe. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest the Enlightenment represented a continuation of earlier trends

Scotland's educational system

- Scotland's public education system pre-dated the Enlightenment by at least forty years. Neither comprehensive nor truly universal, it was however, Europe's first public education system since the classical world and a defining characteristic of Scottish society providing a context where cultural achievement was possible.
- The network of Presbyterian Parish schools was largely complete by the 1690s - the expansion of schooling provision through academies, burgh schools and grammars which began in the early eighteenth century represented the progression of tuition increasingly associated with a progressive curriculum.
- By the beginning of the 18th century Scotland had a higher rate of literacy than any other European country as a result of the parish school network.
- Evolution of University teaching influenced by the teachings of Enlightenment figures such as David Hume and the dissemination of associated ideas considered 'unchristian' through pamphlets and newsletters.
- As early as 1710 philosophy courses taught at all of Scotland's Universities had already adopted an essentially Newtonian emphasis.

Major Figures

- Great minds synonymous with the Scottish Enlightenment represent by their disposition, intellect and achievements a continuation of earlier trends.
- Francis Hutcheson – much of his work can be argued to represent a continuation and evolution of previous academic thought. Educated in the parish school Presbyterian tradition (in Ulster) Hutcheson moral philosophy maintained that reason helped explain god's will and thus logic that contradict theological doctrine was illogical.

Evidence which may suggest the Scottish Enlightenment represented a radical departure from earlier trends

Scale and nature of advancement

- Disciplines and fields of study which existed prior to the Enlightenment were fundamentally altered. For example, the introduction of easel painting in art.
- Some fields of study championed by the major figures of the Enlightenment were so radical that they required the invention of a new vocabulary as uncharted fields of intellectual enquiry emerged – examples include Chemistry, Economics and Geology.
- Impact upon Scottish society was both dramatic and diverse – for example in the field of literature. Newspapers, virtually unheard of at the beginning of the 18th century numbered 27 Scottish titles by 1790.

Major Figures

- Some great minds synonymous with the Scottish Enlightenment represent by their disposition, intellect and achievements a radical departure from previous generations.
- David Hume – arguably the Scottish Enlightenment's most important figure, he rejected accepted wisdom including most famously religion which he argued was merely superstition.
- Adam Smith – ground breaking Wealth of Nations redefined human history into definitive ages of development rather than previous histories written largely as narratives.

Impact upon Scottish Society

- Significant re-ordering of Scottish Society – for example the changing of status of artists from tradesmen to artiste.
- Social mobility – opportunities previously unimaginable for personal advancement irrespective of social class. For example, at his peak Robert Burns, son of a ploughman, as the darling of the Edinburgh literati.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Tom Devine:	Argues evidence suggests an evolutionary continuation of previous patterns of development. "The Enlightenment appears less of a completely new, eccentric and radical departure and more of a continuation and a more powerful and brilliant expression of earlier trends."
Neil Oliver:	Suggests a more revolutionary pattern of change. "An intellectual revolution…it was nothing less than an effort finally to understand the world, accurately to describe it and then to improve it for the benefit of mankind."
J.D. Mackie:	Underlines the rapidity and extent of change, change which was not confined to within Scotland's borders. "In every branch of learning Scotland made her influence felt outside her boundaries."
David Allan:	Emphasises the gradual nature of change as a result of convergence as the impact of the Treaty of Union resulted in sustained but gradual Anglicisation.

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 the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Charles Edward Stuart	The Prince was pivotal to the cause, leading the rebellion from inception to ultimate defeat.
Purpose	To explain the reasons for failure and to seek renewed assistance.	Provides the Prince's assessment of the political situation in Britain and his continued chances of gaining the throne.
Timing	5 November, 1746.	Six months after defeat at Culloden allowing for reflection and self-rationalisation for reasons for defeat.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"unsuccessful campaign was not due to a lack of Scots willing to fight"	Charles maintained throughout the course of the campaign that he enjoyed popular support in both Scotland and England, despite evidence to the contrary
"Three thousand troops would have enabled an immediate invasion of England and the capture of London"	Charles' invasion proceeded after only lengthy deliberation by his council of war. Despite misplaced confidence, his Highland army was not significantly augmented by English recruits as he marched south.
"Adequate supplies for my army would have guaranteed the complete defeat of the English at Falkirk."	Charles insisted his inability to capitalise on victory at Falkirk was caused by a lack of food and munitions.
"the safe delivery of just half the money you so kindly sent …would have commanded another 1200 men to certain victory at Culloden…"	The Jacobite army was never adequately financed. Irregular payment contributed to desertion and compelled Charles to court unpopularity through demands for tax levies. The Jacobite force was bested by a numerically superior force at Culloden, though tactics and modern munitions also played important roles.

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

- The 1745 rebellion was supported in a highly regionalised manner. More Scots fought against Charles than for him at Culloden.
- The rising was not supported by many important clan chiefs including Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Dunvegan nor all areas of the north-east lowlands. Recruitment in the lowlands and England was negligible, in the case of the latter the celebrated two hundred men of Manchester represented the sum total.
- Jacobite tactics and munitions remained antiquated, contrasting sharply with Cumberland's drilled infantry and field guns.
- His appointment of O'Sullivan as Quartermaster was calamitous, ensuring the Jacobite army was regularly short of food, and was never equipped with modern weapons.
- The Royal Navy's blockade of French aid fundamentally weakened the Jacobite position as it effectively prevented the supply of French finance, military personnel and munitions.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Despite criticism of Charles' leadership his decision to advance into England in October 1745 was based on reasoned military planning. He was eager to counter the return of the British army from Europe.
- Charles' inability to command his officers, and his dysfunctional relationship with Lord George Murray, were defining factors in the failure of his cause. This is particularly important.
- Victory at Prestonpans and the well-ordered retreat from Derby were due to Lord George Murray. Further, Prestonpans is widely regarded as a victory won through considerable good fortune rather than any leadership skills shown by Charles. The absence of French military assistance denied Charles essential manpower and munitions he could reasonably have expected to be forthcoming.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Christopher Duffy:	To an extent revises the traditional interpretation of Charles' leadership by arguing that he was in fact an impressive character who led his cause with considerable energy achieving a relative success whilst acknowledging the ultimate failure of the cause.
John Prebble:	Suggests an alternative judgement for the failure of the rebellion by focusing on fragility of Charles' personality and thus his ability to marshal his officers and effectively lead an army.
Neil Oliver:	Argues that Louis XV was clear that, following the storm of February 1744 which destroyed the French ships destined for England, there would be no French troops to support a Jacobite rising in 1745. With this decision, Oliver suggests the chances of Jacobite success effectively ended.

Question 31

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)**
"During the 1750s there would be concerted, government sponsored initiatives "	Various examples – the 3rd Duke of Argyll as the most powerful representative of the government in Scotland, reduced rents payable on agricultural land and by his example encouraged others to follow suit.
"Improvement became a watchword of landowners"	Numerous notable Highland improvers – William Mackintosh of Borlum, the Earl of Mar who diversified from improved husbandry to active management of industry including coal mining and wagon ways.
"In the Highlands the push towards crofting was an often unwelcome intrusion"	Crofting was a fundamentally alien form of husbandry at odds with traditional Highland practice. By its design it was deliberately aimed at producing a class of farmer who was forced to seek a supplemental income on disadvantageous terms.
"The government was more uniformly successful in harnessing and redirecting the warrior mentality of the Highland men"	By the 1770s the process of recruiting large numbers of Highlanders for the British army was well established providing significant numbers of British soldiers to fight in the American War of Independence and the French wars that followed.

Point identified in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"(the highlanders) were physically smashed"	Devastating military defeat of the Jacobite army acted as a watershed.
"For many decades the forces of change had been gathering momentum"	Long term transformation of land use in the Highlands predated the eighteenth century.
"it was appreciated…that the highlands could become new grazing territory for the Cheviot and Black Face sheep"	Many lairds realised that they could use their land in new ways.
"Optimism was the keynote of those in authority of Highland society in the last three or four decades of the eighteenth century, indeed there was an atmosphere of hopefulness without parallel in the Highlands"	All of the ruling class in the Highlands had a positive attitude towards change in the Highlands.

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

- Highland land had to pay. Traditional cashless rent (military) replaced by diverse commercial land use.
- Creation of crofting settlements resulted in a rural population with inadequate land compelled to rely on supplementary sources of employment.
- Crofting represented a fundamental change in settlement pattern from the baile or township.
- Demise of the Clan resulted in a fundamentally altered relationship between landlord and tenant. Feudal military tenures which had defined Highland society vanished as a result of military defeat.
- Diversity of the region may suggest the overstatement of a uniform feeling confidence amongst Highland landlords. Economic fortunes varied widely, largely dictated by the local topography.
- Eradication of the impediments of traditional Highland agriculture accelerated by Culloden and the resultant increased government intervention in the region.
- The social transformation caused by clearance was to a significant extent the direct result of the profitability of sheep ranching which provided few employment opportunities. Progressive landlords such as Sir John Sinclair of Ulster and Alistair MacDonnell of Glengarry introduced sheep farming with considerable financial success.
- During these changes in Highland land management the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a sustained net population decrease as Highlanders migrated to the industrialised central belt and overseas.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Central to improvement doctrine was an increased responsibility upon tenants to utilise modern, efficient husbandry.
- Highland land management was directly influenced by earlier improvement in the Lowlands. John Cockburn of Ormiston introduced tenant leases which were dependent upon his tenants actively improving his land.
- Regional variation continued – roughly pastoralism dominated the east and south of the Great Glen whilst crofting held sway to the north and west.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Andrew Mackillop:	Argues that the impact of Culloden upon Highland land management has been overstated. "As early as 1700 the region was already subject to influences that stimulated the commercialisation of landed resources."
Ewen Cameron:	Confirms that the introduction of crofting intentionally created a rural population dependent on a secondary source of employment to maintain a subsistence lifestyle.
John Prebble:	Argues that new forms of Highland estate management acted with the compliance of the law and of the established church, and that the dispossession of a race of people was allowed to occur under the euphemism of 'Improvement'.

Question 32

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

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"committee devoted to burghal reform"	Signalled a significant change within the Scottish judicial establishment and its willingness to engage with political reform.
"reflected a mood of profound disillusion with an incompetent government"	Defeat of British forces by a colony was unprecedented. A blow to national pride, it also questioned the future sustainability of key Scottish industries, most notably the tobacco trade.
"rapid growth of towns and cities"	Rapid urbanisation further highlighted the tiny electorate in Scottish cities – Edinburgh had 33 enfranchised voters.
"But the great majority of the merchants, manufacturers and professionals who were shaping this new world were still effectively excluded from any role in government. Now they were starting to demand a voice in public affairs."	There were new classes emerging who hadn't got a say in politics and they were demanding to be heard.

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

- The liberal advocates associated with burghal reform represented a minority with the Scottish legal hierarchy, and contrasted in their aims sharply with the established senior figures of the day, led by Lord Mansfield.
- The machinery of government was riven with endemic corruption and impropriety – burgh and county elections were often 'won' by bribery and the control of fictional faggot votes.
- 0.2% of the Scottish population was enfranchised by the end of the eighteenth century. So limited was the franchise that even many landowners were excluded from voting.
- Emerging trades and guilds in Edinburgh's New Town, in Glasgow, there were incorporation guilds and trade houses which were influential during the stage of proto-industrialisation.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Influence of the French Revolution, eg Tom Paine's Rights of Man and the Association of the Friends of the People.
- Following the election of 1768 the lack of a Scottish manager prior to the era of Dundas saw ever greater excesses of corruption particularly in rural constituencies such as Forfarshire where larger landowners could split superiorities to increase their influence.
- The 'fictitious vote' became increasingly associated with electoral abuses, as those who owned land sought to maximise the number of votes they could control within the context of an electoral system restricted to a tiny minority of the population in comparison with England and Wales.

- Government within Scotland was controlled by Dundas. His autocratic methods led to popular discontent, protest and rioting in 1792.
- Francis Hutcheson University teachings described a natural law which transcended the laws of a state, including man's inalienable right to enjoy freedom of opinion and the unacceptability of tyrannical, oppressive government.
- Examples of middle class discontent, for example ZENO – Thomas McGrugar's denouncement of undemocratic practices during burghal elections.
- Extent of religious dissent and the acrimonious disputes over ecclesiastical doctrine underlined the potential for radical thought within Scottish society.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Steve Murdoch:	Acknowledges that American independence played an important role in disseminating radical political thought – "ideas associated with American independence from Britain undoubtedly had an impact on a growing number of people in Scotland."
Michael Fry:	Though he accepts the impact of printed works on a highly literate population and the economic difficulties created by the Corn Laws he maintains that the impact of the French Revolution was key in mobilising radicalism in Scotland.
Nicholas Phillipson:	Notes the impact of Enlightenment historian William Robertson who argued that Scotland's ancient system of governance was increasingly incompatible with the advances made in intellectual thought.

SECTION 5 - USA: "A House Divided", 1850-1865

Part A — Historical Issues

Question 33

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the importance of the breakdown of the two-party national political system in leading to Southern secession by 1861. The candidate may wish to consider the importance of the breakdown of the two-party national political system as one of several long term causes of the war.

Politics, Constitution and the breakdown of the two-party national political system

- The emergence of the Republicans as a sectional political party.
- Splits within the Democratic Party.
- Southern fears of her becoming a minority within the federal union.
- Southern press hostile to all northern actions eg portrayal of Republicans as the party of the black, which would encourage social and racial chaos.
- Lincoln portrayed as a direct threat to the social/economic status of the South, and this justified immediate secession if he were to be elected.
- Political disagreements over the future nature of the American republic.
- Doctrine of States' Rights.

The Sectional Differences: Economic, Cultural and Ideological Differences

- Greater industrial development in North than the South.
- Greater railway mileage in North. The South tended to rely on its river network more than railways.
- Cotton comprised 50% of US exports.
- South had 35% of US population but produced only 10% of manufactured output.
- 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.
- Disputes over tariff legislation. 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.
- Economic disagreements over funding of internal improvements.
- Majority of immigration to the North – very few immigrants in the South.

Slavery

- 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.
- Issue of slavery and more importantly slavery expansion.
- Northern perception of a 'slave-power' conspiracy.
- Seward's doctrine of an 'irrepressible conflict'.
- Abolitionist activity and anti-slavery opinion.
- The role of Abolitionists exacerbating the fears in the South.
- Impact of John Brown's raid – struck a sensitive nerve in the Southern psyche.

Failings of politicians and leading officials

- Zachary Taylor – prevented compromise during the 1850 crisis.
- Franklin Pierce – reignited the dispute in 1852 with the Cuban Fiasco, Ostend Manifesto and the Gadsden Purchase. Theory of a 'slave power conspiracy' emerges in the North as a consequence.
- Stephen Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854 led to the downfall of the Whigs, emergence of the Republican Party and 'Bleeding Kansas'.
- James Buchanan's adoption of the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton constitution and inept leadership furthered the divide.
- Lincoln accused of engineering a conflict in his handling of the crisis at Fort Sumter. Debates with Douglas in 1858 led to widespread fear in the South regarding Northern attitudes to slavery.
- Role of the Abolitionists and the fire-eaters.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Eric Foner:	takes the view that the ideology of the Republican Party was at odds with Southern values.
Charles and Mary Beard:	take the view that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.
James Randall:	takes the view that secession and civil war was the consequence of a "blundering generation".
James Ford Rhodes:	slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War.
Avery Craven:	secession and war was the result of the irresponsible actions of the Abolitionists.

Question 34

Aim of the question:

The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to assess the importance of the Border States to Union war preparations as one of several issues facing the Union in the early stages of the Civil War.

Position of the Border States

- The issue of emancipation was critical in 1861 to the status of the border states.
- Maryland: the danger of its proximity to Washington made this a critical state. The Baltimore Riots of April 1861 emphasised the unsettled nature of the population. State Governor Ben Butler suppressed resistance through Habeas Corpus.
- Kentucky declared its 'armed neutrality'.
- Missouri: Guerrilla fighting broke out in May 1861.
- Ben Butler of Maryland refused to surrender fugitive slaves calling them contraband of war.
- General Fremont freed the slaves of rebels in Missouri forcing Lincoln to revoke the order. This created tensions amongst Northern opinion on the issue.
- Gradual compensated emancipation was introduced in Delaware.

Recruitment and Raising Armies

- The Union had only a 16,000 strong regular army.
- The war department only had 90 men.
- The leading Union general, Winfield-Scott was 74 years old and suffered from a number of health difficulties.
- Lincoln's original appeal for 75,000 volunteers to serve for 3 months was a significant underestimate forcing Congress to increase this to 400,000 over 3 years.
- The militia system was non-existent in much of the North.

Military concerns/difficulties

- In theory, the Union had 90 ships in 1861, but only a few were actually ready for sea. Limited availability for use in rivers or near the shore.
- Lincoln's appointments were politically rather than militarily driven.
- Democracy in the army often led to officers being appointed on the basis of status rather than ability.

Political Challenges

- Lincoln had limited political experience and no military experience at all.
- Lincoln had to draw together the Republican Party which was very much a Northern 'Rainbow coalition'.
- Lincoln had to create a cabinet that would unite all northern factions particularly those who had stood against him in the Presidential race of 1860.

Diplomatic Challenges

- The cabinet and most of the Northern politicians were vastly more experienced than Lincoln.
- The status of slavery was critical. Lincoln had to balance the views of abolitionists with those of the border states.
- Fort Sumter: re-supply the fort, attack or surrender to the Confederacy.
- Lincoln had to support the Crittenden Proposals.
- In November 1861, the Trent Affair brought the Union close to potential war with Britain.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Stephen Oates:	argues that "With the Border States also threatening to secede, Lincoln seemed confused, incredulous, at what was happening to his country. He seemed not to understand how he appeared in southern eyes….He could not accept the possibility that his election to the presidency might cause the collapse of the very system which had enabled him to get there".
Kenneth Stampp:	"It took a deep faith in the talents of the 'citizen class of people' to nourish even the hope that Lincoln might be able to cope with the national crisis. The new President could not rely upon his national prestige, for he had little of that…. Nor could he capitalize upon the experience gathered from long participation in national politics, for that too was lacking." Stampp noted: "His strength could come from nowhere but within himself: from his native shrewdness, his instinctive feeling for trends in public opinion, above all, from his capacity for growth. The secession movement tested the sufficiency of these qualities and gave him his first real training in statecraft."
David Potter:	takes the view that "the President-elect had…showed and continued to show a complete misunderstanding of the Southern temper, and a complete misconception of the extent of the crisis".
Luraghi:	takes the view that the South responded rapidly to outbreak of war in terms of recruiting men and mobilising industry.
David Donald:	Lincoln was slow to act on all of the major issues facing the North in 1861.
Michael Burlinghame:	Lincoln failed to understand the gravity of the crisis in 1860/1861.

Question 35

Aim of the question:

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

Ideological Factors

- To defend the doctrine of State's Right in the South or to protect the right of slaveholders. To defend Southern liberty.
- Southerners view of a war of independence.
- Northerners fighting to save the Unions and the 'Great Experiment'.
- The impact of the Emancipation Proclamation altered the war aims of the North – a war about emancipation as well as restoring the Union.
- Patriotism: The strong belief that the Southern society was distinctly different to the rest of the Union as noted in the letters of many Southern soldiers. There was a Northern identity also which led to patriotism.

Southern Motivations

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

Northern Motivations

- Desire for revenge as war continued.
- Punish treason.
- Motives of blacks (and immigrants).
- Impact of the Emancipation Proclamation on recruitment particularly amongst blacks and runaway slaves.

Common Motivations

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

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Reid Mitchell:	Takes the view that the Northern soldiers were imbued with ideology. Men enlisted due to youthful high spirits, community pressure and overpowering enthusiasm. As war continued anti-slavery sentiment grew among Union soldiers. Soldiers' ideology motivated them through the hellish second half of the war. Loyalties to fellow soldiers were important.
Peter Parish:	Takes the view that combined forces of nationalism and democracy produced a massive increase in commitment to the cause of one side or the other, which made this a people's war. Huge response of 1861 was the product of individual enthusiasm, state action and local initiative. Men joined due to the encouragement of family and friends, motivated by a mixture of patriotism, fear of being thought a coward and anxiety that it would all be over before they could get involved.
James McPherson:	Argues that the abolition of slavery became linked to preservation of the Union. Few fought to achieve racial equality. Confederate soldiers tacitly supported defence of southern institutions. Northern soldiers supported emancipation as this hurt the enemy.
A Haughton:	Takes the view that men filled with thoughts of excitement and the drama of war. Hope and expectation of demonstrating courage and ability on the battlefield. In the North, patriotic sentiment was based on pride of democratic system. In the South, many fought for independence and defence of their own institutions and laws. Real affinity towards their community and section. Immediate stimulus to fight was group loyalty to men on either side of the soldier.

Question 36

Aim of the question:

The aim of the essay is to assess the issue of States' rights in relation to the other internal difficulties faced by the Confederate Government during the Civil War. The candidate may choose to analyse the difficulties in the early stages of the war and/or assess these difficulties as the war progressed.

States' Rights

- Several Southern States were unwilling to concede power to the centralised Confederate Government.
- Governor Brown of Georgia was arguably the most resistant. Brown opposed conscription and released many men from the draft.
- Governor Vance of North Carolina retained uniforms, shoes and blankets for the state militia rather than handing them over to Lee's army when they were in need.
- Vance opposed Davis' leadership but was loyal to the Confederate cause.
- Davis' decision to suspend the writ of habeas corpus was widely condemned by the southern press.
- However perhaps this argument has been exaggerated. Whilst there was resistance to some measure, the majority of states were committed to the Confederate cause.

Economic Difficulties

- Failed to develop an appropriate taxation policy as a means of raising revenue.
- Loans resulted in massive debt eg Erlanger Loan, January 1863.
- Paper money resulted in massive inflation.
- Attempts to fix prices added to inflation.
- Confederate bonds had limited success.
- Informal embargo on cotton exports resulted in stockpiles of cotton which may have been an invaluable source of income at the start of the war.
- Failure to supervise the railroads meant supplies often failed to reach troops.
- Impressment Act, March 1863 and Taxation-In-Kind-Act, April 1863 were unpopular and caused resentment.
- Many of the successful initiatives were arguably achieved by private enterprise rather than the Confederate Government eg Tredegar Iron Works, Richmond.

Political Difficulties/Leadership of Davis

- Davis struggled to manage competing factions within the Confederate Government.
- Davis was criticised by his own war department staff for his lack of knowledge and interference. Vice President Stephens called Davis "My poor blind and deaf dog."
- Davis struggled to establish good working relations with many of his political colleagues. His personality seems to have made him more enemies than friends. Constant feuds in his government undermined the Confederate war effort eg during the war he appointed four Secretaries of State and six Secretaries of War.

Difficulties from the outset for the Confederacy's war effort

- The South was overwhelmingly rural and dependant on cotton.
- Limited industry and urbanisation in the South.
- Problem of moving from cotton cultivation to food cultivation.
- The Confederacy had few gold reserves – most of its wealth was in land and slaves.

- Collecting taxation had been a state power. It was difficult to initiate national taxation given southern traditions. High and direct taxes would have been resented and counter-productive.
- Unlikely that a fully comprehensive fiscal programme could have been established in 1861/62.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Frank Owsley:	The Confederacy "Died of State Rights".
Douglas Ball:	The Confederacy's greatest failure was in the area of finance. Memminger was solely responsible for this failure. Misguided fiscal policies were a major cause of Southern defeat.
David Donald:	Memminger mismanaged the Treasury Department. He failed to distribute funds efficiently, leaving the army unpaid and without food, clothing and shelter. He failed to raise sufficient revenue for the war effort, forcing the Confederacy into debt. He failed to persuade the Southern people of the importance of making sacrifices for the war effort.
Peter Parish:	The Southern people could not adapt quickly or efficiently enough to the new ways thrust upon them. Despite the upheavals of war, the Confederacy remained a predominantly rural and agricultural society.
James McPherson:	Southern wartime taxation exacerbated class tensions and caused growing alienation of the white lower classes from the Confederate cause.

Question 37

Aim of the question:

The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to assess the contribution of African Americans in both North and South during the Civil War. The candidate should aim to consider both arguments in favour and against the statement in assessing the importance of African American contribution to the war effort.

Black contribution has been underestimated

Contribution to Northern war effort underestimated

- Numbers of Blacks involved in Union war effort – 10% of Union total in 1865.
- Use of these regiments as support for White fighting forces.
- Contribution of individual regiments eg 54th Mass. As characterised in the film 'Glory'.
- Use of Blacks crossing into Union lines and providing Northern commanders with valuable strategic information.
- Black involvement helped alter Northern opinion towards Blacks by seeing their contribution and sacrifices for the Union cause.
- Blacks did release more White manpower for the front.
- Blacks played a crucial role when the need for their labour in army was greatest. Non-combatant war work just as important.
- Runaways destabilised Southern economy and their ability to wage war. Many of the runaways fought for North.
- Black recruits provided fresh impetus to a flagging war effort in 1863.
- Black recruits added to "overwhelming numbers" of Union troops (180, 000) that Lee "yielded" to.
- War was not over in 1863; African-American soldiers need for "movement on all fronts".
- Lincoln believed sight of African-American soldiers would quell the rebellion "if vigorously applied".

Contribution to Southern war effort underestimated

- Blacks made up more than a third of Confederate population, therefore they were crucial in supporting the Confederate war effort in factories, mines and agriculture.
- Military role of Blacks was crucial despite their lack of combat; digging trenches and aiding Confederate efforts behind the lines.

Black contribution has not been underestimated

Limited contribution to Northern war effort

- Contradictory policy of Federal government in refusing to enlist Blacks into army yet welcoming them into Federal navy.
- Issue of discrimination in terms of rates of pay, Blacks excluded from officer corps.
- Discussion of impact of Emancipation Proclamation on Black recruitment.
- Contribution of Blacks was limited in that of 30,000 killed, only 3,000 died in combat.
- Entry date of African-American soldiers in the war at end/key battles already taken place.
- The prospect of freedom for Blacks threatened to divide Northern opinion.

Limited contribution to Southern war effort

- Most Blacks remained slaves throughout the war.
- Slaves took opportunities to escape from the Confederacy; estimated 500,000 slaves fled to join the Union army with a devastating effect on the Southern economy.

- With White women and Black slave drivers in the South due to the absence of White men on plantations, slaves became insubordinate and less productive.
- Some plantation owners moved 'their property' to safety from advancing Union troops, thus limiting their efforts.
- March 1865 – Confederate Congress passed laws allowing 300,000 slaves to serve in the Confederate army, however this was too late in the war to make any impact.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Benjamin Quarles:	Takes the view that Blacks entered the Union forces at a time of serious depletion and made up 10% of Union total by end of conflict.
Peter Batty:	Takes the view that Black contribution, though seldom spectacular, was still notable and caused many Northern Whites to revise opinion of Blacks.
Susan Mary Grant:	Takes the view that the decision to raise Black regiments was viewed as a necessary war measure.
Gabor Boritt:	Takes the view that their absence would have limited Grant's Total War tactics.

SECTION 5 – USA: "A House Divided", 1850-1856

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 in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted significant view(s)**
"If a slave was convicted of any high misdemeanour … as a warning to the slaves remaining."	Punishments were often severe with the threat of being "sold down the river."
"as their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pork, or its equivalent in fish, and one bushel of corn meal."	Slave diet was limited and was often insufficient for the nature of their workload.
"clothing consisted of two coarse linen shirts, one pair of linen trousers, one jacket, one pair of trousers for winter, made of coarse negro cloth, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes; the whole of which could not have cost more than seven dollars."	Slave clothing was limited and of poor quality. The clothing rarely equipped slaves effectively for summer or winter conditions.
"When the clothing failed them, they went naked until the next allowance-day. Children from seven to ten years old, of both sexes, almost naked, might be seen at all seasons of the year."	Slave clothing was issued annually and limited in quantity and quality.

Point in Source B	**possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted significant view(s)**
"Some planters provided that mild cases be prescribed for by the overseer in the master's absence, but that for any serious illness a doctor be summoned."	Slaves received medical care either from the overseer or a doctor.
"each case has to be examined carefully by the master or overseer to ascertain the disease, the directions for treatment, diet, etc and these directions must be followed."	The owner or overseer would adapt the slave's conditions and diet as appropriate in order to protect the health of the slave.
"Pregnancy, childbirth and the care of children were matters of special concern."	Women and children were particularly well cared for by the master or overseer.
"Pregnant women at five months are put in the sucklers' gang. No ploughing or lifting must be required of them."	Pregnant women were not expected to maintain the same working conditions as other women.

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

- Slaves could be sold, punished, sexually exploited and even killed by their owners.
- Firm discipline was the norm. Disobedient slaves were flogged or branded.
- Slave diet was monotonous and often heavily reliant on sweet potatoes. It is widely argued that the diet was insufficient to maintain the nature of slave working conditions.
- Clothing was issued annually but was not appropriate for the heat of summer and the cold of winter.

However

- It has been argued that a paternalistic relationship existed between slave and master.
- Slaves were reasonably well fed, housed and clothed.
- Evidence of health care for slaves.
- No major slave revolt, suggesting that slave conditions were not particularly bad.
- Only a few hundred slaves tried to escape each year out of a population of approx. 4 million.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Slaves usually worked longer hours than free Americans.
- Slave family could be broken through sale. Up to 25% of slave family units broken by forced separation.
- By 1850s, few slaves were granted freedom.
- Lack of slave revolt shows the reality of the situation. Impossible to organise; slaves not allowed to meet or to own weapons.
- Extremely limited potential for successful escape, therefore severe punishment to escapees.
- Slaves hated the institution. When given the opportunity during the Civil War, most chose freedom.

However

- It has been argued that slaves did not work harder than most 19th century free Americans. There was little work on Sunday, half days on Saturday and regular holidays.
- Use of carrot rather than stick to motivate slaves, eg hard working slaves received additional holidays, more food and clothing.
- Floggings were rare. Few brutal owners. Most Whites were constrained by Christian morality and own standards of decency.
- Some slaves were granted their freedom on the death of their owner.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Kenneth Stampp:	Takes the view that the cruelty was endemic in all slave-holding communities. Fear among slaves of being sold on by their master. Slave unhappiness as shown by acts of resistance and sabotage, but not open rebellion. The typical plantation was an area of persistent conflict between master and slave.
Fogel and Engerman:	Take the view that slave accommodation and standard of living was superior to that of free Americans living in New York in 1893. Slaves were controlled with minimal force; whippings have been exaggerated: only 0.7% of hands per year.
David Blight:	Takes the view that a lack of hard evidence led Fogel and Engerman to speculate and over generalise eg stats related to slave whippings.
Gutman and Sutch:	Critique of Fogel and Engerman's methodology eg rewards do not equal wages; whipping was just one of a range of punishments open to overseer/master.
Stanley Elkins:	Takes the view that slaves were dependent on the mood of an authoritarian master.

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 the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Abraham Lincoln	A former Whig, Abraham Lincoln stood in the election to the Senate as Republican candidate for the state of Illinois.
Purpose	A speech	Speech to the Republican Party conference to accept his nomination as Republican candidate for the state of Illinois.
Timing	16th June 1858.	The speech was at the start of the election campaign, during which Lincoln would participate in a series of famous debates with his Democrat opponent Stephen Douglas. The 'House Divided' speech would become the most iconic speech of the period and one of the most significant in US history.

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant views**
"We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation"	Lincoln refers to the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act which aimed to resolve the final remaining area of unorganised territory and therefore provide a final solution to the issue of slavery and its expansion
"In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed"	Lincoln fears that the continuing disagreement regarding slavery in the territories will not be resolved until it is addressed head on
"I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free"	Lincoln refers to the sectional divide within Congress with Southern states supporting pro slave candidates and Northern states supporting the opposite.
"Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward"	Lincoln believes that compromise is not possible and therefore slavery will continue in the USA or it will cease to exist.

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

- 'Bleeding Kansas' exacerbated tensions between North and South.
- Dred Scott case was settled 2 days after Buchanan's inauguration speech on 6th March 1857. He had claimed to have no knowledge of the supreme court verdict but declared that it would provide a 'final settlement' to the dispute over slavery in the territories. The announcement was highly divisive.
- The 'Panic of 1857' which had significant economic consequences in the USA added to the divisions. There was little impact in the South but a depression in the North.
- Lecompton vs Topeka state legislatures in Kansas continued the divisions over the status of slavery in the territories. Buchanan had exacerbated the divisions by attempting to support the pro-slave Lecompton constitution despite the alleged issues over the legality of the vote.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Lincoln's Democrat opponent, Stephen Douglas, was fighting for his political survival when the 1858 Congressional elections were due to be held. He had fallen out with Buchanan who was determined to ruin Douglas which in turn further divided the Democrats.
- Lincoln and Douglas engaged in 7 debates between August and October 1858 largely focused on slavery and the spectre of the slave power which were widely covered by the media. This would shape Southern attitudes towards Lincoln in the 1860 Presidential election campaign.
- Although the Democrats would win the 1858 mid-term elections, their representation in the House fell from 53 to 32 allowing the Republicans to take control of the House. If voting trends continued in the 1860 Presidential election, the Republicans would also win control of the Presidency.
- John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in October 1859 intensified Southern fears of an abolitionist rising in the North.
- When Congress met on 5th December 1859, a 2 month struggle to elect a speaker would follow as the House divided along sectional lines.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
David Donald:	Argues that the House Divided speech not only attracted national attention but sounded very radical. It came five months ahead of William H. Seward's prediction of an 'irrepressible conflict' between slavery and freedom. Donald believes it was the most extreme statement made by any responsible leader of the Republican party.
McPherson:	Takes the view that the Dred Scott case verdict did not remove issue of slavery in territories but made it a political issue with Republicans seeing Scott as a free man. Problems from interpretation of slave property not being excluded from territories and citizen rights.
Tulloch:	Has argued that the 1857 decision merely re-affirmed the view that slaves were mere property.
John Stauffer:	Takes the view that the impact of Harper's Ferry transformed the nation. The tide of anger that flowed from Harper's Ferry traumatized Americans of all persuasions, terrorizing Southerners with the fear of massive slave rebellions, and radicalizing countless Northerners, who had hoped that violent confrontation over slavery could be indefinitely postponed.

Question 40

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

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted significant view(s)**
"Although General Lee was often a brilliant tactician, he was never much of a strategist." "Never did he fully comprehend the strategic possibilities resting in the sheer size of the Confederacy."	There are two references in the source to Lee's poor strategic leadership of the Confederate army. This should be credited once ie **one mark** for reference to Lee and strategy. Lee's leadership was primarily focused on the defence of Virginia which is exemplified in the title afforded to his army – 'the Army of Northern Virginia'.
"Throughout the war, Lee used his very considerable influence with President Davis to insist upon the primacy of the Virginia theatre and to fend off any suggestion that troops from the Army of Northern Virginia be sent to the Deep South"	The defence of Virginia was critical to Lee. Lee and Davis enjoyed an excellent working relationship in that Davis allowed Lee to lead the military campaign without the interference.
"Lee showed himself a brave, resourceful, and daring – sometimes overly daring field general"	Lee was a great general but perhaps took risks.
"Yet the triumphs he did win, staggering though the price often was, bolstered Southern morale and kept the North on edge."	The attacks into Union territory boosted Southern morale. His military leadership arguably allowed the Confederacy to sustain the war effort for so long, despite significant losses.

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

- Lee defended a less well armed and less populated Confederacy from Union attacks for four years.
- Despite being outnumbered in every major battle and campaign which he fought, Lee won many crucial victories.
- Victories boosted Southern morale.
- Without Lee, the Confederacy would have collapsed earlier.
- Lee's offensive strategy almost brought outright Confederate victory.
- Lee displayed great ability in a defensive campaign also eg 7 days battle of 1862.
- Other generals who adopted a total defence strategy were disastrous eg Joe Johnson.
- Lee forced many Union commanders to retreat despite their superior numbers eg McClellan from the Potomac or the Wilderness Campaign.
- Skilled and brave tactician eg splitting his armed forces to great effect at 2nd Manassas.
- Lee had excellent relations with both military generals and Confederate political leaders.
- Lee's dignified surrender and refusal to blame impressed.
- Lee realised that the defence of Virginia, the industrial heartland of the Confederacy was crucial.
- Lee made excellent use of economic and geographical resources.
- Lee made excellent use of the Confederacy's interior lines of communication.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Lee's strategic vision was limited. He did not have the overall strategic vision as demonstrated by Grant.
- Focused excessively on the defence of the Virginian theatre.
- Neglected the Western theatre, therefore the Confederacy lost the West and consequently the war.
- Lee took the fight to the North, making costly attacks and losing key military figures.
- A guerrilla war has been argued as a more effective war measure.
- Lee nicknamed 'Granny Lee or 'King of Spades' for his defensive earth works.
- Lee demonstrated several weaknesses in his command that resulted in disastrous attacks eg Pickett's Charge.
- His tactics were dated – he struggled to take advantage of new technologies eg minie-ball rifle.
- Lee failed to give clear directions to his subordinates.
- Feuding in the Confederate Army between Generals was not addressed by Lee and had a detrimental impact on the Confederate war effort. This was evident from the outset and the first battle of the war; Manassas. Beauregard argued with Johnston about who should command their combined forces. This issue was to repeat itself throughout the war.
- Theory that early success was due to Stonewall Jackson and after his death, Lee was not so good without Jackson. Certainly, Confederate military fortunes declined following Jackson's death leading some to argue that he was more critical to the Confederacy than Lee.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
James McPherson:	takes the view that of all the Confederate commanders, Lee was the only one whose victories had some potential for winning the war.
Bevin Alexander:	takes the view that although Lee did not want to fight a defensive war, he was in fact more gifted in conducting one than he was fighting offensively.
Thomas Fuller:	Lee lacked overall strategic intelligence.
Grady McWhinney and Perry Jamieson:	take the view that Lee was too attack minded and as a consequence, the confederacy bled itself to death in the first three years of the war by making costly attacks. Confederacy lost 97,000 men compared to 20,000 Union troops in 8 of the first 12 battles.
Douglas Southall Freeman:	Lee hesitated to give direct orders to subordinate commanders, preferring to suggest actions rather than to demand them.

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

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 41

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the extent to which Japan was really isolated during the Tokugawa period. It would be expected that candidates would explore both sides of the argument before drawing a conclusion.

The extent to which the Tokugawa Japan was 'substantially cut off'

- Policy of isolation adopted in 1630s, restricting foreign trade to reduce the political threats associated with Western missionaries and deprive daimyo of income.
- Attitude to Christianity very much at the heart of the issue – belief that missionaries would lead to full blown colonialism.
- All western books banned for most of Tokugawa period.
- Foreign visitations rejected.
- Travel outside country highly limited – many who left were not allowed to return.
- Another form of social control for Tokugawa to limit the influx of any new, potentially revolutionary ideas from the west.
- Led to development of a highly indigenous socio-economic structure.
- Tokugawa Bakufu suffered from a fundamental sense of inertia and was very reluctant to review this policy, despite changing socio-economic conditions.

The extent to which it is possible to challenge the idea that Tokugawa Japan was 'substantially cut off'

- Argument that isolationism has been overstated because of a lack of understanding regarding Tokugawa society.
- Historic connection with China.
- Dutch permitted to remain in Japan – although highly controlled. They demonstrated that they were only interested in commerce. Dutch were confined to a man-made island in Nagasaki harbour.
- Dutch also influential in spread of medical knowledge.
- Also some trade with Korea and Ryukyu islands.
- Long history of cultural borrowing from China and private trade did continue.
- Western books permitted from 1720 except for Bible.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Iain Buruma:	contends “At the time of his (Perry’s) arrival in Edo bay, the Japanese knew more about America than the Americans knew about Japan”.
Peter Kornicki:	argues “It is common place to assert that it was Commodore Perry who was responsible for opening Japan in 1853-4, but this is misleading…Japan was never completely closed, owing to the Dutch presence in Nagasaki and the active trade conducted by Japan with China and Korea”.
Elise Tipton:	believes “While limiting contact with Europe, Japan thus maintained active relations with other East Asian countries, so that the image of a closed country should not be overdrawn”.
Marius B. Jansen:	summarises that the policy was not a ubiquitous one and that “Japan’s seclusion was aimed principally at the west”.

Question 42

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the extent to which Shinto Revivialism was the most significant internal force for change weakening the Bakufu when weighed up against other internal factors. Note the candidate is only being asked for internal forces for change, so discussing the impact of Perry and the subsequent Unequal Treaties cannot be credited.

The revival of Shinto beliefs

- Shinto indigenous Japanese religion that had been suppressed by Tokugawa as they placed great emphasis on Neo-Confucianism.
- Roots of Shinto revivalism in a reaction against Chinese domination.
- Motoori Noringa, one of the founders of the School of National Learning, who at first reacted against worship of Chinese thought – searching for pure Japanese culture.
- Shintoism was centred upon the Emperor as a living god – direct descendant from Amaterasu, the sun goddess.
- Shinto revivalism led to the development of an emperor-centred loyalism and a growing belief that the Shogun had usurped power from the Emperor.
- The fact that the Tokugawa Shoguns had kept the Emperor as the notional figurehead for the caste structure ultimately served to weaken the regime, as the Emperor became a rallying cry for the Shinto Revivalists.
- Many of those Choshu and Satsuma activists who were instrumental in the downfall of the Tokugawa were highly influenced by Shinto Revivalism.

However

- Movement limited in numbers for many years as it was centred largely on the educated elite.

Socio-economic changes and the blurring of the caste structure

- Blurring of the caste structure – one of the Tokugawa's main forms of social control.
- Inherent weakness of decentralised government – direct control of only 25% of the land.
- Peasants not necessarily content to remain on the land and increasingly reluctant to confine their activities to food growing and diversifying into other kinds of activity.
- Changing position of the merchants – supposed to be the lower caste, yet their wealth was increasing.
- Samurai selling privileges to merchants.
- Increasing importance of the merchants.
- Division between upper and lower level samurai and the discontent of the latter.

Tempo Reforms

- Failure of the Tempo reforms illustrated that they did not have the administrative power to enforce their policies.

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
Richard Storry:	contends "as … scholars examined the concept of loyalty, a corner-stone of Neo-Confucianism so firmly endorsed by the Bakufu, they began to think that after all perhaps the Japanese owed loyalty not so much to the Tokugawa Shogun as to the rather neglected line of emperors … Thus among the educated … there was already, by the 1850s, a mental climate prepared for a return of the emperors to the centre of the stage."
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."
Janet Hunter:	believes that "the dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national policy which sought to avoid change".
H. Bolitho:	highlights that in the country the authority of the Shogun and Daimyo alike was successfully flouted.

Question 43

Aim of the question:

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

Evidence which supports the argument that Korea was the main reason for war with China

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

Evidence which challenges the argument that Korea was the main reason for war with China

- 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.
- Formosa Incident had already highlighted that the balance of power was shifting away from China to Japan.
- Japan became increasingly confident after this event to risk a conflict with China to replace them as the leading Asian nation.
- There was growing concern regarding expanding Russian influence in Asia. If Japan secured Korea, it would prevent this happening there.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Beasley	argues “Japanese leaders of almost all shades wanted to draw Korea into the Japanese orbit”.
Hunter	contends that “As Japan’s strengths grew so did her ambitions on the Asian mainland and her ability to advance them”.
Benson and Matsumura:	suggest “The European powers’ growing interest in Asia could scarcely be overlooked and this encouraged Japan’s development of a more aggressive foreign policy”.
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

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to consider the impact of the industrial changes between 1868 and 1912 upon the living and working conditions of Japanese people. It would be relevant to reflect upon the changes to men and women.

Living conditions

- In their desire to establish an educated workforce, the Meiji oligarchy extended educational opportunities for all at elementary level, abolishing fees in 1900. There was also an expansion in secondary and university education.
- Abolition of Bakufu-han structure meant that peasants could, in theory, own their own land.
- Street lighting provided for towns (gas then electric).

However

- City dwellers had high rents, expensive public transport and electricity.
- High inflation during war years led to the price of rice increasing three fold in as many years.
- School fees limited engagement with education provision until 1900.
- Most did not receive an education beyond elementary level.

Working conditions

- Some Zaibatsu concerned themselves with the welfare of their workers.
- Funds set up to support some workers in times of sickness and retirement.
- 1911 – legislation introduced to control factory conditions which stopped the employment of children under 12 and established a 12-hour limit for boys and girls up to 15.
- Trade Unions were slowly emerging, although the government (and businesses) manipulated workers by emphasising loyalty.
- Most employees in Japan remained in the same firm until retirement; therefore, stability of employment was a feature.
- Skilled workers sometimes offered incentives to remain with the same firm.
- Family-like relationships developed within firms, especially in large textile firms, eg Kanebo Cotton Textile Company, who offered crèche, company houses for married couples, funeral expenses etc.
- Creation of agricultural co-operatives in 1900 – this meant farmers could form credit, consumer, marketing and producers' co-operatives. By 1913, 10,000 existed with a membership of 1,160 000.
- Introduction of new technology which eased working conditions.

However

- Very long hours of work living in factory barracks which are often compared to prisons.
- Low levels of wages in some industries – especially for women.
- Women and girls were vital to the textile industry but many contracted TB and pleurisy as a result of their living and working conditions.
- Trade union activity heavily suppressed through legislation such as the Peace Reservation Law.

Job opportunities

- Abolition of the caste structure had opened up new employment opportunities that the previous caste structure had hitherto prevented.
- Whole new areas of employment opened up for women. Other women became secretaries, telephonists, teachers, nurses, clerks – growing in number after 1890.

- Different impact upon different social classes. Former Samurai received large financial pay-off from Meiji authorities which many of them invested in industry and became highly successful. Contributed to the development of Zaibatsu.

However

- But majority of people's lives relatively untouched as they continued to live in rural communities.
- Young unmarried women often sold into contracts to factory owners – had little choice in their employment.
- Introduction of conscription limited job opportunities.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Hane:	"In general the living conditions of the working class, rural and urban, did not improve significantly."
Pyle:	"Contracts were signed with the girls' parents, who received an advance that had to be paid in full if the contract were not fulfilled. Girls were thus caught between obligations to family and the severity of supervisors overseeing their work."
Hane:	"Efforts to organise unions to improve the plight of the workers met with resistance by business leaders and the government."
Waswo	"Many felt liberated by the Meiji Restoration and the lifting of restrictions on their personal and occupational mobility. Encountering new opportunities, they set about to improve their lives and the lives of their families".

Question 45

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate is to explore the progress Japan made as an international power between 1912 and 1920. Candidates could explore the impact of WW1, the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles and any perceived impact of internal political changes that occurred. It should be possible to present evidence to both support and challenge this view before reaching a balanced conclusion.

The impact of Japan's participation during WW1

- Japan joined the conflict on the winning side, acquiring Germany's Chinese sphere of influence in Shantung, extending its control of Manchuria and its overall influence on China.
- Taisho years witnessed imperial expansion becoming more aggressive and planned – 21 Demands in 1915, which was interpreted by the West as an attempt to bring China under its control.
- 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 had been dominated by Lancashire products before 1914.
- 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.
- Japan emerged on the winning side in 1918 virtually as a non-combatant without having incurred any of the costs of war, unlike Britain and America.
- The expansion of other Japanese industries, for example ship building and heavy engineering.

However

- The West intervened with their 21 Demands and forced Japan to drop the most ambitious of their demands.
- Japan was not directly involved in any of the conflict so the international reaction to their involvement was limited.
- The international economy was also very unstable after the war and Japan was forced to trade in a very uncertain political world.
- The growth that had taken place had only been possible because of the absence of competition and on the return to peace Japanese industry suffered severe dislocation.
- Not all workers benefited equally as wages had not risen as fast as prices and high food prices led to Rice Riots in 1918.

The impact of Japan's participation in the Paris Peace Conference

- Confirmation of Japan's changing status as a nation and evidence of their increasing influence in international politics.
- Became a council member of the new League of Nations.
- Secured control of German concessions.

However

- Japan's desire for racial equality clause as part of League of Nations Charter was not accepted.
- Although maintained control of the former German Mariana Islands, it was through a League mandate rather than outright ownership.

The impact of Taisho Democracy

- Political parties in the Diet came to dominate the cabinets – influenced by other world powers and their interactions with them.
- Influenced by foreign developments (such as Russian Revolution, establishment of Labour

Party) led to demands for more social justice and equality, advanced by social movements of the period.
- First 'commoner' Prime Minister, Hara Kei, first to be an elected member of the legislature.

However
- There was no change in the attitude in US to Japanese immigration – 1908 they attempted to limit the flow of Japanese migrants, not allowed to own land in California.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Ayira Iriye:	contends that "the Japanese were rewarded by being invited to the peace conference, the first time Japan attended a conference as a fully-fledged member."
Benson and Matsumura:	takes the view "The rejection by the Powers of Japanese proposals for the inclusion of a racial equality clause in the Versailles Settlement heightened the grievance of the Japanese towards the unequal treatment to which the coloured races were subjected by Western peoples."
Richard Storry:	suggests that during the Taisho period "It was not long before Japan became a creditor instead of a debtor among the nations."
Kenneth Pyle:	holds the view "The outbreak of WW1 in Europe in the summer of 1914 provided (Japan) extraordinary opportunities to advance the twin objectives of empire and industry."

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

Part B — Historical Sources — 40 marks

Question 46

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

Point in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
marked the beginning of a new era in Japanese history.	Ansei treaties were deemed unfair on Japan and referred to as being unequal.
a template for subsequent pacts.	It was a model for later treaties.
They contained Edo's provisions for extraterritoriality.	One aspect of the treaties forced upon Japan was that of extra territoriality.
They denied the Japanese the freedom to set their own tariff rates.	Japan lost the ability to set tariffs on goods that were being imported into their country.

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

- Terms with regards to tariffs and trading rights were forced upon Japan which were not reciprocated – Japan did not receive such benefits when trading with the signatory nations.
- This was particularly humiliating for the Japanese as it meant that Westerners who committed a perceived crime within Japan could not be tried within Japan but only by the legal jurisdiction of their own country – which often meant they were never punished.
- Foreigners were to be permitted to trade at specific ports free of official interference, except for the imposition of a low level of customs dues, fixed by the treaty.
- All nations that signed the treaties added a most-favoured-nation clause to guarantee that they would automatically share in any privileges secured thereafter by the rest of the powers.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Japanese ports gradually opened up to Westerners.
- These included Shimoda, Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kanagawa, Edo and Osaka.
- The Unequal Treaties were a whole series of treaties signed with different countries in the last decade of the Tokugawa rule.
- The first treaty, signed by Perry, opened two ports to American ships where they would be able to receive supplies and coal.
- Shipwrecked soldiers were to be helped and returned.
- British and Russians soon demanded same rights.
- Harris Treaty marked the first full commercial treaty.
- Foreigners could establish commercial and residential premises in designated foreign settlements in the ports.
- Impact on Nationalism – Jonnojoi.
- Hastens demise of Tokugawa.

- Impact upon later reforms – looking for a specific example.
- Positive impact of influx of western goods on economic development.
- Exposure to new economic ideas.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Beasley:	contends that "despite the Bakufu's diplomatic rear-guard action and the strong criticism coming from many influential Japanese, Japan had at last been brought – in subordinate condition – into the world of what scholars now call Free Trade Imperialism".
Jansen:	suggests that "The agreements Perry and Harris had wrung from reluctant bakufu negotiators made it necessary for Japan to abandon policies of seclusion and enter the international order on terms defined by the west".
Auslin:	contends that "the unequal treaties were far more than simple diplomatic instruments. They served as the bridge between early-modern and modern Japan".
Norman:	believes that "by allowing foreign merchants to enter Japan, it (the bakufu) accelerated the economic disintegration of the country".

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 the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Daimyo of the Choshu, Satsuma, Tosa and Hizen	These were the clans that had overthrown the Tokugawa regime and were establishing themselves as the new Meiji oligarchy, dominated by the Choshu and Satsuma clans.
Purpose	Official government proclamation	To inform the Japanese about their new role under the Meiji regime.
Timing	1869	Year after the Restoration when new Meiji leaders had begun the process of political centralisation.

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"it is vital to have one central body of government and one sovereign authority"	The Meiji regime wanted to set up a new centralised form of government under the authority of the Emperor.
"Wherever we, your subjects, reside become Your Majesty's lands, none of which can be privately owned by any one of us and accordingly we, your subjects, beg respectfully to surrender to Your Majesty our feudal domains and census registers"	All lands now came under the direct control of the Emperor. The Imperial Court given new authority over the entire country with regards land distribution.
"we ask that the court lay down regulations governing all things from the administration of trips to military uniform and equipment. In this way, all matters of state, great and small, may be decided by one and the same authority"	The Emperor and his court were also given central control over military matters.
"Plus, both in name and in fact, our country may be placed upon a footing of equality with foreign powers"	Creation of a new government that mirrored western political structures to help them in their quest for equality.

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

- One of the main objectives of the new Meiji oligarchy was to establish a centralised government to replace the ultimately flawed decentralised Tokugawa regime which only had direct control over 25% of the land.
- The Restoration was focused upon restoring the power of the Emperor as a focal point of government, in contrast to the Emperor's position under the Tokugawa.
- Move towards centralisation and political reform began with the abolition of the autonomous Han system which all came under the control of the Emperor.
- Emperor given new theoretical powers, including over the military, in an attempt to move away from the independent Samurai warriors to a national army.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Move towards central government began with the abolition of the caste structure, which allowed for all peoples to be answerable to the emperor and his representatives, as opposed to the next social grouping above them in the caste structure.
- Hans eventually replaced with prefectures, based upon the French system.
- The establishment of a central government allowed for centralised tax collection.
- Daimyo often accepted posts as governors of their former domains and their retirement was on comfortable pensions.
- 1889 the government promulgated the Imperial Japanese constitution, influenced by the Prussian model. It established a two-house chamber – the House of Peers and the House of Representatives – which consolidated central control over Japan.
- 1% of population able to vote – although centralised, active participation not encouraged.
- Two houses had the power to pass laws, approve the budget and discuss national policy – highlights huge step away from decentralised government under the Tokugawa.
- Basic aim was the centralised control of Japan in the theoretical absolute, if symbolic, sovereign power in the hands of the Emperor, and actual power in the hands of the new Meiji oligarchy.
- Political centralisation focused on the emperor – the new constitution stressed duties of the subject as opposed to the rights of the citizen.
- Constitution formalised the Emperor's control of the army and navy, had the power to appoint the prime minister, cabinet ministers, military chiefs of staff and other senior advisors.
- Establishment of National Political parties (and their suppression if they were deemed to question the new centralised regime).
- Establishment of new Government ministries.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Hunter:	"(The Meiji statesmen) did not create a unified nation under an absolute emperor, nor a parliamentary democracy, but a series of major groupings, each of which could utilise the imperial position to impose its policies on the rest of the population".
Benson and Matsumara:	"This was no western-style liberal democracy. As Article 3 of the Constitution implied, the basic aim of those drawing up the Meiji Constitution was to retain theoretically absolute (if symbolic) sovereign power in the hands of the emperor, and actual political power in the hands of the ruling elite who acted as his advisors".
Mikiso Hane:	"The diet became an institution which provided the people with a voice in government."

Iain Buruma: "Japanese democracy was a sickly child from the beginning".
"Constitution was a vaguely worded document that put sovereignty into imperial hands."

Question 48

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

Point in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Russia brought on war. My aim has been to show how she was prolific in ignoring ordinances".	Author clearly argues that Russia was responsible for causing the war because she ignored directives she was given.
"while ostentatiously flourishing the olive branch with her left hand she had been slapping the right over pockets that would scarcely contain the plunder derived from the hugging and squeezing manoeuvres in relation to the dispirited Chinese government".	Whilst giving the appearance of want to avoid war, Russia is accused of plundering wealth from the weakened Chinese government.
"It was rather ascribed to the general revolt of all civilised people's against the insincerity of the Russia, who for many years past has sought to outwit other powers".	Author arguing that this conflict has been building for many years because of the long-term actions of Russia.
"It was because Japan felt that her interests, more than those of any other country, were involved."	Japan stepped in, especially considering that it was her interests that were most at threat.

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Under its terms Japan and Great Britain committed themselves to joint action in the event any fourth power joined with Russia. This meant that Japan need have no fear of a new Triple, or Double, Intervention if it went to war with Russia".	Alliance with Britain removed the threat of another joint international action against Japan if they went to war with Russia.
"With its back protected, Japan could now enter into serious negotiations with imperial Russia".	Alliance gave Japan a whole new feeling of confidence in negotiating with Russia.
"Once again most of public opinion favoured standing up to the Russians. Politicians, writers, and intellectuals organised movements urging the government to take a strong stand".	Public opinion supported a strong stance against Russia.
"The Russians, however, assumed the Japanese were bluffing".	The Russian government failed to take the threats from the Japanese seriously.

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

- Russian troops had failed to withdraw from Manchuria after the successful international suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. This was viewed as a violation of international agreements.
- Although Russia did engage in negotiations, and indeed implied that they would withdraw their troops, they failed to do so, and claimed the matter was simply between Russia and China.
- Russia had been expanding her power and influence in Asia in the build up to the war, as illustrated when she took over control of the Liaotung.
- Japan was concerned not simply about the Russian occupation of Manchuria, but that they could turn their attention to Korea, which was strategically important to Japan.
- The Alliance was signed in 1902 and contributed to war because they knew that Britain, not any other major power would support Russia if they declared war.
- Japan increased its demands for the Russian withdrawal from Manchuria in the aftermath of this treaty, no longer as fearful as it had been about the possibility that these negotiations could result in war.
- There had been a strong anti-Russian sentiment in Japan since the Tripartite Intervention, led by Russia, which had forced Japan to hand back the Liaotung Peninsula, gained following its defeat of China.
- Tsar was away from his capital at the peak of tension, and was advised to mobilise one division, at which the Russian government believed the Japanese would back down.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Concerns about Russian expansion in the area had been further compounded by the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway.
- In addition, Russia had established a 25-year lease on the Liaotung Peninsula, territory Japan had been forced to give up, by Russia, 3 years earlier.
- Japanese military confidence had increased as they had used the extra indemnity they received from the Tripartite Intervention on further military expansion.
- Japanese confidence had also grown since the abolition of Extra-Territoriality in 1899, evidence of changing international perspectives to Japan.
- April 1902 Russia agreed to withdraw her forces by six-month stages. She stalled at the second stage.
- Certain economic vestiges of the Unequal Treaties were still in place in 1904, which Japan was keen to overturn. A defeat of a European power would certainly help achieve this goal.
- Russian motive distraction from internal affairs.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Niall Ferguson:	suggests that "Their underlying and deadly earnest aim was always to wipe the smile off European faces. There was only one certain means of doing so, and that was by winning wars".
W Beasley:	contends that "in the field of foreign affairs Korea continued to be a problem area, since the events of 1895 had substituted Russia for China as Japan's competitor there".
Bonnie B Oh:	takes the view that "the problem was caused by Russia leasing from China the very territory that was denied to Japan and Russia's procrastination in withdrawing troops from southern Manchuria in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion."
Ann Harrington:	suggests that "there was also fear for Japan's national security as Western powers penetrated further into China. Unless she achieved equal status with the western powers, Japan thought she would be unable to maintain her independence".

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

Part A — Historical Issues

Question 49

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to assess the success of the Republic's new leaders in establishing security, stability and democracy in the face of considerable political challenge. Candidates may argue that the new leaders may have been effective to an extent in the short term but provide a balancing argument that the actions of the Republic's leaders did not deal with underlying problems nor establish the foundations for the Republic to survive in the long term.

Evidence which supports the validity of the view that the Republic's leaders established security, stability and democracy in the period 1919-1923

- The declaration of a German Revolution by SPD leader Scheidemann and Manifesto announced by new Chancellor Ebert on November 9th established a provisional government comprised of a coalition of socialist parties and filled the power vacuum in Germany caused by the abdication of the Kaiser.
- Pact with the army gained the new Republic vital backing to deal with the attacks against it from the Spartacists from December – January 1919 (Ebert-Groener pact – November 10th 1918).
- New leaders signed an armistice on November 11th to end the war in an effort to establish peace and stability and deal with the potential threat to the republic from further mutinies within the German army and navy.
- The ZAG agreement (Stinnes-Legien) on November 15th delivered unprecedented triumphs for German workers such as arbitration and the eight hour day and established a basis for more stable industrial relations in the future.
- December –January 1918 the new leaders established, for the first time on German soil, a liberal democratic national government with universal suffrage which was broadly welcomed by most Germans.
- Elections on 19th January 1919 led to Germany's first fully democratic National Assembly with the SPD led coalition government committed to consolidating/defending German democracy.
- Use of the Freikorps by the new leaders in March 1919 dealt with opposition to the republic from Kurt Eisner's Soviet government in Bavaria.
- The Republic's leaders also acted swiftly to defeat left-wing revolts in Saxony and Thuringia in April 1920.
- The leaders created an innovative constitution which was ratified by the Reichstag in August 1919 - with a highly democratic electoral system through proportional representation.
- The constitutional emergency powers afforded President Ebert to successfully defend the Republic using Article 48 and quell repeated revolts from Left and Right wing extremists (see above/below examples).
- A general strike across Berlin by workers in support of the Republic and democratic reforms led to the failure of the attempted right wing putsch by Wolfgang Kapp in 1920.
- Democratic state governments were established with the notable transformation of Prussia into model of the new democratic ideals of the Republic.
- August 1923 – Stresemann becomes Chancellor and calls off passive resistance to end the economic crisis.

- September 1923 – Stresemann acted swiftly to head of political revolts in Saxony and Thuringia by sending in the army to overthrow the left wing governments in these states.
- The decisive measures during November 1923 used to deal with the inflation crisis by Schacht and Stresemann eventually led to a period of political and economic stability.
- The Republic was defended by the army against Hitler's attempted putsch in Munich in November 1923.
- Governments during this period represented a broad coalition committed to democracy from the SPD, Centre and Democratic parties.

Evidence which does not support the validity of the view

- The role of the leaders of the new Republic in the November armistice led to the 'stab in the back' accusation which although a myth would provide fuel for anti-republican forces throughout the Weimar era.
- The Ebert-Groener pact also ensured that the Reichswehr remained out-with the control of Government throughout the era and proved a significant threat to the Republic when the army refused to intervene during the Kapp putsch.
- The actions taken against the Spartacists by Ebert and the SPD (use of the Freikorps) also had considerable long term significance in that it forever divided the Left and when the KPD were formed they made every effort to undermine the Republic from within the Reichstag.
- The constitution was ill-advised, especially in its proportional representation clause, which often made parliament unworkable, and in its emergency clause, which ultimately brought the Republic down.
- The initial Weimar government alienated the old elites with their actions aimed at gaining working class support eg – the introduction of the eight hour day and support for union rights did not gain the support of Business and the Industrialists.
- Ironically the new leaders also alienated left wing groups who felt that aims/ideals and possibilities of the Revolution were being undermined by the early coalition governments who they accused of holding back more radical democratic reform of industry and society.
- The Republican leaders' reliance and use of severe military actions against, often left wing revolts, alienated many working class groups eg murder of Luxembourg & Liebknecht in January 1919 & actions against left wing groups in Bavaria in March-May 1919 and again in Saxony in 1923.
- The middle classes did not trust the Republic's ability to deal with the threat of communism due to the frequent communist led revolts across Germany throughout this period.
- Frequent attacks on the Republic from political extremists (the Kapp putsch of March 1920, for example) and the fact that these attacks were sometimes very serious contributed to a feeling that democracy was weak and that a more authoritarian system would be better than the democracy delivered by the Revolution and the Constitution.
- The Kapp putsch highlighted that despite the Ebert-Groener pact, the Army was likely to undermine the Republic as it was to support it.
- Business and Industrialists remained unconvinced by the Republic due to the growth of powerful Trade Unions and left wing groups.
- There were 376 political assassinations (including the murder of high profile Republican leaders such as Walter Rathenau and Matthias Erzberger by the Organisation Consul) in this period. Over 90% were by right wing terrorists. 10 left wing terrorists were sentenced to death, none from the right perhaps reflecting the views of the judiciary towards the Republic.
- Argument that the leaders of the Republic failed to tackle the powerful anti-Republican elites within the civil service, judiciary and police forces.
- The Munich Putsch, although defeated, was not defeated by the forces defending the Republic, but more out of self-interest of local groups in the police and army in Munich.

- Hitler's subsequent trial and lenient sentence were an ominous reflection of the views of the establishment and judiciary towards the Republic.
- Weimar governments contributed substantially to the transition of inflation to hyperinflation through reckless fiscal policy during the entire period 1919-1923, but especially through financing passive resistance to the French occupation of the Ruhr district.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Stephen Lee:	praises the Republic's leaders such as Ebert for steering the republic towards parliamentary democracy who was not afraid to use military action against extremists to achieve this.
Stefan Berger:	the SPD did more than any other party to establish and, subsequently, to defend the Republic against its enemies. The SPD aimed at building a social republic that would lead to a gradual transformation of capitalism and the emergence of a socialist state.
William Carr:	the leaders of the Republic were successful in dealing with the Left and Right, but little was done to deal with the paramilitary formations of either Left or Right. These paramilitary formations had certain characteristics in common; they hated the Republic and democracy and were addicted to violence. Those on the Right were also ultra-nationalist and deeply anti-Semitic.
Richard Evans:	recognises the efforts of the Republic under Ebert's leadership to maintain essential services, avert economic collapse, preserve law and order, secure parliamentary democracy. But the willingness of the SPD leadership to compromise with the old order was to cost the Republic dear in years to come.

Question 50

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the view that from 1924 onwards, Governments established five years of relative political and economic stability in spite of the adverse effects of international events outside their control and despite the reluctant and often non-existent co-operation of old elites, including the army, big business, and the bureaucracy.

Evidence supporting the view that the successes of the domestic policies of the Weimar Governments between 1924-1929 have been underestimated

Political

- Role of Stresemann in resolving the crisis in the Ruhr.
- Due to the policies there was less support for extremist groups and a decrease in political violence in the period 1924-1929.
- Political parties committed to Weimar form a Grand Coalition under Chancellor Muller with Stresemann continuing as Foreign Minister.
- Democratic parties formed the 6 coalitions during this period.
- Gustav Stresemann, Weimar's leading politician, revived Germany's position through his policies as Chancellor and then Foreign Minister.
- States such as Prussia, led by a succession of moderate, pro-Republican governments bolstered the republic's overall stability and progress in May 1928 elections.
- Hindenburg as President, from May 1925 was evidence that the old order could co-exist within the new democracy.
- Voting turn-out throughout this time was high and participation in the parliamentary system increased.
- Political support for Weimar's social policies brought in a whole raft of legislation to improve education, youth, welfare, housing, health and statutory provision of unemployment benefits, pensions and more especially war pensions.

Economic

- Stabilisation of the mark and key role of Schacht as special currency commissioner in the Finance Ministry. His introduction of the Rentenmark dealt with inflation and his successful stabilisation allowed the re-introduction of the Reichmark.
- The Dawes Plan removed the threat of invasion if reparations payments were not made. Following the Dawes Plan 16,000 million Reichmarks came into Germany but only 7,000 million were paid out in reparations. This favourable balance of credit enabled industry to recover its pre-war level of output and to modernise factories and manufacturing. The rationalisation of German industry led to a more organised division of labour and together these developments increased productivity dramatically.
- Policies of Schacht and Stresemann to build a special relationship with America enabling reparation repayments to be put on a business like basis through the Dawes Plan. Weimar policies encouraged inward investment from European and American lenders which helped economic recovery.
- Investment from foreign capital was invested in housing and public buildings construction and allowed modernization of German industry.
- The unemployment insurance scheme (1926-27) protected 17 million workers against job losses.
- Rights of Trade Unions were supported by legislation which helped improve conditions and wage rates.

- Employment and general economic recovery supported by the Weimar governments.
- Economic improvements helped bolster political stability.
- Workers benefited from the economic boom. Wages increased and the German labour's share of the national income was 10% higher in the mid 1920s than it had been before 1914. The number of strikes fell.
- The government was able to increase expenditure on welfare services – housing, health and education – to 68% of spending by 1932.
- Reparation payments were revised in 1929 as part of the Young Plan to underwrite German economic recovery.

Evidence supporting the view that the domestic policies of the Weimar Governments between 1924-1929 have not been underestimated and that the period of relative stability created by these policies was an illusion

Political

- 1924-1928 saw 6 short-lived coalitions. Most had no majority in the Reichstag.
- Politicians across the Reichstag often failed to cooperate and as a consequence no Chancellor was able to hold a government together for more than two years.
- The horse-trading that was needed to form these administrations was an inevitable result of a multiplicity of parties pursuing individual interests, and this process of wheeling and dealing excluded and alienated voters and discredited parliamentary democracy.
- Political violence did not disappear and the Republic was ineffective in dealing with this. Extremist parties may not have gained mass support at elections but frequent fighting on the streets between the KPD's Red Fighting League and the Nazis' SA undermined the Republic's efforts to establish political stability.
- Hindenburg's election as President in 1925 was seen as major defeat for the supporters of the Republic as he was regarded as a right wing monarchist rather than a keen supporter of the Republic.
- DNVP became increasingly right wing under the leadership of Hugenburg.
- Although the Grand Coalition revived towards the end of the period, in reality there was a breakdown of political consensus and fragmentation of the centre ground of politics.
- The forces of the anti-republican right achieved greater cohesion during 1924-29 – eg the DDP which had formed the basis for representing middle class interests in the parliamentary system lost support to more right wing parties.
- It is argued that the Weimar Governments of this period failed to win over the elites and opinion shapers in society (teachers, doctors, clergymen, newspaper editors, judges, civil servants) who remained sceptical of democracy and the policies of the governments to make Germany more egalitarian.

Economic

- Weimar Government economic policies between 1924-29 depended on credit from abroad, especially from the USA, making Germany vulnerable to fluctuations on the Wall Street stock market.
- Danger of Weimar's reliance on short term loans being used to finance long term capital projects (eg modernisation of plant) and potential risk of non-renewal of these loans.
- Stresemann's speech in November 1928 about Weimar's reliance on foreign short term loans as public finance 'dancing on a volcano' suggested his ongoing concerns as to the real strength of Weimar's economic strategy.
- Weimar Governments did little to balance import/export deficit.
- Poor industrial relations record and criticism from employers that successive governments favoured the 'workers'.
- Unemployment remained an issue 1926 2million, 1928 – 1.4 million, 1929 – 1.9 million and social security payments greatly outstretched government income.

- Welfare legislation – finance of unemployment insurance grew to be a burden for employers.
- Depressed agricultural sector – Weimar Governments were seen as ignoring plight of farmers (foot & mouth outbreaks, poor harvests, foreign competition, lower prices for goods resulted in increased farming communities in heavy debt).
- Industrial recovery was superficial. Increased production did not translate into increased volumes of foreign trade, for instance.
- Although the number of strikes fell this was largely because of compulsory government arbitration, which alienated employers and the unions.
- The impact of the hyperinflation crisis was not enough to destroy the Republic and indeed its true impact was not felt until the Great Depression. It was at this point that many people feared a re-run of 1923 and lost all faith in the Republic and democracy.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Paul Bookbinder:	by 1929 Germany had become the world's second industrial power behind the United States. Real wages rose, and the standard of living for many increased dramatically.
Stephen Lee:	argues recovery was highly fragile, a system struggling to find an internal equilibrium between a series of conflicting developments.
Ruth Henig:	by 1928 there was growing disillusionment with the Republic among workers and employers, among farmers and the middle classes, and among the young. While the economy was growing many Germans nevertheless felt they were not getting a fair share of the rewards.
Eberhard Kolb:	stabilisation was fragile and superficial. The Republic did not succeed in consolidating its political and economic system sufficiently enough to be capable of withstanding serious crisis. In economic and social affairs 1924-29 was the period when tension between hostile camps built up rather than diminished.

Question 51

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to assess the effects of the Great Depression as an adequate explanation for the collapse of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. Candidates may consider the relative importance of other factors as an explanation for Hitler's appointment such as the longer term weaknesses of the Weimar Republic - its association with defeat in WW1 - the burden of the Treaty of Versailles - the attitudes of sections of German society towards democracy – the absence of an effective opposition to the Nazis – the role of Hitler and the Nazis themselves and the argument that the elites played a key role in engineering a new regime to replace the Weimar Republic.

Points supporting the view that the ongoing strain of the world economic crisis between 1929-1932 explains why Hitler was appointed in January 1933

Economic Depression destroyed the Weimar Republic

- Germany's economy was heavily dependent on loans under the Dawes Plan. As the world economic crisis increased, American loans were withdrawn, the economy collapsed and the governments/Chancellors during the period 1924-1932, were blamed by many Germans for putting the country in such a precarious economic position and between 1929 -1932 they were viewed as being unable to resolve the economic crisis.
- The five main German banks collapsed and millions lost access to their savings and accounts increasing anger across the political spectrum against the Weimar governments.
- German industry and agriculture went into freefall and many industrialists became increasingly desperate for political solutions which included financial support for the Nazis.
- Between 1929-1932 German production nearly halved and unemployment reached 6 million. Mass unemployment undermined support for the Weimar Republic and many Germans concluded that it had to go.
- The Muller coalition collapsed in 1930 when the SPD refused to support cuts to welfare and government thereafter became increasingly undemocratic and under the influence of President Hindenburg.
- Bruning's chancellorship failed to resolve the crisis quickly enough and indeed his policies were regarded as having made matters worse – the label of the 'Hunger Chancellor' due to cuts in welfare spending strengthening opposition to the Republic among extremists such as the Nazis but also among industrialists, the army and large landowners in eastern Germany.
- Consequence of economic depression was social distress and an increase in support for extremist parties as seen in electoral results after 1930.
- The impact of the Depression on agricultural regions of Germany were used as a springboard by the Nazis who presented themselves as a solution to their anti-republicanism.
- There is no doubt that by 1932 many, if not most Germans were disillusioned with democracy and the Republic. This was demonstrated not just in the increase in voters turning to the Nazis vote but also in the rising vote for the Communists. The collapse in the support for the more moderate, pro-democracy parties was a disaster for the Republic.

Points supporting the view that other factors provide a more adequate explanation for Hitler's appointment

Vulnerability of the Weimar Republic

- The economic collapse after 1929 led to fears of a repeat of the 1923 crisis and many voters abandoned the Republic from this fear.
- Long before the Depression of 1929 support for, and confidence in, the Republic had been eroded because of continuing resentment of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The Right in particular were able to capitalise on resentment of the Treaty and were able to present the Dawes Plan and then the Young Plan as yet further examples of the Republicans' willingness to capitulate to the demands of Versailles and so to the allies.
- Always associated with burden of defeat in WWI and the hated Versailles Treaty, it struggled to shake off these associations and effects, particularly reparations which were blamed for the current economic struggles.
- Whether real or imagined the "November criminals" had betrayed Germany and now Germany was paying the price of their folly of accepting the terms of Versailles (reparations etc).
- The period 1919 -23 had been one of pol/econ/soc instability which would not be forgotten or forgiven (hyper-inflation, political violence, revolution, occupation and humiliation) a contrast between Weimar and the previous era of the Kaiser heightened by the current crisis of violence and pol/soc chaos.
- To many sections of German society - the middle-classes, big business, it had always been a "democracy" tolerated but never really accepted and now their worst fears appeared to be vindicated.

Role of Hitler and the Nazis themselves in taking advantage of the effects of the economic depression

- Hitler had reshaped the NSDAP from 1925 to win votes/seats in the Reichstag having learned lessons from the failure of the 1923 putsch.
- Nazi propaganda enabled them to exploit the effects of the Depression and their electoral support increased 1930-32.
- The rise of the Nazi Party in particular was an important reason for the collapse of the Republic. Although it is true that the Nazis benefited from the Depression, it is also the case that they were in a strong position to benefit. Hitler's charismatic leadership, the Nazis' effective propaganda, the actions of the SA and the organisation of the party at local and regional level together meant that the Nazis were well-placed to exploit the fear and resentment that the Depression caused among all sections of the population.
- Candidates may offer statistics of election gains for the Nazis from 1930 and 1932 as evidence for decline in support for the Republic.

Significance of a divided political opposition which helped facilitate the rise of the Nazis

- KPD had opposed the Republic since 1919 and expanded its share of the vote between 1930-32 but even in the crisis winter 1923 the SPD comfortably out-voted it.
- The Left believed the "revolution" of 1919 had been betrayed and not changed Germany and they had spent their time attacking the Republic despite the potential danger of the Nazis (Memories of the Freikorps violence blinded their vision of the bigger picture). This was to prove an important factor between 1930-1932 when the SPD and KPD, other parties of the Left would not unite to see off the threat of the Nazis.

- SPD & KPD would not work together – KPD never forgave the role of SPD leadership in 1919 in authorising the crushing of the Spartacist revolt.
- The strength of the Nazis was aided by the fact that the left opposition was divided. The socialist parties – the SPD and the KPD in particular – found it impossible to work together to oppose the Nazis. The KPD never forgave the SPD for the crushing of the Spartacist uprising in 1919 and the KPD was also, by this point, being directed by the Comintern and followed its line of not cooperating with 'social-fascist' parties like the SPD.
- DDP/DNVP – the haemorrhaging of the conservative vote – much of which transferred to the NSDAP.

Role of the Political Elite, who in Ian Kershaw's view, 'levered' Hitler into power

- From May 1930 Hindenburg's role in appointing and supporting successive Chancellors with Article 48 moved politics increasingly to the right and Hitler's appointment was the culmination of this process.
- Actions of the political elite from 1930 must also be placed at the centre of any explanation for Hitler's appointment.
- It was this political elite that from 1930 allowed and encouraged government by presidential decree so undermining democracy and paving the way for authoritarian government.
- 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.
- The Nazis' electoral success is not a sufficient reason for Hitler's appointment.
- In the elections of July 1932 the Nazis gained 37.4% of the votes and 230 seats in the Reichstag – not a majority. However, in the elections of November the Nazis lost 2 million votes and 34 seats indicating, as Kershaw suggests, that their rise was not unstoppable.
- The Nazis also did badly in the local elections of November and December 1932.
- In addition, by the end of 1932 the Nazis' finances were extremely low because of the costs of competing in so many elections.
- Hindenburg changed his mind. Following initial opposition, five months later he appointed Hitler as Chancellor.
- Hitler was not first choice but, by January 1933 other options had been exhausted.
- Without the support of the elite, Hitler could not have become Chancellor of Germany when he did.
- It was the actions of the elite which led directly to the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor in January 1933.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Hiden:	truly stable societies can weather such storms, but grave difficulties were bound to arise in Weimar Germany when the economic crisis of 1929 interacted with a political and social crisis.
Denis Richards:	the great economic discontent added to the already considerable political instability in Germany and gave the Nazis opportunities which they did well to manipulate in their favour.
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.
Martin Brozat:	it was "during the Papen era, between June and November 1932, that the presidential system tilted towards the extreme Right. This was the phase when advance concessions were made that created the conditions of an assumption of power by the Nazis".

Question 52

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to assess the part played by propaganda in building mass adulation of Hitler. The candidate should take into account the acceptance by most Germans of Hitler's 'strong leadership', top down authority replacing democracy. They may examine the perception of Hitler as personally responsible for establishing political security, the economic miracle, creation of a new society and national revival through revision of Versailles. The candidate may also provide evidence of the importance of the nature of the control mechanisms of the Nazi state, the role of the SS and Gestapo and Nazi bureaucracy.

Role of propaganda

Commentary on the importance of the "Hitler Myth" in the Nazi rule of Germany 1933-39 that might include evidence such as

- By 1939 the 'Hitler cult' had been firmly set in place.
- By 1936 Nazism as a political movement had lost its momentum 'from enthusiasm to ritual' and propaganda focused on Hitler as a means of sustaining support for the regime.
- 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 "Hitler Myth" contributed to Hitler's great personal popularity after 1933. By the late 1930s, 90% of Germans admired him.
- The "Hitler Myth" was a unifying factor in that it brought Germans together. Through the successful propagation of the myth, Hitler came to be viewed 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.
- 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).
- The myth was reinforced by Hitler's successes in foreign policy - the Rhineland (1936), the Anschluss (1938), the takeover of the Sudetenland (1938).
- 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.
- Fuhrer Cult or Fuhrerprinzip as portrayed in propaganda cemented Hitler's status as a rebuilder of Germany's strength and bulwark against the nations enemies.
- Goebbels was able to build on the propaganda image of Hitler as NSDAP leader which had worked in the electoral campaigns of 1930-32 once he was appointed as Minister of Propaganda. Radio, Press, Film, Rallies, Art and Architecture and all other mediums were harnessed to portray Hitler as a charismatic leader. He was projected as the embodiment of national mission, Germany's saviour, the supreme judge of national interest eg during the Rohm purge.
- Overall - Propaganda was a key aspect of the Nazi regime. Propaganda was responsible for the spread of the "Hitler Myth" but the Nazis also deployed propaganda relentlessly and sought to use all aspects of culture and society as vehicles of propaganda.

Other factors being responsible for maintaining Hitler's power

Political success

- Hitler's elimination of communism was largely welcomed by the majority of Germans.
- Hitler's dismantling of the weak Weimar democracy and creation of strong government was also positively supported.
- Hitler's role in establishing law and order through the SS, Gestapo and other agencies of the Police State were accepted by Germans as progression from the lawlessness of the period 1929-33.
- Hitler had also dealt with the SA which had settled sections of German society who had feared their socialist aims and violent leadership.

Economic success

- Hitler's regime had resolved the economic crisis with unemployment being eradicated by the later 1930s.
- Winning the battle for work.
- Strength Through Joy – economic policies.
- People's Car – captured the imagination of many Germans.
- Support for the Nazi regime was also generated by the apparent success of Nazi economic policies. For example, the Nazis were able to claim that their government's intervention in the economy had ended unemployment and had assisted economic recovery.

New Society

- Hitler's policies as seen in the Volksgemeinschaft were embraced by many sections of German society.
- Rural Germany – Blood and Soil – support from rural community.
- Volk – racial policies supported by the majority of Germans.

National Revival

- Olympic Games – success associated with Hitler.
- One Country, one People, one Leader.
- German-ness.

Foreign Policy

- The Nazis also gained popular support because there were real triumphs in Hitler's foreign policy. For example, Hitler 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.
- Other foreign policy initiatives that were also breaches of Versailles and were even more popular included the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (March 1936) and the Anschluss with Austria (March 1938) and the transfer of the Sudetenland to Germany (September 1938). And again, no action was taken by Britain or France or the League of Nations against Germany.
- Hitler's bloodless coups – the Rhineland, the Anschluss, the Sudetenland.
- Foreign policy successes headed off popular discontent of his 'guns before butter' campaign.

Fortune

- Events almost always worked in his favour. Hitler was not boxed in by doctrinaire ideological constraints. His political mantra was sufficiently loose and vague to embrace the aspirations of Germany's core group elites and the masses.
- For many Germans he was the lesser evil: a majority of Germans were prepared to put up with the rough and the smooth and the good times outweighed the bad.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
David Welch:	the cult of the leader was undoubtedly the most important theme cementing Nazi propaganda together. For many Germans he filled a vacuum caused by the loss of the monarchy in 1918.
Norbert Frei:	Hitler balanced coercion and terror with individual populist measures, suggestive rhetoric and vast social and political promises. Out of this grew the Hitler Myth. In its creation, propaganda was essential.
Lothar Gall:	the nimbus of the Fuhrer was enhanced by every success, especially in combating the economic crisis and in the field of foreign policy
Jeremy Noakes:	one explanation for the regime's initial relative success is that it created an "overarching consensus by mobilising the German people behind a programme of national revival identified with Hitler's leadership." Furthermore, the traditional German elites – army, civil service, business and professionals – "perceived in National Socialism some aims and values which they shared, most notably a strong German nationalism."

Question 53

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to isolate and review the determinants of Nazi foreign policy and to evaluate the significance of economic motives in the evolution of the foreign policy.

Evidence supporting the importance of economic factors

- Hitler was determined to rearm Germany quickly and to develop a self-sufficient economy that would enable him to wage war.
- In order for him to achieve these ends he had to get people back to work and to restore productivity and business confidence.
- Autarky: in the context of a global economic depression and an increasingly protectionist world market, the idea of economic sufficiency underlined Nazi aims of conquest.
- Lebensraum.
- Rearmament: a radical foreign policy was central to Nazism. A rearmed Germany, the creation of a peace-time economy fully geared to preparing for war, was an early priority of Hitler and the Nazis.
- Hjalmar Schacht, the man widely credited with saving Germany in the 1923 hyperinflation crisis, was appointed President of the Reichsbank in 1933 and then in August 1934 was appointed Economics Minister. By using state regulation Schacht played a major role in economic recovery and in funding rearmament.
- Hitler did not want to squeeze domestic consumption too far because he knew that he needed the support of the people if the regime was to survive.
- 'Guns before butter' – economic growth and development directed towards domestic, consumer needs was subordinated to the needs of the armed forces.
- The 'conservative' economist Schacht was removed and replaced by Goring who then oversaw the Four Year Plan.
- From 1933-36 public works and a revival of consumer demand were more important in economic recovery than rearmament whereas from 1936-39 rearmament needs predominated as Hitler geared the economy for war.
- The Office of the Four Year Plan intervened throughout the economy. The plan was to make Germany ready for war within four years.
- Priority was now given to rearmament and, to avoid any damage that might be inflicted on the economy during war by economic blockade, Germany had to be made self-sufficient in food and industrial production.
- Self-sufficiency (Autarky) proved to be hard to achieve; Germany still depended on imports for one third of its raw materials by 1939.
- However, gradually another method of achieving self-sufficiency was given more stress: conquering other countries to use their resources eg Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Evidence supporting the view that other factors were important

Continuities with German foreign policy before the Nazis came to power

- Stresemann: establishing relations with Britain, France and the USA. Fulfilment by Germany of the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Efforts to revise Germany's eastern frontiers; auslandsdeutsche (Germans in foreign countries) to be brought back to live together in one state.
- Bruning: replaced Stresemann's pragmatic, cautious gradual revisionism with a much sharper political and economic nationalism – which was continued and intensified by the Nazi regime.

Hitler's views on foreign policy

- Mein Kampf (1924) and the Second Book (1928) and Hossbach Memorandum (1937) with Hitler's motives:
  - Reversing the Treaty of Versailles.
  - Reuniting all ethnic Germans within one 'national community'.
  - Lebensraum: expansion Eastwards a necessity of the Reich – a consistent theme of Hitler's speeches.
  - Destroy 'Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy' Germany's ultimate enemy.
  - Defeat France.
  - Seek an alliance with Britain.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Richard Overy:	Hitler viewed the economy as primarily an instrument of power. It was not simply an arena for generating wealth and technical progress. Its raison d'etre lay in its ability to provide a material springboard for military conquest. Hitler's equation of a strong economy with national revival and military success meant that in the early years of the regime (1933-36) priority was given to national revival as a precondition for the revival of Germanys' international position.
Adam Tooze:	up to now we have not had a full and coherent account of the role played by economic factors in Hitler's drive to war. At the heart of any such discussion must be the dynamics of the armaments economy.
Richard Evans:	it was, without question Hitler's personality, who drove Germany towards war from the moment he became Chancellor subordinating every other aspect of policy to this over-riding aim.
Wolfgang Benz:	from 1933-36 Nazi economic policy was more concerned with recovery although rearmament was nevertheless a priority. However, from 1936 and the launch of the Four Year Plan rearmament became the absolute overriding priority and was pursued without regard for cost-benefit relationships. Driven by the prospect of booty and victory in war, the government engaged in a predatory exploitation of the national economy.

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

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 54

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

Point in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Prince Max of Baden has turned over to me the task of carrying on the affairs of the Reich Chancellor"	Ebert, SPD leader was asked to form a government.
"I am on the point of forming a new Government with the support of the various parties and will give a public report on this shortly. The new Government will be a Government of the people"	Ebert decided that this new government would be a democracy.
"It has taken charge of the administration to preserve the German people from civil war and famine and to accomplish their legitimate claim to govern the nation."	Ebert and the SPD in 1918-19 priority was to stabilise the country following the disaster of defeat and establish support for the Republic by tackling the problems people were facing.
"I know it will be difficult for some to work with the new men who have taken charge of the empire, but I appeal to their love of the people."	Ebert was aware that not everyone in Germany supported his new government.

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

- Revolution 'from below' (late October/early November 1918) Max von Baden, despite wide-ranging reforms to establish democracy, feared continuing unrest could potentially lead to civil war so handed power to Ebert.
- Ebert and his close political allies in the Majority SPD party sought to steer Germany away from the councils towards a parliamentary democracy, thereby forestalling support for the aims of more radical revolutionary elements within the German labour movement.
- At the same time as Ebert's announcement, the Spartacist leader Karl Liebknecht was declaring a communist revolution and Ebert's aim was to convince the public to support his reforms/aims.
- Germany was in a chaotic economic state – shortages of fuel, food and medical supplies could potentially create conditions which the Bolsheviks could use to gain support for overthrowing the new government.
- In reality most Germans were weary from war and its privations and wanted peace and stability to be established as quickly as possible.
- Crowds on the streets across Berlin and at the Reichstag. Ebert hoped his declaration would reassure them that 'change' was in good hands and order could be restored without bloodshed.

Point in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"November 9th 1918 saw the SPD leaders reluctantly declare a republic; desperately, the SPD sought to find ways to control the situation."	The SPD had been caught by surprise and they were forced to react to a quickly changing political situation
"Understanding the revolutionary mood, it sought to appease the working class and rebelling military rank and file while trying to ensure that the capitalist system continued."	View that SPD and in particular, Ebert hoped to head off a more radical revolution and preserve Germany
"Desperate to give the appearance of being revolutionary, the SPD-led government formed the next day took the name Council of People's Commissars. At the same time, the SPD moved to try to neutralise the left by involving the USPD in the new government by giving it three People's Commissars, the same number as the SPD. The USPD leaders had the illusion that they were entering the government "in order to safeguard the gains of the socialist revolution"."	Ebert attempted to broaden the new Government to include the USPD and avoid them joining with more radical groups
"Gustav Noske, who became responsible for the army and navy. He quickly began organising the military forces of counter-revolution, the Freikorps, which were deployed near Berlin in preparation for a blow against the revolution."	The SDP were determined to use military force to crush the counter-revolution

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

- Ebert had preferred an evolution to revolution and retained the civil service, judiciary and support of the army to enable establish the new democracy.
- View that the German revolution was one directed from above.
- Spartacist wanted to transform the war into a people's revolution and had declared their own revolution on November 9th hoping to take advantage of the potential of the revolution from below – strikes, mutinies and spread of Soviets across Germany.
- Luxemburg herself later commented on the political immaturity of the insurrectionists who thus gave Ebert and his comrades their chance to smuggle themselves into the revolution and pose as its leaders.
- Luxemburg and other communists were deeply against what they considered to be the selling out of the ideals of revolution by Ebert and the SPD who had retained the services of the Army to defend their own positions and prevent more radical change.
- Use of the Freikorps under the terms of the Ebert-Groener Pact of November 10th enabled the new government to utilise ex-army groups to crush extremists on the streets of Berlin – such as the revolts in December 1918 and January 1919.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

In contextualising the sources on the question of the nature of the German Revolution candidates should show awareness of the arguments of the Revolution from above and Revolution from below.

- There is consensus among many historians that the 'revolution from below' owed more to war-weariness than to class-conscious action.
- Cumulative impact of defeats on the battlefield throughout Summer-Autumn of 1918 and increasing strikes and discontent on the Home Front had forced the Generals to seek peace.
- Nature of the German Revolution as a 'the revolution from below' from autumn 1918 driven by left-wing agitation in the armed forces and cities.
- Spontaneous revolt in October 1918; mutinies and political strikes. Emergence of the councils (broadly imitative of Soviets but mainly SPD dominated).
- As strikes and popular unrest threatened to get out of hand, Baden (with the support of the Generals and the SPD) forced the Kaiser to abdicate and handed power to Ebert on 9 November 1918.
- A German Republic was proclaimed on 9 November and the new government set about implementing constitutional changes that would further transform Germany.
- Tension between reformist and revolutionary socialists, especially evident after rival proclamations of the Republic. Role of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske.
- Driven by their Marxism and inspired by the Bolshevik's seizure of power in October 1917, the Spartacists demanded not what they would have termed a 'bourgeois democratic republic' but a dictatorship of the workers' and soldiers' councils.
- Ebert: reformist socialist who "hated revolution like sin" was prepared to use force to protect his view of revolution from the Spartacists.
- Ebert-Groener telephone 'Pact' of 10th November 1918. The army leadership agreed to crush 'Bolshevism' in Germany, thereby preserving the new Republic but at the price of securing the army's independent status.
- In part such was inspired by events in Russia; October 1917 Revolution with the German councils partly mirroring the example of Soviets in Russia.
- In December 1918 there were an increasing amount of armed clashes in Berlin and at the end of the month, the USPD representatives left the government. Ebert was more concerned than ever, then, about a Communist uprising.
- Role of the Ebert-Groener pact to the crushing of the Spartacist's Revolt in January 1919.
- Although the actual number of Spartacists was small – perhaps as few as 5,000 – Ebert was aware that he was waging an ideological battle he had to win if the Republic was to survive.
- The middle classes and the members of the institutions of government – the Civil Service, the Judiciary, the Army – were deeply hostile to Communism and afraid of it, and Ebert knew that he would need these institutions if he was to restore stability and set up a parliamentary democracy and return Germany to law and order and good government.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
AJ Ryder:	"the very fact that power was seized by workers' and soldiers' councils, and that the Reichstag was ignored, shows that the constitutional reforms (the so-called 'Revolution from above') had made no impact on the ordinary person."
Harry Kessler:	saw the revolution as "simply the consequence of the old political structure crumbling away… too rotten to withstand outside pressure", ie of the Great War.
Radical/Marxist:	historiography sees Ebert as the revolution's grave digger. As Ledebour (USPD) put it, "Ebert had smuggled himself into the revolution in order to destroy it". Trotsky viewed new Germany as "only the old regime minus the dynasty".
Eberhard Kolb:	stresses the spontaneous nature of the revolution from below, in part made possible by the "paralysis of the will to maintain order". It was not a question of a centrally planned campaign of subversive action by revolutionary elements, but a spontaneous outbreak by the war-weary people, who hoped this way to force their rulers to make peace.

Question 55

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	SPD Chairman Otto Wels	SPD – leading political opposition party to Hitler and NSDAP in the Reichstag. Wels was the only one to speak against the Enabling Act.
Purpose	Speech to the Reichstag	Aims to draw attention to the danger this law will have for democratic freedoms in Germany.
Timing	March 23rd 1933	Key period of Nazi attempts to consolidate their power since Hitler was appointed in January 1933. Since then many attempts had been made by the Nazis to consolidate their power and eliminate their opponents. The Nazis had just failed to gain an overall majority in the March elections and Hitler now needed to convince other parties to help vote through his emergency powers which he claimed would stabilise Germany. March 23rd was the date of the debate over acceptance of Hitler's proposal for 4yrs emergency powers.

Point in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"After the persecutions the Social Democratic Party has suffered recently, no one will reasonably demand or expect that it vote for the Enabling Act proposed here."	No-one could expect the SPD to support the Enabling Act.
"The expansive power of the government must also have serious repercussions, as the press too lacks any freedom of expression."	SPD are warning that there will be no freedom of the press.
"So far, the history of their revolution has been limited to the attempt to destroy the social democratic movement and they first want to eliminate the Reichstag in order to continue their revolution."	Wels is trying to warn the Reichstag of the far reaching effects this law could have for the Reichstag and for Germany.
"We stand by the principles enshrined in the Weimar Constitution, the principles of a state based on the rule of law, of equal rights, of social justice."	Wels made a brave stand for the ideals and freedoms of the Republic against what he predicted would be the dismantling of the constitution by the Nazis under the pretence/cover of protecting Germany.

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

- Hitler had gained Hindenburg's permission to seek authorisation from the Reichstag of the proposed Enabling Act which he claimed would make government more efficient through bypassing the Reichstag and not having to ask its permission for every measure the government took.
- Hitler told the Reichstag that neither the Reichstag nor the Reichsrat would be 'menaced' thereby giving the impression that normal parliamentary rights and procedures would continue; democracy would not be destroyed.
- Wels in his speech rejected these assurances by Hitler.
- Hitler had given his own speech during the debate in which he tried to convince important groups like the Civil Service and Judiciary that they should not have doubts about this transfer of power.
- The Enabling Act allowed Hitler to suspend the constitution and create a dictatorship and Police State.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Enabling Law passed which allowed Hitler's government four years of emergency powers. The Cabinet/Hitler was able to pass decrees without the president.
- It was passed by the Reichstag after the delegates going into the session to vote on the act were jeered, booed, hissed and often physically assaulted by the SA.
- As the Nazis behaviour on the day of the vote on the Enabling Act showed, violence and intimidation became widely used by the Nazis from this point on.
- The intimidation of Hitler's opponents on the day of the vote on the Enabling Act resulted in the act being passed by 441 votes to 94 with only the SPD voting against (the 81 Communist deputies had already been locked up so could not vote in the debate).

- The deciding factor in the vote was the decision of Centre Party to support the Enabling Act.
- Although the Enabling Act was a foundation stone of the Nazi dictatorship, by itself it was insufficient to allow the Nazis to consolidate their power.
- The Enabling Act came hard on the heels of the February Decrees (28 February 1933), issued in the immediate aftermath of the Reichstag fire (27 February 1933).
- These decrees suspended human rights and gave the secret police more powers to hold people in "protective custody".
- Alongside the Gestapo, the SS became the most powerful and feared organs of repression in Nazi Germany.
- Authorised by Hitler to act as an auxiliary police, the SS used the Emergency Power Decree of February 1933 (which remained in force permanently) to take suspects into protective custody.

A raft of laws throughout 1933-34 consolidated Nazis control
March:
- Dachau, the first concentration camp is opened under the control of the SS.
- The Nazis also used the courts and legal system to maintain support for the regime. Established courts adapted to the new system and lawyers were 'coordinated' in the German Lawyers Front. The new People's Court and special courts were set up in March 1933 to by-pass the existing court system.

April:
- States of Germany centralised – Reich Governors appointed by Hitler held control over local government, judges and local officials – for the first time in German history the country was centralised.
- 'Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service' passed.
- Gestapo (role of secret police in hunting out potential enemies) set up by Goring and became under the control of Himmler in August 1934.

May:
- Free Trade unions are banned.
- Ministry of Information under Goebbels controlled all aspects of News/Art/Culture/Film /Radio (7 departments). From 1933 the Ministry of Propaganda was vital to the strengthening of the Nazi regime. The Ministry of Propaganda took over the newspapers and the radio and these were used to carry the messages of Nazi propaganda. Mass rallies and sports and other festivals were organised by Goebbels to deepen commitment to the regime.

2nd June:
- SDP banned.

27th June:
- DNVP dissolved itself.

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

14th October:

- Reichstag dissolved. In the elections of 12th November the Nazis won 92% of the vote.

January, 1934:

Elected state assemblies dissolved and Reich governors created to run the states.

- The Nazis consolidated their power by destroying a potential threat within their own organisation - "Night of the Long Knives" (30 June 1934) during which the SS murdered leading members of the SA including Ernst Rohm.
- In return for dealing with the SA, the Army consented to the army oath of personal loyalty to Hitler immediately following Hindenburg's death.
- The Nazis also launched Gleichschaltung during this period to gain control of wider areas of German life (eg youth organisations, education, workers, the churches, sport etc).
- 19th August 1934 Hitler called a referendum – the question asked was for support for his leadership and agreement to continue to rule Germany – 90% agreed.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard J Evans:	the so-called Enabling Act passed by the Reichstag gave the cabinet the right to rule by decree without reference either to the Reichstag or the President. Together with the Reichstag Fire Decree it provided the legal pretext for the creation of a dictatorship.
Peter Fritzsche:	the brilliantly choreographed "Day of Potsdam" on March 21 1933 [when Hitler and Hindenburg opened the new Reichstag] set the stage for the Enabling Act when all parties except for the SPD (and the banned Communists) voted to provide Hitler with emergency powers and suspended the constitution for four years…The political establishment voted for dictatorship.
Stephen Lee:	it might be argued that the real revolutionaries were the SA and that Hitler took emergency measures against these in the "Night of the Long Knives". On the other hand, Hitler stopped the second revolution "not through a preference for legality", but to maintain and strengthen his own position.
Tim Kirk:	the political change brought about by the Nazis during their first 18 months in power was rapid and far-reaching, much more so than that achieved by Mussolini's Fascist regime… Although there had been no revolution, and although the country's elites remained in place, retaining both their wealthy and their social status; Germany felt a very different place.

Question 56

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

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Winter Aid and Strength Through Joy were by far….in which class conflict and social antagonism would be overcome."	Many Germans were initially enthusiastic about the creation of a people's community and these organisations and they were widely supported. Charity work as a means of mobilising communal sentimentality
"These programmes explicitly aimed to obliterate distinctions of class and status, to involve the better off in helping their fellow Germans who had suffered in the Depression and to improve the lives of the mass of ordinary people in a variety of different ways"	Nazi propaganda claimed that their policies improved the lives of the lower social classes through universal welfare provision, youth camps, benefits for workers
"In many cases it was the better off who were most attracted to the ideology of the people's community, the ordinary working classes were often less enthusiastic."	The better off were more attracted to Nazi social policies than working people
"Lure of the Nazis' promise to stop internal dissension and unite all social classes in a new national community in which rich and poor would all be treated as equals"	The source also underlines the importance of the idea of a new ideal society

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

- The social policies of the Nazis were collectively known as the volksgemeinschaft policy - an attempt to unite all Germans in a racially pure, classless society. The Nazis attempted to win the workers' support through employment schemes and through workers' organisations such as Beauty of Labour (designed to persuade employers to improve working conditions) and Strength through Joy (designed to reward loyal workers with, for instance, package holidays and cultural excursions).
- 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.
- By 1936 there were growing signs of workers' discontent expressed in, for example, go slows, absenteeism and rapid turnover of staff.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

Impact of the policies on workers

- Thousands of workers got jobs in public works schemes, labour service or, after 1935, in the army.
- Most workers enjoyed increases in real wages after 1933 and skilled workers prospered.

- 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 angered many working classes.
- 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.
- Many areas of German society, remained relatively immune to the attractions of Nazism; working class and Catholic sub-cultures in particular remained at least partially intact.

Impact of the policies on the Mittelstand

- The Mittelstand were also encouraged to support the Nazis through policies targeted at them such as the banning of cut-price competition between businesses.
- The 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.

Impact of the policies on peasant farmers

- The Nazis put forward a policy of 'Blood and Soil' in an attempt to protect a healthy and economically secure rural community.
- After 1933 farming income did recover but from 1937 it fell again as labour costs rose, yet prices stayed fixed.

Impact of the policies on 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 – Kinder, Kuche, 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 1933 nearly all of the 19,000 female civil servants lost their jobs as did around 15% of women teachers.
- 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.
- 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.

Impact of the policies on 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.
- The Nazis attempted to use education to indoctrinate young people. Teachers were coordinated and the curriculum was revised to ensure that all subjects were organised around racial ideology.
- Initial enthusiasm for the youth organisations gave way to increasing disillusion with Nazi ideology and the repetitive, quasi-military aspects of activities.

Impact of the 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'.

Impact of the 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.
  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.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Roderick Stackelberg:	an avowed aim of the Nazis was to produce a uniform, harmonious and militant Volksgemeinschaft, a national community based on cultural and "racial" kinship and pursuing the common goal of national reconstruction. Through their use of publicity campaigns for the Volksgemeinschaft the Nazis sought to create the consciousness of a classless society but the disruptive effects of class divisions persisted.
Tim Kirk:	the Nazis wanted to transform German society forever. They wanted to create a volksgemeinschaft, a national community of all the people, regardless of wealth or rank, that would transcend the divisions and conflicts of modern society. It was an idea with mythical qualities, promising the restoration of a shared sense.
Tim Kirk:	the Volksgemeinschaft was a myth. Despite the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda, Nazism did not in fact bring about a social revolution in Germany either in terms of real social change or in the way in which social reality was perceived. The effect of Nazi social and economic policies was to reinforce rather than transcend or overcome class divisions; the working class, for instance, was contained rather than integrated into a national community.
Adam Tooze:	National Socialism's proudest boast was to have superseded the old politics of sectional interests in the name of the Volksgemeinschaft.
Michael Burleigh:	charity became a favoured means of mobilising communal sentimentality; the most under-rated, but quintessential, characteristic of Nazi Germany.

Richard J Evans: argues that the Nazi Revolution of society was; 'First and foremost cultural rather than social the aim being racial engineering. The problem was that any programme of social change that the Nazis might have desired was in the end ruthlessly subordinated to the over-riding determinant of preparation of war. The realisation of any social or racial utopia was postponed until Germany had acquired its much vaunted living space in the East.

B Sax and D Kuntz: the Nazis only partially realised National Socialist ideology…Failure resulted from inner contradictions within the ideology itself and from the gap between Nazi ideals and the realities of German society…Nazi policy often ignored the great difficulties confronting modern industrial societies, and it therefore failed to create the Volksgemeinschaft.

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

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 57

Aim of the question:

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the importance of the social and economic impact of the Great Depression after 1929 in the development of Afrikaner nationalism before the outbreak of the Second World War. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion. These factors may include the role of individuals and organisations in promoting Afrikaner nationalism, criticisms of the SAP/UP and historical grievances.

Influence of the Great Depression

- Impact of the Devaluation Crisis of 1931-32.
- Falling demand for South Africa's export products led to more overcrowding in the reserves and black squatter communities on the edge of towns heightening white fears of 'the black peril'.
- Formation of the coalition Fusion Government to tackle the economic crisis resulted in the formation of the Purified National Party under Malan.
- Findings of the 1932 Carnegie Commission on poor whites revealed the extent of urban poverty.
- Growing awareness of the inequality of poor Afrikaners and Malan's commitment to the poor white question.
- Establishment of Afrikaner relief fund (Reddingsdaadbonds) to support poor whites in crisis.
- Half of Afrikaners were urbanised by 1936.
- Establishment of Afrikaner Trade Unions to win the allegiance of Afrikaner workers (eg the Spoorbond for railway workers in 1934).
- Marxist revisionists (such as O'Meara) argue that the Depression brought increasing class awareness to poor whites.

Influence of the Individuals and Organisations

- Role of Dutch Reformed Church.
- New Afrikaner financial institutions including SANTAM and SANLAM.
- The FAK organised the Volkskongres of 1939 as a result of the findings of a special commission established to investigate poverty among Afrikaners.
- The Broederbond was clear in its aim of creating a total Afrikaner dominance. They were increasingly successful in recruiting the Afrikaner elite.
- Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) role in promoting Afrikaner culture and identity.
- Eufees celebrations of 1938 and Malan's 'Blood River' speech – one in ten Afrikaners reportedly attended celebrations.
- The Ossewa Brandweg (1938) – cultural organisation which grew out of the Voortrekker celebrations.
- Nationalist propaganda including Die Burger.
- Changes in leadership of Afrikanerdom: leaders of the Purified National Party were young, urban intellectuals (unlike older, rural Afrikaners who followed Hertzog).

Failings of the government

- Distrust of Fusion and the formation of the United Party.
- United Party found it increasingly difficult to counter or ignore the increasingly well organised onslaught from the nationalists.
- Criticism of Hertzog's leadership of the NP even before the Fusion Government, particularly regarding his acceptance of the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster.
- Malan's break-away Purified National Party founded on Christian-Nationalist principles (1933).
- However, there was limited electoral appeal of Malan's Purified National Party: majority of Afrikaners still voted for Hertzog in 1938.
- Hertzog and Smuts reacted differently to the rise of Nazi Germany – Malan and NP members sympathised with Hitler.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Merle Lipton:	Argues that economic concerns "were always a prime concern of the Afrikaner nationalist movement, to the chagrin of some of its more idealistic exponents". Afrikaner nationalism was "an umbrella under which all Afrikaners could find shelter regardless of class".
Dan O'Meara:	Emphasises the significance of the Great Depression in increasing class consciousness amongst poor whites which was then capitalised on by the NP leadership.
Hermann Giliomee:	Highlights the importance of the language movement and growing interest in Afrikaner history in the growth of Afrikaner nationalism.
Charles Bloomberg:	Argues that the role of organisations such as the Broederbond and Christian National Trade Unions were important "in order to rescue Afrikaner workers from the clutches of a new anti-nationalist (socialist) ideology".

Question 58

Aim of the question:

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the view that the ANC was the dominant force in resisting segregationist governments before the National Party electoral win in 1948. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion. These factors may also include rural resistance, the ICU and other resistance organisations such as trade unions and the Communist Party.

Influence of the ANC

- Although the ANC in the 1930s arguably saw a sharp decline, the 1940s saw a slow revival.
- New leadership from 1937 under Mahabane emphasised Christian values and agreed participation in the Native Representative Council.
- Establishment of the Youth League under Lembede in 1943 energises the organisation as seen with the publication of "African Claims".
- Worden argues that the Youth League marked "a sharp break in the deferential policies and practices of the ANC in the 1930s".
- New young thinkers such as Matthews, Marks and Mbeki enter the ANC after 1936 and help organise anti-pass demonstrations.
- Xuma rebuilt the organisational structures and introduces full membership for women. Membership reached 4,000 by 1945.
- By the 1940s the ANC was seen to be less middle class and elitist and increasingly militant.
- 1944-46 Anti pass law demonstrations led by Xuma. Women tear up passes resulting in government repeal of passes for women.

Influence of the ICU

- Described as the first effective 'mass' black movement with membership reaching 100,000 by 1927.
- Gained support from rural areas throughout the 1920s and published *The Workers' Herald* newspaper.
- Engaged with practical concerns of members including wages, social benefits, pass laws and land rents.
- Kadalie condemned racism, capitalism and religion.
- Barber argues that their non-co-operation with the ANC was a 'missed opportunity'.
- Internal division saw Communists expelled from the ICU.
- Received total opposition from government who (wrongly) branded the ICU as Bolshevik.
- 1930s the ICU was fragmented and brought down by a financial scandal.
- "In the long term the ICU was less important in promoting new ideas than for demonstrating the potential power of a mass black movement" (Barber).

Influence of the CPSA

- Became multi-racial in 1924 and fought against racial discrimination.
- By 1928, of the 1750 members, 1600 were black.
- Attempted to infiltrate the ANC and ICU.
- Internal disputes over links to Moscow. Some Africans saw communism as an alien European ideology.
- "The CPSA persisted to exercise a considerable influence in South African politics" (Barber).
- Reduced to 400 members by 1935.

Influence of other factors

- Cultural expression amongst blacks included marabi music, township jazz, illegal beer brewing, gangsterism and the development of independent churches. This "combined to increase African's sense of social autonomy" (Dubow).
- Increase in women's self-help groups for Africans and Zionist churches (emphasising self-help).
- Squatter settlements developed their own administrative systems, though weakened by slum clearances of the 1930s.
- Wellington Movement – based on Garveyism.
- Rural discontent including 'go slows', stock culling, mass pig killings, fence cutting. "Small scale, spasmodic, dispersed and difficult to organise; but it was no less real for that" (Bundy).

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
James Barber:	Argues that the ANC took little advantage of the rural discontent. Rather it was the ICU who combined the strength of a mass trade union with the drive of a political party, thus proving more significant in the 1930s.
Saul Dubow and Francis Meli:	ANC historians who inevitably concentrate on the role of the ANC at the expense of other resistance groups.
Tom Lodge:	Is critical of the ANC arguing that they yielded quickly to oppression.
William Beinart:	Argues that rural resistance was more influential in impacting on government legislation.

Question 59

Aim of the question:

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the view that Malan's leadership of the National Party resulted in the electoral victory in 1948. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion. Factors may include socio-economic factors as a result of the impact of the Second World War and failings of Smuts and the United Party.

Malan's Leadership of the National Party

- Relations with the Dutch Reformed Church as former minister reflecting orthodox and conservative political views.
- Malan's victory over his own Afrikaner nationalist constituency after 1943 to establish himself as Afrikanerdom's unchallenged leader.
- During the election battle Malan forged a coalition with the Afrikaner Party.
- Commissioning of the Sauer Report and apartheid.
- Malan shaped NP policy to serve the economic interests of certain white South Africans.
- Malan moderated the NP stance on republicanism during the election to aid the attraction of 20% of the English-speaking electorate.
- Malan saw the election as a chance to 'redress the wrongs of British Imperialism'.
- Malan's rhetoric including "the perception that Afrikaners had been discriminated against by the Smuts' administration" (Dubow).

Other factors strengthening the appeal of the National Party

- Electoral system ensured the NP won more seats although the UP received over 11% more votes.
- NP advanced the notion of further strictly enforced segregation between races and total disempowerment of black South Africans.
- NP exploited white fears while campaigning.
- High inflation – poor whites turned to NP as their main aim was to eradicate white poverty.
- Afrikaners thought teacher training should be taught bilingually but the UP rejected bilingualism.
- ¼ Afrikaners were members of the Ossewabrandweg in 1942 – showing right wing view of many Afrikaners.

Failings of the United Party

- UP aligned with left-leaning Labour Party.
- Failure to address NP's opposition to government policy.
- Relaxed segregation during the war years (influx control reduced) which was hugely unpopular with returning soldiers.
- Unease about Hofmeyer who was likely to succeed Smuts – seen as too liberal.
- Fagan Commission was seen as a major change from policies of segregation. Commission reported in 1948 that it was impossible to prevent blacks moving to urban areas.
- Hostility towards Smuts' price control policy. Alienated rural producers.
- Smuts' government favoured the profitability of the mines over the interests of the working class (Clark and Worger).
- Poor decisions to encourage immigration to South Africa from Europe to solve shortage of white labour. Afrikaners saw it as a means to replace them.

Socio-economic factors

- White South Africans felt threatened by black political aspirations.
- Fear over strikes, squatter camps and increasing crime in cities.
- Tensions increased as a shortage of basic commodities, adequate housing and servicemen gaining little support in finding jobs.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Dubow:	Argues that Malan was a dogged rather than dynamic leader who "steered a prudent path between the party's constitutional and authoritarian tendencies" and that Smuts had "sold out to capitalist imperialism by siding with Britain" and was "out of touch with domestic politics".
James Barber:	argues that "The UP's election manifesto was safe and dull".
Dan O'Meara:	A Marxist historian, argues that the 1948 election was not won by the National Party, but was lost by the government.
Nigel Worden:	"The main thrust of support for Malan came not from the far right organisations but from an alliance of voters who saw their own position threatened by the economic and social changes within South Africa of the war period and its aftermath."

Question 60

Aim of the question:

This question invites candidates to consider how significant the impact of the Soweto Uprising was in leading to a resurgence in resistance to the apartheid regime in the 1970s. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion. Factors may include the role of Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement and the militant MK and POQO campaigns.

The Impact of the Soweto Uprising

- Events peaked at Soweto in 1976 when students marched, resulting in 130 deaths and much property damage.
- Worden states Soweto marches lacked clear organisation and leadership.
- Government insisted there was greater use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium which sparked secondary-school pupils to march in protest – numbers grew to 14,000.
- Rioting spread after the clash with police – pressure put on adults to support youths.
- Much loss of life and damage to property.
- Soweto Uprising had a profound effect on the ANC according to ANC Historians including Dubow.
- In the aftermath of the uprising, thousands of students were forced to flee South Africa. Many joined the ANC/MK training camps in Tanzania, Angola and elsewhere.
- Mandela and others comment on the contacts between ANC prisoners on Robben island and the student leaders sent there after 1976.
- From the mid-1970s there was a marked increase in black resistance to apartheid, including MK sabotage activities.
- Events in 1976, according to McKinley, demonstrated a lack of revolutionary organisation within South Africa capable of taking forward the popular uprising.
- Soweto extended the political "bounds of possibility" (Ramaphele). Other explanations of the increased militancy of the years after Soweto emphasise the influence of New Left ideas in academic circles.

Black Consciousness Movement & Steve Biko

- 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.

The ANC and 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.
- Other 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.
- "The labour troubles of 1973 were forerunners of a revival of militant African political activity" (Barber).
- By the late 1970s the ANC was increasingly focusing on urban areas and building mass organisations.
- The influence of Du Bois and Marcus Garvey on the BCM.
- Role of Biko forming SASO, as president of the Black People's Convention and his death in 1977 in police custody.
- 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.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Mafeje:	1970s – Claims the events of the Soweto Uprising represented a missed opportunity.
Barber:	argues that Soweto as a response to the government's insistence on greater use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium was not the main cause – it merely acted as a trigger for protest to commence about other grievances that the African population held.
Dale McKinley:	presents a radical Marxist critique of the role the ANC played in the liberation struggle, arguing that in the 1970s the ANC failed to stay in touch with the masses.
Dubow:	(supported by Nigel Worden) recognises that the ANC played a minimal role in the Soweto Uprising but that it was ideally placed to benefit from the events of 1976. Argues that after Soweto, the government would never again gain control over the black population.
Clark and Worger:	emphasise that after Soweto, many young activists joined the ranks of the ANC and PAC in exile, and these new recruits would make major contributions to the sabotage campaign which was under way at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Question 61

Aim of the question:

This question invites candidates to consider the extent to which the apartheid state had been dismantled during PW Botha's time as Prime Minister between 1978 and 1984. Candidates should examine the nature of apartheid and government legislation during this period in order to assess to what extent apartheid changed or adapted in order to maintain white control of South Africa. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion. These may include an assessment of social, economic, military and ideological reforms.

Political Changes

- Nature of National Party support changing. The cross-class Afrikaner nationalist alliance was fracturing. Wealthier Afrikaners and English speakers shared common interests and poorer Afrikaner farmers started to feel marginalised. Under Botha business interests were increasingly favoured and the split intensified.
- Right wing Conservative Party split away from the National Party under Dr Andries Treurnecht.
- Government needed to win support of the emerging black middle class.
- 1977 Government White Paper uses term 'Total Strategy' as a response to the total onslaught which the government claimed was communist inspired and backed by the USSR.
- Cape NP and SANLAM given greater influence – not so ideologically pure and recognised need for economic reform to maintain Afrikaner supremacy and white prosperity.
- 1983 – New Constitution introduced setting up a tri-cameral constitution with separate parliamentary assemblies for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. White Assembly would retain overall control – this Constitution was never a success – the majority of Coloureds and Indians boycotted elections in disgust and the new constitution achieved little of significance.

Military Impact

- Situation outside South Africa much less favourable – Increased hostility from neighbouring states following Soweto Uprising of 1976. Changes in government in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) meant more support for the ANC in exile on South Africa's borders.
- Government action against front-line states believed to be harbouring communism.
- Efforts to destabilise 'front-line' states with raids on alleged ANC centres in neighbouring countries.
- Within South Africa, assassinations carried out by military and private armies built up to be used in political struggle.
- State Security Council given additional powers, controlling intelligence and security work. This non democratic organisation described as 'in many ways . . . already an alternative Cabinet'.
- Army used in upgrading some townships in an attempt to 'win hearts and minds' by working on community projects.

Socio-Economic Impact

- South Africa faced increasing economic difficulty in the 1970's. Apartheid no longer met economic needs as employers wanted skilled, reasonably educated workforce which ran counter to many apartheid principles.
- Late 1970s there was considerable growth in decentralised industries and 'displaced urbanisation'.

- New classes of economically successful African traders and entrepreneurs in the homelands.
- Extensive labour unrest. Repression not working and it was clear a degree of reform was needed.
- 1979 Wiehan Report recommends Africans should have the right to form Unions.
- Riekert Report favoured dismantling white job reservation, although it favoured retention of influx control legislation (Pass laws not abolished until 1986).
- 1981 de Lange report advocated compulsory education and more black technical training; multi-racial education was allowed in private schools. The aim was to intensify class differentials and to reduce racial ones.
- Much petty apartheid abandoned and public amenities opened to those who could afford them.
- The Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Acts were repealed.
- Township residents granted right to have Community Councils but little changed. Power of the councils was later extended although Africans generally regarded them as a 'sham'.
- Some township housing upgraded.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Merle Lipton:	apartheid and capitalism were in conflict. Segregation was no longer appropriate to the changing needs of the South African economy, hence the changes. However, South Africa remained a "racially ordered society".
Dan O'Meara:	argues that, under pressure from the Urban Foundation and other business groups, the Botha government now relaxed some of the restrictions on the black middle class, allowing it a measure of social mobility.
Robert Ross:	argues that "Botha's Nationalists did not reject the basic assumptions or methods of apartheid . . . they merely recognised that some degree of economic and social reform was necessary in order to maintain Afrikaner supremacy and white prosperity". This was a "piecemeal, unconvinced reform programme based on the government's realisation that it could no longer maintain its power without building up alliances among its subjects".
Mark Swilling:	"Total strategy was an attempt to reconstitute the means of domination in terms favourable to the ruling groups."

Question 62

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)**
"Milner was able to persuade four British dominated colonies to join a customs union."	Four colonies had already joined a customs union prior to 1910 illustrating co-operation.
"permanent British supremacy was not established in South Africa"	Permanent British supremacy had not been established in the four colonies under Milner.
"the wider use of English did not relegate Afrikaans to the status of a second class language"	The English language had not surpassed Afrikaans.
"Afrikaners reacted by clinging more determinedly to their language and sense of identity"	Afrikaners increasingly clung to their language and unique identity.

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

- Milner believed in efficiency through unity in order to overcome economic problems.
- Selborne sped up move to self-government for Afrikaners from 1907.
- Afrikaans language allowed in certain areas including schools and the civil service.
- Many Afrikaners were pro union in order to prioritise the Afrikaner race.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Milner's reconstruction: investment, increased mine production, compensation to Boers for war damage.
- Rail network developed between four colonies to enhance financial co-operation.
- Mining revolution after the 1870s – Britain wanted to maintain access to profits.
- Increasing labour demands for mining failed by existing policies.
- Colonial control over labour and the capitalist economy.
- Increase in existing trade between colonies (skins/cloth). "Self-help" belief.
- Liberal Party win the 1906 election and prioritise social welfare reforms over governing South Africa.
- Botha/Smuts belief in a 'single white nation' urges co-operation between whites and union and revive broader alliance of English-speaking South Africans.
- United South Africa would give more political power to Afrikaners.
- Preserve white control when a demographic minority.
- Protection in the face of African rebellions (Bambatha Rebellion of 1906).
- Britain could not afford another South African War (tension in Europe- arms race).
- Union seen as a way to 'civilise the Africans' and ensure economic growth.
- Growing Afrikaner nationalism, as seen in Het Volk's victory in 1907.

- Boer war – Afrikaners “not a beaten army” (Judd and Surridge).
- British security interests – naval base/foothold in South Africa.
- Afrikaner resentment after British use of concentration camps and scorched earth tactics.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Ross:	suggests that political union of 1910 was a recognition of the economic and social union which had already taken place. Union was triggered by economic reasons though should not be reduced to such.
Thompson:	highlights British imperialism as being central to the Union as Milner and Selborne were both in favour of an early resolution. Thompson also argues that anti-imperialist Afrikaners also saw the union as a chance to weaken British imperial influence.
Worden:	argues that British victory in the Boer War was not decisive and that political unity was needed to achieve economic growth.
Marks and Trapido:	represent the radical revisionist view arguing that British policy was driven by economic motives, union was to safeguard the interests of capitalism at the expense of the oppressed working class.

Question 63

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	Hendrik Verwoerd	Renowned as the 'architect of apartheid' as Minister for Native Affairs. Succeeds Strijdom as Prime Minister of the National Party in 1958 prior to his assassination in 1966. Verwoerd had studied in Germany in the 1930s.
Purpose	Address to the Native Representative Council	As minister for Native Affairs in the first National Party government, he met with African members of the Native Representative Council in order to address them on the theory and practice of apartheid.
Timing	December 1950	Address given during early apartheid period following National Party victory in 1948 election following earliest apartheid legislation including Immortality and Mixed Marriages Act, Population Registration Act.

Point in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"If the reply is 'intermingled communities', then the following must be understood. There will be competition and conflict everywhere."	Little contact between blacks and whites will limit conflict. The greater the intermixing, the greater the conflict.
"So long as the points of contact are still comparatively few, as is the case now, friction and conflict will be few and less evident."	Separation will lessen friction and conflict between the races.
"Bantu be the defeated party in every phase of the struggle. This must cause to rise in him an increasing sense of resentment and revenge"	Defeat of blacks would increase their resentment and sense of revenge.
"the Bantu, can this increasing tension and conflict be an ideal future, because the intermixed development involves disadvantages to both."	Intermixing would disadvantage blacks as well as whites.

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

- Legislation such as the Group Areas Act sought to designate areas by race, removing blacks from perceived 'white areas'.
- Examples of resistance from blacks put down by force including imprisonment for pass burning, arrests following strikes in the 1940s.
- Evidence of growing ANC membership after 1948 and number of protests against the government.
- Penalties imposed on individuals of all races for breaching legislation such as the Separate Amenities Act, Immortality Act.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

Ideological arguments for apartheid

- Views of Afrikaner academics such as Cronje who advocated complete racial separation in order to ensure the long term survival of the Afrikaner people.
- The theology of the Dutch Reformed Church.
- 1946 blacks made up 79% of the population. By 1970 it was 89% resulting in an increased fear of '*die swart gevaar* '('black menace').
- Details of relevant 1950s legislation, such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act, Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities Act.
- Belief in white supremacy at the heart of apartheid ideology – that miscegenation would lead to racial decline (Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts).
- Establishment of SABRA (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs).
- Early legislation closely identified with Afrikaner intellectuals and ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church. Key individuals include Eiselen, Malan and Verwoerd.

Practical arguments for apartheid

- Evidence of the economic justification of apartheid including apartheid as a means of extracting the benefits of the migrant labour system to meet the needs of manufacturing.
- Commercial farmers were guaranteed a supply of labour from the reserves.
- Planned gradual relocation of industry to the reserves.

- Influx control legislation such as the Abolition of Passes Act would restrict the process of black urbanisation and therefore the development of an urban proletariat.
- Reserves no longer able to support bulk of Africans therefore other methods discussed such as tighter influx controls and decentralised industry.
- Influx control would also protect the interests of white workers threatened by lower wages of black workers.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Deborah Posel:	in her most recent work, Posel argues that the primary imperative of early apartheid was the preservation of white racial political supremacy which simultaneously promoted white economic prosperity.
Harold Wolpe:	radical historian, argued apartheid ideology was a way of justifying the extension of cheap labour to manufacturing.
Dunbar Moodie:	emphasises the negative aspects of apartheid ideology whereby racial integration was seen as sinful since it defied God's will, whereas racial separation represented the Divine Will.
James Barber:	argues that apartheid policies built of previous segregationist legislation but "were applied with a thoroughness not previously envisaged".

Question 64

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

Point in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"First of all we differ radically in our conception of the struggle"	The ANC and PAC viewed the nature of resistance to apartheid differently.
"the struggle is a national struggle…..class struggle"	The ANC and PAC were divided over the nature of the struggle – be it class based or national.
"we, however, stand for the complete overthrow of white domination"	The PAC aimed to overthrown the National Party government.
"Once the white domination has been overthrown . . . he will not be hated by the masses".	Relations would improve between the races once the whites were not in charge.

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"The PAC offered a clear alternative to the ANC".	ANC not the only resistance organisation for blacks to support.
"The ANC angered Sobukwe and Leballo, by treating all who opposed the government as potential allies, whatever their motives or beliefs".	The PAC opposed working with non-black organisations.
"That left the ANC vulnerable to white communists and 'foreign ideologies' based on class interests and class division".	The PAC opposed ANC links with the Communist Party and their ideas.
"It accused the ANC of acting as a party which was seeking a place in parliament, thereby implying that the present structure was legitimate".	The PAC opposed working within the existing systems, rather they opposed the nature of government as a whole.

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

- The PAC believed in non-co-operation with whites in the struggle and opposed in particular the Congress Alliance.
- The PAC manifesto spoke of South Africans working to find "expression for this nation in the merger of free independent African states: a United States of Africa".
- PAC belief in Africanism – "government of Africans, by Africans, for Africans"
- PAC defined Africans as one who gives loyalty to Africa and is prepared to accept African majority rule. PAC was formed from frustrated ANC members in 1959.

- Sobukwe argued that history showed that a privileged group never voluntarily relinquished its position and therefore whites could not be trusted.
- At the inaugural PAC conference Sobukwe spoke of a new scramble for Africa by the Soviet Union and the USA, which could only be countered by Africans working together across the continent.
- Sobukwe argued that whites claimed to be guardians and yet treated Africans as savage and backward – therefore the existing structure of government was unworkable.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Opposition organisations still divided in terms of ideology such as readiness to work with other groups, disagreements over aims and the Freedom Charter.
- Evidence of growing factions within the ANC throughout the 1950s – resulting in ANC/PAC split.
- Rise to prominence of Mandela and the Youth League – ideas of mass and increasingly militant action.
- ANC membership grew rapidly in the 1950s from approximately 5,000 in 1948 to more than 100,000 by the end of the 1950s.
- As the 1950s progressed, and especially after the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the PAC provided a clear alternative to the ANC aiming – like the ANC – for the creation of a mass movement for Africans.
- 1 May 1950 – National Stay Away. Violent clashes in Transvaal. First example of combined worker action/country-wide.
- 1952 Defiance Campaign – jointly organised with Communist Party – established the impetus for a mass campaign. 8000 arrested.
- Boycott of Bantu Education Schools in 1954. Initially successful but collapsed due to government threats.
- ANC £1 a day campaign for improved working conditions and minimum wage – limited success.
- Opposition to re-location of Sophiatown.
- Formation of Congress of People (1953) and the Freedom Charter (1955) – brought diverse groups together.
- Treason Trial 1956-61 led to international publicity.
- Localised resistance – Zeerust in Western Transvaal (1957) chiefs appointed by Bantu Affairs Department deposed. Similar action in Natal and Transkei.
- Federation of South African Women founded in 1954 co-ordinated campaigns against the pass laws – demonstration of 26,000 in Pretoria.
- Government reasserted control through banning leaders and newspapers – Mandela's banning extended until 1961.
  Feit argues that the leadership of the ANC remained detached from any popular base so the ANC was overrated in the 1950s.
- Arguably Sharpeville exposed the failings of the 1950s movement – Charterists versus Africanists.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Dubow:	argues that the schisms that developed in the ANC in the 1950s could not be contained, resulting in the formation of the PAC. However, the challenge represented by the PAC to the ANC and Congress Alliance did nothing to weaken the liberation movement.
Nigel Worden:	describes the 1950s as a decade of heightened defiance but of lost opportunities.
Pampallis, Meli & O'Meara:	argues that the more radical ANC of the 1950s was vital in mobilising the masses to resist apartheid.
Tom Lodge:	plays down the role of the ANC in the 1950s and has instead emphasised the importance of localised and particularly rural protest.

SECTION 9 – Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914-45

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 65

Aim of the question:

The aim of the question is to allow the candidate to debate the contributions of factors to the deteriorating condition of Russian society and government in the years immediately before Revolution. Candidates may discuss the extent of the breakdown of Russian society and government during the years of the First World War; role of economic, financial, social, military and political factors in the collapse of autocracy. This also might have involved weighing up the longer-term factors against the more immediate significance of events prior to February 1917. Equally candidates may choose to look at the pillars of tsarism and the erosion of support. Here a consideration of the middle class Duma politicians and the businessmen, the factory workers and migrant labour in the cities, the peasant demand for land, the elites aware of the limitations of autocracy would be considered. These might use the military, social and economic developments as points of reference.

Evidence of political discontent

- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, diverse in motivation and coming from both upper and lower strata of society: the role of the elites, the alienated intelligentsia – role of Rasputin in alienating court.
- The development of opposition parties as evidence of discontent.
- Revolution from below; soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers.
- Lenin and Trotsky – their writings and influence and noting that although the major leaders were abroad.

Evidence of the impact of the World War One

- Impact on the Russian army from the outset to the crisis of 1916 highlighting withdrawal of support from Tsar by top commanders.
- The impact of government finance, the fall in revenues combined with spiralling expenditure and lack of foreign trade (Germany).
- Impact on the Home Front, disruption in communications, second place to army, food shortages and need to increase productivity and it interrupted the development of the modern state.
- The role of the Army and the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty and longer term discontent.
- Role of Tsar's traditional support base – ready to desert the Tsar and autocracy due to the Tsar's disastrous leaderships during the war, both at the Front and with the Tsarina in Petrograd.
- War highlighting the fight for power between the Army elites and the civilian elites.

Evidence of economic discord

- Workers were aggrieved by deteriorating conditions in the factories and by food shortages and this had been exacerbated by war.
- Details on strikes and lockouts; closure of factories due to shortages of raw materials, actions of shop steward's committees, breakdown of rail supply system.
- Actions of government in area of taxation; vodka abolition.
- Economic change and its impact by 1917 – the case 'for' modernisation at the turn of the century may be presented with expansion in production eg record harvests in 1913.
- Similarly, growth rates in industry yet not benefiting workers hence strikes and protests eg Lena goldfields evidence of discontent and brutal reaction.

- Increased problems by 1917, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen by the strikes, Putilov and others, the key was reform to address economic disaster as shown by food shortages, queuing and inflation.

Evidence of difficulties as a result of social problems and discord

- Increasing problems by 1917, the demand for bread, food and fuel shortages, queuing and inflation: the cold weather of early 1917.
- 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.
- War weariness.
- The rising number of refugees flooding Petrograd, riser of typhus.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
R Pipes:	"Rebellions happen, revolutions are made".
P Kenez:	"there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population... which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime".
R McKean:	"the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight".
R Briggs:	the Tsarina "was unable to appease mounting discontent with the Imperial Government."

Question 66

Aim of the question:

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to engage with the debate surrounding the reasons for the October Revolution. The candidate can develop their ideas on the classic debate: was it a popular revolution or a coup d'état? They may also engage with the argument around the popularity of Bolshevik policies such as "All Power to the Soviets"; the role of key figures such as Lenin, Trotsky and Kerensky in contributing to the October Revolution in addition to the mistakes of the Provisional Government in order to reach a balanced conclusion.

Policies

- April Theses, "Peace, Bread and Land" and "All Power to the Soviets" and "Peace without annexation or indemnities".
- The Bolsheviks were taking control Soviet popularity was increasing due to Trotsky as much as Lenin.
- Forming the MRC, again Trotsky; gives more direct control over soldiers in the capital...and arms and ammunition more readily available. October 22, the Commissar for the Western Front cabled Kerensky that "disintegration has attained its limits"; evidence of mutinies, pogroms - Kharkov, Tambov, Ostrog - a picture of murders and pillages of arson and theft.
- The case against it being popular and democratic is largely built round disputing the figures for support for Bolsheviks and a discussion of the nature of their takeover of power.

Popularity of Bolshevism

- Growth in support for Petrograd Soviet with a core committee making decisions alienated rank and file which Bolsheviks exploited after July.
- Trade unions and factory committees – "Red Guards" a forum for Bolshevik propaganda.
- Soldiers - perhaps there was still front-line patriotism, but not so in the garrisons, plus peasant soldier support.
- The Soviet view as expressed by Lenin that the majority of working class were with them and that "half of the army immediately joined" followed by "nine tenths of the peasants ...in a few weeks".
- By September there was greater evidence of popular impatience – army officers authority declined, peasants against private landownership, strikes increased especially amongst less skilled workers. This was what the people wanted.
- Effect of the Kornilov Coup on Kerensky's support and Lenin's popularity.
- November elections reflected limited Bolshevik popularity but in some areas of Petrograd they gained as much as 70% support hence reference to democratic.
- From industrial workers because of limitations of workers organisations. Growth in support for Petrograd Soviet with a core committee making decisions alienated rank and file which Bolsheviks exploited after July.
- Debates about 'when' in the Central Committee and fear that in a revolutionary war soldiers would not support them (Zinoviev and Kamenev), hence delays until 26 October (Second Congress of All Russian Soviets) suggested by Trotsky to allow seizure in the name of the Soviets not the Bolsheviks. Tactics to maximise popular support, focus on Petrograd Soviet. This gave the coup an appearance of greater legitimacy, hence Trotsky delays it to coincide with the Congress of Soviets.

Seizure of Power

- Martov, leader of the Mensheviks declared it to be "...a military plot organised by one of the revolutionary parties".
- This was no revolution from below, the working class of Petrograd was nearly absent during the "ten days that shook the world".
- That the Bolsheviks were not that popular... Constituent Assembly elections show this, but they had key support in Moscow and Petrograd, the centres of power.
- Most people unimpressed - Sukhanov thought Bolshevik regime was short-lived.
- That the Bolsheviks were not that prepared...July Days reflects this... "wait and see" policy of Lenin's and the moment was lost, arrests follow and Lenin in hiding.
- Lenin drew up his new strategy (12th September) pamphlet.
- Plotting the coup in Sukhanov's apartment on October 10th – 12 members took part.
- Some would describe events as an amateur action of the MRC (which was dominated by Bolsheviks), Battleship Aurora, some sailors of the Baltic fleet and a handful of Red Guards; the storming of the Winter Palace, Trotsky's treatment of the ARCS delegates; all suggest elements of a coup.
- The Petrograd proletariat and the city's military garrison remained over-whelmingly neutral.

Other Reasons

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

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
G Hosking:	"...the Bolsheviks rode to power on the crest of a groundswell generated by the mass of people."
R Service:	"The conditions for a seizure of power with the sanction of exhausted workers, war - weary soldiers and angry peasants could hardly have been more favourable."
R Pipes:	a "clandestine coup d'état".
S Fitzpatrick:	claims it was the workers, soldiers and peasants who created the circumstances for Bolshevik success.

Question 67

Aim of the question:

Candidates may wish to evaluate whether the role of the Comintern was central to the success or failure of Bolshevik foreign policy. Candidates may consider the main areas where Bolshevik foreign policy operated and discuss their aims and intentions against the perceived consequences of their actions. Possible areas for discussion could be possible international revolution, the making of peace in 1918, Bolshevik actions during the Civil War, and Bolshevik attempts to establish better relations with the West.

Comintern

- March 1919 − Lenin founded Comintern with Soviet Communist Party as model for overthrow of capitalist regimes.
- Difficulty of maintaining internationalism – Comintern became associated with USSR alone.
- Lenin's talk of the international revolution more to do with propaganda to maintain the party in power than the actuality of a worldwide revolution.
- The period 1919-20 did see some attempt to export revolution through the Comintern but it was not wholehearted; detail here of the congresses and their actions and ideals Zinoviev: Spring 1920 "in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist".
- The capital moved from St Petersburg to Moscow is further evidence of the separation from the West Civil War.
- Examples of how attitudes towards foreign interventionists affected foreign relations; Captain Cromie, Bruce-Lockhart and UK forces at Murmansk, Czech Legion and France, USA and Japan.

Securing peace

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

Co-operation

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

- Improved relations with the UK by 1924, when Ramsay MacDonald PM reopened full diplomatic relations.

Civil War
- Hopes of international revolution put on hold, but Lenin still thought it would spread.
- Foreign governments pro-Whites so no international revolution, however Bolsheviks could brand them imperialists and encourage revolution.
- 1920 Polish War – the 'red brigade in Europe' and then moving the international revolution to Germany. Failure here is a significant disappointment for Lenin.
- Attitudes towards national minority movements... Ukraine, Finland etc.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
M Kremer:	on Comintern: "disinterested enthusiasm, courage and a burning faith in the justness of the cause. And this is not a fallacy; the history of Comintern from 1919-1920 is one of the brightest pages in the history of the world revolutionary movement"
D Abramovich:	Comintern in the 1920s, it became, "a veritable Mecca for revolutionaries, delegates, sympathisers and even Marxist Pilgrims."
O Figes:	Lenin's view of Brest-Litovsk, "There is no doubt that it will be a shameful peace, but if we embark upon war our government will be swept away."
R Pipes:	viewed invasion of Poland as a likely catalyst to revolution, not just in Poland but throughout Europe.

Question 68

Aim of the question:

Candidates may consider the impact of the Soviet state on, society, the family and women after the introduction of the Family Code of 1936 or "Great Retreat". Candidates can discuss the subsequent changes this brought to the status of women and equality under Stalin through a comparison of the changes for women in Lenin's Russia from the Family Code of 1918 and the subsequent "Great Retreat" under Stalin with the Family Code of 1936. Candidates could debate the motivations for introducing the Family Code of 1936 and the impact these had on society as a whole economically, politically on family, culture, education, politics and religion.

Impact on Society

A Great Retreat?

- The 1930s was a time of great shortages, however, an elite political class emerged (Nomenklatura) that had access to special food rations in elite stores in addition to better housing. Trotsky denounced this privilege as a betrayal of the Revolution.
- More conservative, traditional policies on education, family values and the arts emerged in the 1930s which could signify a retreat from the values of the Civil War and the Cultural Revolution by the mid-1930s.
- Widespread acceptance of hierarchy, social privilege, authority and tradition by society.

A Modern Advancing Society?

- There was no retreat on private ownership of land and means of production or labour.
- Communist Russia was still viewed internationally as anti-capitalist.
- Although Stalinist Russia embraced traditional Russian family values, the context was modern designed to achieve the objectives of a socialist utopia and was an advancing rather than retreating society.
- Stalin utilised the Family Code of 1936 to shore up society which was crumbling due to the societal upheaval caused by Collectivisation and Industrialisation.

Changes in the Economy (in agriculture and industry)

- Discussing the impact of industrialisation.
- The 'quicksand society' (Moshe Lewin).
- Impact of collectivisation.

Impact on Family and Women

Family Code of 1936

- The upheavals, homelessness and crime by the mid-thirties saw a move to more rigid censures on society, called by some the 'Great Retreat' because it was a return to the values of pre-Communist days.
- The candidate might evaluate the Family Code of May 1936 which was a move to pro-family, pro-discipline and anti-abortion policies.
- Known as the 'Great Retreat' - abortion outlawed, divorce more difficult to obtain, child support payments were fixed and there were child support payments for women with six children or more.
- Results were divorces declined, but so did marriages, although birth rate increased.

Family Code of 1918

- Comparison with Family Code of 1918 when new divorce laws granted for either party, but in reality this resulted in many women being abandoned. 70% of divorces were initiated by men in 1927 and only 7% by mutual consent.
- This had huge impact on women being left to care for family.
- 1919 - USSR had highest marriage rate, but highest divorce rate by 1920s.
- 1920 - Abortion allowed.
- Family remained a key institution despite being described as "bourgeois' and "patriarchal".
- Views of Lenin viewing traditional marriage as bourgeois and exploitation, thus canteens, creches, laundries were supposed to be provided to socialise domestic services and free women, however this soon was at odds with the realities of Soviet life, as the government was unwilling and unable to fund enough of these.

Women, Politics and Employment

- Women's participation in Communist party did not increase greatly - 1917 - women were 10% party membership, but this had only increased to 12.8% by 1928.
- Young, unmarried women were more likely to be activists and female membership of the Komosol was much higher than party membership.
- In 1919, party set up a women's department, Zhenotdel, however in practice is focused on practical help for women in education and social services rather than making them defenders of the Revolution and it was abolished in 1930 on the grounds it was no longer necessary.
- Alexandra Kollontai's early more radical ideas about transforming women's role in society were not implemented.
- Women still victim of traditional Russian male chauvinism by the 1930s.
- The interpretations of the extent of 'Stalinism' and the imposition of codes, rather than the acceptance and participation by the ordinary people, might be considered. The conflict of ideas and the shadow culture may be discussed.
- Women often worked an 8 hour day at work and then 5 hours of domestic tasks.
- Traditional family roles prevailed where men did nothing to help with domestic tasks.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
E Mawdsley:	argued that the creation of a new working class and new Intelligentsia meant that there was no retreat and that Soviet society was advancing rather than retreating.
B Williams:	notes that traditional gender roles were maintained, "It was a macho world for all the talk of equality…Men built socialism…the high-status proletarian was male, a metal worker or blacksmith."
S Fitzpatrick:	"The old-style liberated woman, assertively independent and ideologically committed on issues like abortion, was no longer in favour: The new message was that family came first."
M Lewin:	talks of a "quicksand society" created by the upheavals of collectivisation and industrialisation which caused social instability.

Question 69

Aim of the question:

Candidates would be expected to debate the key factor which allowed Russia to emerge victorious in WWII. They should debate the significance of patriotism against other relevant factors. These other factors may include, the role of Stalin, the contribution of propaganda, economic strengths and the weaknesses of the enemy. Candidates would be expected to debate the relative merit of these factors in order to come to a conclusion about the reasons for Russian victory.

Patriotism

- The role of Stalin in rallying the people. Refusal to leave Moscow, his later radio broadcasts; the "Not one step back" speech.
- References in Stalin's speeches to "Comrades, Citizens, Brothers and Sisters" in order to instil patriotic duty in the people to fight in a 'patriotic war of the people'.
- Stalin used Russian history and reference to victorious Russian Generals during the Napoleonic wars to appeal to the patriotic duty of the troops to defend their Motherland as their ancestors had done so.
- Stalin's building up of sense of patriotism; eventual efficiency of War economy as a result of 1930s policies and loyalty to the Motherland and to Stalin.
- Role of propaganda and the new relationship with Orthodox Church, turning the negatives around eg rationing, conscription, loss of homes.
- References to "Mother Russia" in all broadcasts.
- Re-opening of the churches and emphasis on defending Russian soil from the invaders being a 'sacred duty'.
- Role of Sovinformburo for propaganda to enhance patriotic messages.
- Stalin became a symbol of resistance and hope for the people.

Stalin's Leadership

- Stavka (General Staff) set up 23 June 1941 — responsible for military operations. On 30 June, GKO (State Committee of Defence) was set up, more important: military, political, economic life, highly centralised control.
- Stalin used "scorched earth policy" — nothing valuable left for the Germans if the Reds retreated. Gosplan (under Voznesensky) produced war plans, decisions went to small centralised GKO, met almost daily (Stalin was chairman).
- Stalin had able individuals such as Molotov (diplomacy), Voznesensky (economic planning), Kruschev (administration) and Zhukov (military). The latter commended Stalin on his readiness to learn about military strategy.
- Stalin was unwilling to believe that German forces were invading (despite intelligence reports from Fitin), ordering troops not to retaliate to "provocation" from German forces. The Wehrmacht enjoyed astounding successes during the summer of 1941, partly down to Stalin's indecisiveness.
- Mistakes made in ruthless purging (especially in national groups) were compensated by his ability to command the loyalty of the nation to fight for "Mother Russia".
- Stalin caught by surprise by Barbarossa in June 1941; suggestion of nervous breakdown, let Molotov make first war broadcast to Russian people.
- Stalin's dreadful military mistakes early on in the war... Smolensk etc.
- Problems caused by the Red Army purge in the 1930s; able commanders like Tukhachevsky purged.. 30,000 'missing' officers from 1930s army.

Geography and Climate

- 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. — Refusal to give way at Stalingrad; his better understanding of the type of fighting required; suiting the Russians; the use of snipers; manipulating the war zone. Stalingrad is seen at this level as "a matter of prestige between Hitler and Stalin", which alongside the "dogged, rugged, Siberian obstinacy" and "the stamina of Soviet soldiers was incredible" shows the determination involved. Stalin imposed a harsh discipline on Russian fighting forces.

Economic Factors

- The relocation of industries to beyond the Urals (evacuation of approximately ten million people).
- Pre-war Industrial development through 5 Year Plans - Stalin saw war coming so prepared.
- The economic system was already suited to war because of established central planning, unlike Germany which did not have total war economy until 1942.
- Economic stability attained, allowing the supply of the military with adequate material; constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support.

German weaknesses

- Dealing with the Russian climate and land mass meant Germans were overstretched and could not apply the same tactics as in France, and so errors occurred — this altered the focus of the offensive and delayed the attack on Moscow.
- General Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus' German Sixth Army failed to capture Stalingrad and became trapped and overrun by the Soviets, as Hitler refused to let them retreat.
- Effects of Allied bombing of Germany; Allied invasion in the West.
- German General Bock admitted "no further hope of strategic successes" remained.

Other Reasons

- General Zhukov's defence of Moscow in the winter of 1941-42 was the Soviet forces' first real successful counter-attack.
  Zhukov did have the benefit of calling on newly arrived Siberian shock troops, trained to fight in harsh winter conditions, unlike their German counterparts.
- General Chuikov's role was vital in the defence of Stalingrad, especially in Operation Uranus when the German Sixth Army was captured.
- After Stalin's purges, the Red Army had been left weakened and leaderless. The initial catastrophic defeats can be put down to the inexperience of the newly appointed Soviet officers and commanders.
- Stalin had ability to appoint good generals and listen to them; got rid of Timoshenko from front line command then picked generals such as Zhukov and Chuikov, bringing back Rokossovsky even though he had been purged in 1930s.
- Introduction of new ideas and technology in the military partly due to Stalin. [T34 tank, Katyusha rocket launchers, the scorched earth policy. Russian strengths might include the economic stability attained allowing the supply of the military with adequate materiel which totally out-matched Germany.
- The constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support; Kursk evidence of Russian military development enough to beat the Germans in tank battles.
- Soviet propaganda in building up the view of Stalin as the [military commander of genius].
- Huge loss of life; the Russians' ability to absorb terrible losses [15 million civilian deaths over the war years].
- By 1941 the Red Army was the biggest in the world... 200 divisions, 20,000 tanks, Once Russia got the economy going, and by 1945 the Red Army had 5 million men on the front line... and 300 artillery pieces per kilometre.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
R Sakwa:	notes that Stalin "appeal(ed) to Russian pride rather than Marxism or Leninism as inspiration for resistance."
R Laver:	highlights the establishment of a command economy and to galvanise support for "Mother Russia".
E Mawdsley:	"The resources lavished in the 1930s on technical education and military research and development paid off, with the development of equipment which was as good as that of the Germans, in some cases superior, and in all cases available in larger numbers."
C Ward:	notes the economic, military and the political, but also points out the importance of the social factors – the people's ear; also notes Hitler's blunders.

Question 70

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

Point in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Feb 22nd and 23rd - the movements in the street became clearly defined going beyond the limits of the usual factory meetings."	The revolution had spread from the factories to the streets of St Petersburg.
"Fugitive meetings were held in the main street and were dispersed by Cossacks and mounted police – but without any energy or zeal and after many lengthy delays"	Authorities showing sympathy with the protestors and an understanding of their complaints.
"There were no officers visible at all with the patrols and detachments"	The officer class left their posts.
"Demoralisation as Tsarist fighting forces;… willingly giving up their rifles."	The Tsar could not rely upon his security forces to quell the disturbances any longer.

Point in Source B	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Such public figures had become convinced that they and their country would do better without being bound by the dictates of Nicholas II"	Even the groups that had done well out of the war no longer supported the Tsar by 1917.
"The Emperor was resented even more bitterly by those members of the upper and middle classes who had not done well out of the war"	Upper and middle classes no longer supported the Tsar.
"the Council of the United Gentry, a traditional bastion of tsarism, was reconsidering its loyalty to the sovereign"	The gentry, normally a group that was steadfast in supporting the Tsar at all costs stopped supporting him.
"There were bankruptcies and other financial embarrassments among industrialists who had failed to win governmental contracts"	Reference to industrialists who had lost contracts and business.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- The Tsar forced to abdicate by the Generals which supports 'revolution from above'- role of Guchkov and Generals Krymov and Alexeev – ready to desert the Tsar, autocracy and their power being saved by his abdication.
- Increased unrest in Petrograd on 23rd February Women's Day protests turn to mass protests in two days.
- Tsarina played down events to the Tsar.

- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, diverse in motivation and coming from both upper and lower strata of society: the role of the elites, the alienated intelligentsia, the toothless Duma and the possible palace coup – Yusupov.
- Growth rates in industry yet not benefiting workers hence strikes and protests eg Lena goldfields evidence of discontent and brutal reaction.
- Increased problems by 1917, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen by the strikes.
- Putilov and others, the key was reform to address economic disaster as shown by food shortages, queuing and inflation.
- Impact on the Home Front, disruption in communications, second place to army, food shortages and need to increase productivity and it interrupted the development of the modern state.
- War highlighting the fight for power between the Army elites and the civilian elites.
- Heavy losses and retreat at Battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes.
- Heavy defeats at the Front and Tsar was inept as Commander in Chief.
- Failure of Summer Offensive in 1916.
- Dire performance of War Ministry lack of ammunition and resources.
- Demonstrations about lack of fuel and food shortages quickly escalated into calls for the end of autocracy and the removal of the Tsar.
- Tsar's traditional loyal Cossacks were all dead at start of war and had been replaced by raw peasant recruits who had more in common with the protestors than in defending Tsarism.
- Mutiny of Petrograd Garrison spread to other battalions.
- Soldiers were afraid of being sent to the front due to terrible losses and Tsar's disastrous command of the armed forces. Mutiny was a better prospect.
- The Army High-Command, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie all had reasons for no longer supporting the Tsar.
- Rasputin and Tsarina were unpopular with court. Rasputin was selling government positions until 1916. The Minister of War changed three times.
- The Palace plot. Tsar was presented with abdication document by generals once his train was diverted to Pskov.
- Rasputin selling government contracts until 1916. High inflation, lack of materials to fuel war effort and industry.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
P Kenez:	there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population... which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime.
R. McKean:	the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight.
O Figes:	Born in the bread queues of Petrograd.
R Wade:	the long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations...

Question 71

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

Point in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"The loss of the Urals spelled the doom of Kolchak's forces"	Kolchak's forces losing easily defended terrain of the Urals.
"This barrier was now in Red hands; Kolchak had been pushed back too far to threaten central Sovdepia"	Whites now unable to threaten Red held 'Sovdepia'.
"And the Whites had lost the factories and mines of the Urals which had been their only industrial base"	White loss of mines and factories in the Urals was their only industrial base.
"Meanwhile the loss of the Cheliabinsk rail junction completed the isolation of General Belov's Southern Army which had withdrawn in desperation down the Orenburg – Tashkent railway."	Loss of Cheliabinsk rail junction further isolated the Orenburg Cossacks and General Belov's Southern army.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Reference to Red strengths: Bolshevik propaganda, Trotsky's leadership, training and loyalty of Red Army and unity of purpose.
- Issues with allied intervention and provision of supplies and weapons.
- Role of the Czech legion.
- Geographical factors: Bolshevik control of the heartland; central, with all resources.
- September 1919; Allies evacuate Archangel, 1920 Kolchak captured in January, executed by Bolsheviks.
- Role of the Greens and the insurgents.
- Top-heavy White army with too many officers.
- Officers of the White armies often lived in brothels and indulged in vodka and cocaine.
- Analysis of Whites losing because of leadership weaknesses: Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel and other White armies.
- Lack of wider support from peasantry and the land issue.
- Red Terror vs. White Terror.
- Disunity of White forces; made up of monarchists, republicans, pro Constituent Assembly.
- Whites had 'quantity' of land, not 'quality' therefore they were unable to match the resources or manpower of the Reds held lands.
- Whites at one point surrounded Red held 'Sovdepia', but failed to coordinate their attacks due to poor communication and disunity of leadership.
- Reds had War Communism, Whites had no way of mustering either resources or manpower in the same way.
- Whites lacked manpower, supplies and resources, relying on foreign intervention, which gradually dwindled by 1919 both in manpower and resources.

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

Question 72

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of Source A in explaining the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government.

Aspect of Source D		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Trotsky	Main political victim of the Purges and rival to Stalin. Held up as the main focus of opposition to Stalin's view on how Russia should progress.
Purpose	Polemic	Questions the validity of the Purges. Condemnation of the Stalinist regime.
Timing	January 1937	It's the early days of the show trials which were gradually increasing. Trotsky is in exile, now in Mexico.

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"How could these old Bolsheviks who went through the jails and exiles of Tsarism…Who can believe such accusations?"	There was something bizarre and incredible about the whole process; it defied rational explanation Trotsky questions how anyone could believe "such accusations".
"why is Stalin compelled to tie up the fate of his personal rule with these monstrous, impossible, nightmarish trials"	There was the suggestion that Stalin's personal rule was somehow associated with the outcome of these trials
"The omnipotence of the Soviet bureaucracy, its privileges, its lavish mode of life, are not cloaked by any tradition, any ideology, any legal norms."	The top elites realised their positions and privileges were in danger and their reaction was to severely repress any who might be critics. There was nothing to stop them doing what they liked, so their reaction probably involved torture.
"The ruling caste is unable, however, to punish the opposition for its real thoughts and actions…. more freedom for the masses"	The real reason for the Purges is to prevent the people from adopting a programme of Trotskyism which would give the people more freedom and is truly socialist.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Denunciations and the spread to the ordinary people... and the Terror... for everyone. In some ways, hysteria was responsible for the spread of terror to such an extent, as people were encouraged to denounce others.
- That this spread to every aspect of society and perhaps could be justified in that it aims to produce *'vintiki'* (party followers, party faithful, the true Soviet citizen).
- Purges used to push an unwilling population to work even harder, although already suffering from impact of First Five-Year Plan.
- Tension between workers and managers because of Stakhanovite campaign of 1936 — centre wanted to encourage workers to produce more and to put pressure on managers by demanding tools and materials: if managers did not respond they were denounced by workers.
- The numbers involved as the Terror escalated. Detail on the numbers involved in the Purges, that Gulag inmates rose by half a million between 1937–39: that two thirds of the 1.3 million inmates in 1939 were described as 'political criminals' or 'socially harmful'.
- Stalin replaced Yagoda — criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough. Yezhov instigated period of terror called Yezhovshchina (known by Western historians as the Great Purge) — reached height in mid-1937 and lasted until 1938.
- The appointment of Beria to stop the over zealous Yezhov and the coining of the period as 'Yezhovshchina'.
- The step to the totalitarian regime and getting rid of all elements linked to 'class' – kulaks, bourgeois NEPmen etc.
- Purging the Secret Police; not traitors but those now having too much power.
- Stalin's megalomania and paranoia.
- Stalin's self-image — hero of the revolution.
- Stalin thought he was acting in the interests of the Party.
- Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power.
- No master plan — response to circumstances in Soviet Russia.
- People looked for personal gain from Purges — denounced others.
- Government worried about loss of support/control of the masses.
- Purges caused so much social instability that it was impossible for society to challenge government.
- Purges induced fear and submission, like under Lenin and the Tsars.
- People forced to look after their own interests, making it difficult to unite with each other.
- Stalin wished to remove any 'old Bolsheviks' who remembered him from the past who could potentially challenge his policies and cult of personality.
- Rykov would denounce his friend Bukharin under torture and his testimony would be used to accuse Bukharin who would also be executed.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
J Arch Getty:	"The Great Terror of the 1930s in the Soviet Union was one of the most horrible cases of political violence in modern history."
R Sakwa:	stated that the Purges and Show Trials were "masterminded by Stalin personally".
I Deutscher:	holds the belief that it was of Stalin's making, not part of the socialist ideal.
R Conquest:	would contradict this and holds the belief that coercion was inherent in the very nature of Bolshevism.

SECTION 10 – Spain: The Civil War – Causes, Conflicts and Consequences, 1923-1945

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 73

Aim of the question:

This question allows candidates to examine the state of Spain in the 1920s. In particular, to consider whether or not Spain was divided: politically, socially and economically. The candidate can look at the extent to which Spain was divided between, for example, rich and poor, rural and urban, monarchist and republican; and by region, class, political affiliation and religion. The candidate can also consider the unifying factors in Spain, particularly under the Dictadura and reach a conclusion as to the extent to which Spain was a divided country in the 1920s.

Political

- The "Turno Pacifico" which existed in the early 1920s was designed to ensure continuity, but it masked and stifled growing political movements.
- There was a divide between the traditional political parties and between them and the newer political movements.
- Movements such as liberalism, republicanism, socialism, communism and anarchism were growing in Spain and all of these presented a challenge to the conservative establishment.
- There was a division between Monarchists and Republicans, though it could be argued that as the decade came to a close there was growing unity around the need for Alfonso to step down.
- The Dictadura brought some stability and unity. Even trade unions cooperated with the regime at times. By the end however it had alienated almost every group and left the country more divided.
- Political divisions often erupted into violence, for instance the decade began with the three Bolshevik years in Barcelona. However, the Dictadura brought some calm to this for most of the 1920s.

Economic

- The country was deeply divided between the rich and poor, though it had this in common with other European countries.
- In agriculture there was tremendous wealth among the elite and extreme poverty, particularly among the landless braceros. There was also a divide among the types of agricultural practice in different areas of Spain.
- There was a divide between the industrial areas of the north and the economically underdeveloped areas, particular in the south. This transfer of capital from land to industry was a process that had gone on in every other industrial nation.
- However, the Latifundia only owned around 6% of the land and the Dictadura brought some economic stability and even attempted reform to benefit the poorest.
- The industrialists in Catalonia welcomed the calm brought about by Primo, though they later rejected his interference in industrial relations and his anti-nationalist stance.

Social

- There were cultural divides in Spain between different regions. Catalonia and the Basque Country had separatist movements, but were extremely different from each other. Galicia also had a different identity from other regions. The establishment was very centralist and resisted all attempts at devolving power.

- Primo was an even more committed centralist and attacked the Catalan language and culture.
- However, Spain had existed in its current form for many years and, colonies aside, was an established entity.
- Class divisions were rife, as they were in many countries at the time.
- The Catholic Church was part of the political establishment and had lost influence with much of the working class population. Anti-clericalism, particularly among the liberal republican movement was strong.

Other
- The Army had traditionally been seen as a unifying force in Spain and the Dictadura was an attempt to keep the country united. However, the Army itself was divided, with a top-heavy officer corp often distanced from the rank and file.
- The Army and Civil Guard were often at odds with workers and others as they intervened in domestic affairs.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Hugh Thomas:	"Though (Catholic schools) favoured the status quo and the better off (they) were charitable and educational" "Nearly 20 Spanish provinces had an illiteracy rate of 50 per cent or over"
Gerald Brenan:	"Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another." "...the corruption of all the upper layers of society."
Luis Bolin:	(Under Primo, initially) There were no strikes, production attained new levels, private enterprise flourished. A network of roads, properly banked and well-surfaced, spread over the country.
Paul Preston:	"loss of Imperial power coincided with emergence of left wing movements."

Question 74

Aim of the question:

This question enables candidates to examine the reasons that the Left were successful in the 1936 elections. The candidate is required to decide whether the creation of the Popular Front was the main reason for victory or whether some other factor deserves more credit. Other factors that the candidate may consider include the relative disunity of the Right; the corruption and collapse of the Radical Republicans under Lerroux; the growth of CEDA and the Falange which worried many about a descent into fascism; the reactionary, anti-reform nature of the Bienio Negro and the brutality of the regime during this period; and the programme that the Left stood under. The candidate can then come to a conclusion as why the Left won the election of 1936.

Evidence to show that the victory of the Left was due to the creation of the Popular Front

- The loss of the Left in the previous election had been due to their disunity, they were determined not to repeat this.
- The Popular Front was made up of many parties of the Left, including the PSOE, the Republican Left, the Communists, the POUM and regional parties.
- The Communists joined the Popular Front after a policy decision in the Soviet Union where Stalin had encouraged western Communists to join anti-fascist fronts.
- Although the Anarchists did not join the Popular Front, very many of them voted for it.
- The Spanish electoral system favoured united groups, it was therefore the creation of the Popular Front which enabled the Left to gain a majority. The popular vote was actually quite close (under 1% between the Popular Front vote and that of the Right wing block as a whole). The creation of a unified Popular Front meant that under electoral rules, this was translated into a lead of over 260 seats to under 150.

Evidence to show that the victory of the Left was not due to the creation of the Popular Front

- The Right was divided and despite achieving a high vote combined, the lack of unity cost them in terms of Deputies in the Cortes. The National Front lacked the common purpose of the Popular Front.
- CEDA was intended as a unifying force on the Right, but the rhetoric of Gil-Robles turned many away. Gil-Robles and CEDA campaigned under the slogan, “All power to the Leader” and this type of pseudo fascism scared moderate right of centre politicians and voters. The Falange, although politically irrelevant in terms of votes at the election further alienated some as Gil-Robles’ speeches were often very similar to those of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera.
- Lerroux had been key to the majorities of both the Bienio Reformista and the Bienio Negro governments. This time his party was suffering from corruption scandals and he was not even elected as a Deputy in 1936. Radical Republican Party supporters were generally anti-clerical and would rather switch their votes to other Republican parties (within the Popular Front) than to those on the (Catholic) Right, such as CEDA.
- Many voters were also disappointed with the actions taken by the Government during the previous two years. There had been a reversal of many the reforms of 1931 to 1933 with a dilution of workers’ rights, restoration of power to the church and attacks on Trade Unions.
- The events following the Asturias rising had seen a brutal repression by the army, under Franco and a foreshadowing of what awaited Spain if it abandoned democracy. The Right offered no alternative to the political violence which had increased since then.
- The Left promised reform which was needed to land ownership, wealth distribution and social equality. Many people wanted a period of peace and stability with economic growth and greater equality; the Left seemed best placed to deliver this. Mild reforms which

would have increased death duty on the rich, proposed under the previous government had been defeated by the elite wing of CEDA. Even Gil-Robles admitted that this was “suicidal egoism”.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Preston:	Robles' speeches were often filled with "anti-democratic and anti-Semitic innuendo", the oppressive, anti-reformist nature of his government partnership with Alejandro Lerroux's Radicals, and the frank admiration offered to foreign fascist regimes helped lead to the Right’s defeat in the 1936 elections.
Raymond Carr:	“The Popular Front pact put the left Republicans in government on a programme of democratic reforms.”
William Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips:	“Given the constitutional structure of the Republic, a small shift in the popular vote could mean a substantial change in the composition of the Cortes.”
Harry Browne:	“The electoral advantage given to the Left by the Popular Front was not matched on the Right. Gil Robles was unwilling on a national basis, to ally himself to the conspiratorial Right.”

Question 75

Aim of the question:

This question invites candidates to consider the reasons why Franco emerged as the leader of the Nationalists and in particular the extent to which it was due to his links with Germany and Italy. The candidate may also consider other reasons why Franco became the leader of the Nationalists, such as: good fortune, other contenders died or were imprisoned; leadership of the Army of Africa; Mola's relative lack of ambition. The candidate may therefore come to a conclusion about the extent to which it was Franco's links to Germany and Italy which saw him emerge as the Leader of the Nationalists.

NB This is an essay about why Franco became the leader of the Nationalists, not why the Nationalists won the war.

Evidence which shows that Franco's leadership of the Right was due to his links with Germany and Italy

- Italy and Germany had shown reluctance to be involved directly in the Spanish conflict initially, it was only through Franco and his emissaries that they came on board. This raised him up in the eyes of the other conspirators.
- The Germans in particular refused to deal with anyone except Franco, giving him prominence at home and abroad. This gave Franco an unassailable position in negotiations with other Generals over tactics and command. The Condor legion was directly responsible to Franco. Having strategic leadership over foreign troops meant that Franco could effectively lead the direction of the war. He could deploy troops to suit his strategy, making him the leading General.
- Germany had a unified central command, the political head was also the effective head of the armed forces: it seemed logical that once Franco had assumed military leadership, thanks to his allies, he would also become the political head of the Right. Ideologically the Right in Spain were predisposed to having one leader.
- The international dimension was crucial during the Spanish Civil War, especially the view others took of the events. Franco emerged as the de facto leader in the court of international public opinion due to his links with Germany and Italy before he actually took complete control.

Points which tend to show that Franco's leadership of the Right was due to factors other than his links with Germany and Italy

- Franco was beloved by the Army of Africa due to his previous service with them. He led them during the coup and brought them to the Peninsula. The reputation they enjoyed for both brilliance and brutality gave Franco's views more weight and he could begin to gain the upper hand in negotiations with other Generals.
- Mola was more concerned with the successful conclusion of the war than with personal aggrandisement. He wanted to establish a Directory which would eventually oversee fresh elections. However, Mola was considering establishing himself as the political leader (with Franco the military one) shortly before his death.
- Sanjurjo's death at the beginning of the War, when he was due to fly to Spain to take over the Nationalist uprising no doubt paved the way for another leader to emerge. Mola's death was similarly well timed for Franco. The fate of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, first imprisoned and then killed also suited Franco as it meant another contender for leadership was eliminated.
- During Jose Antonio's absence, Franco kept the Falange leaderless and with the death of Sanjurjo and the defeat of Gil-Robles' tactics, there was a political vacuum on the Right which could realistically only be filled by a General during the conflict.

- Franco cleverly manipulated the remaining Falangist would-be successors to Primo, using and then imprisoning Hedilla. Hedilla had thought that he would be the de facto head of the Government with Franco a symbolic head of state. Franco used him to eliminate his rivals before arresting him for doing this.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Antony Beevor:	"(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command"
Paul Preston:	"Italian and German assistance would be channelled exclusively to Franco" "With his major political rivals all dead, Franco was free to control… the political direction of the Nationalists"
Julian Casanova:	"Franco, with Sanjurjo dead, used his privileged position as commander of the Morocco garrison to prepare the ground for (becoming).. a Generalissimo"
Raymond Carr:	Franco's claims (to be leader) were outstanding… he was in charge of the best Nationalist army"

Question 76

Aim of the question:

This question invites candidates to examine the position of the forces of both sides at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. The candidate may include reference to the geographical split of forces, the division of officers and other ranks, the equipment each side had and the division of the army, navy and air force. The candidate may also examine the division of other resources available to each side, including economic assets. The candidate can then come to a conclusion about the validity of the statement.

Army

- The Nationalists had the Army of Africa, considered both the most experienced and the fiercest troops in the Spanish army. It consisted of two parts, the foreign legion (Tercio de Extranjeros) and the Regulares, including the local Moroccan troops. They were used to combat, harsh conditions and to dealing ruthlessly with enemies.
- In terms of size, the Army of Africa consisted of around 35,000- 40,000 men and the Nationalists secured around 60,000 men and officers on the mainland.
- The Nationalists had most of the senior officers and their Generals had the advantage of having planned the coup months in advance. They also had around 30,000 other armed police from the Carabineros, the Assault Guard and the Civil Guard. This gave them a total of around 130,000.
- The Republic had around the same number of men from the peninsular army, though fewer officers. They also had slightly more from the armed police units. This meant they had around 90,000 men.

Navy and Air Force

- Although the Spanish Air Force was small, virtually all of it remained loyal to the Republican Government.
- The navy was central to the Nationalist uprising and the vast majority of officers rebelled, however the junior ranks were well organised and over-powered the officers on most ships, leaving almost all of the navy in Republican hands. Most of the merchant marine was also at the disposal of the Government.

Militias

- Both sides had militias, with Falangists and Carlists on the Nationalist side and trade unionists, Nationalists and Left parties on the Republican side.

Economic

- The Republicans had most of the large cities with their industrial areas and workforce. They held the mining areas and also had control of the largest export of Spain, the fruit crop via Valencia. They also held the country's gold reserves. About two-thirds of the Spanish mainland remained in Republican hands.
- The Nationalists had most of the best agricultural land. They also held Spanish Morocco and the help of the Riffian tribes.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Antony Beevor:	"For a long war it looked as if the Republic had the advantage."
Paul Preston:	"Franco's army (of Africa) was paralysed by the problems of transport across the Strait of Gibraltar… controlled by Republican warships"
Raymond Carr:	"The strength of the Nationalist army was to lie in the fact that it captured the allegiance of most of the junior officers - a cadre which the Republic could not improvise."
Julian Casanova:	"Above all, from the very beginning they had the Army of Africa, …its best known and best trained troops were the Tercio de Extranjeros, the Foreign Legion"

Question 77

Aim of the question:

The candidate will evaluate the importance of Italian involvement in the final outcome of the Spanish Civil War and may compare this to other factors. The quantity, quality and timing of aid are all possible areas of discussion as is the nature of the aid, possibly in comparison to that given to the Republic which was arguably aimed at continuation rather than victory. The aid given to the Nationalists by Germany can also provide a comparison. Other factors which should be taken into account is the non-intervention policy of Britain and others; the tactics of Franco; and the disunity of the Left. The candidate can then come to a conclusion about the extent to which Italy deserves the credit for the victory of the Nationalists.

Evidence which suggests that Italy does deserve the credit for the victory of the Nationalists

- Mussolini was committed to a victory. Especially after the embarrassment of Guadalajara, Mussolini would commit more and more men and machines to ensure success for Franco and Italy.
- The aid given by Italy was by far the largest contribution by any outside player in the conflict. Around 80,000 Italian troops were involved, enough to considerably alter the balance of forces.
- As early as July 1936, Italy sent vital aircraft to aid Franco in Morocco. As well as the vast numbers of troops and the aircraft, Italy sent tanks, artillery and millions of pieces of ammunition.
- Italian forces played a key role in many of the major battles and offensives of the war.

Evidence which suggests that Italy does not deserve the credit for the victory of the Nationalists

- The German assistance, although numerically smaller than that given by the Italians was arguably much better quality. The Condor Legion's airplanes gave total air superiority to the Nationalists and were decisive in many actions.
- The Soviet aid was not as generous in quantity or quality as the Italian (or German) aid and so one of the reasons that the Nationalists won was the disparity of forces.
- Non-intervention by Britain and to an extent France was believed by many to have been crucial to the Nationalist victory. The denial of the right to purchase arms by the Republican Government meant that the Nationalists were given a huge advantage as Italy and Germany ignored the pact.
- The Left was often preoccupied by disagreements within their own ranks, in particular the war or revolution debate and then the May 1937 events in Barcelona and subsequent persecution of the POUM and anarchists.
- In comparison the Nationalists had a unified command and Franco was the undisputed head, particularly after April 1937.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Antony Beevor:	after Guadalajara, Mussolini's desire for vengeance tied him closer to Franco's cause … devoted more money and armaments to the war.
Paul Preston:	the Western democracies betrayed Spain.
Gerald Brenan:	foreign intervention was crucial to the Nationalist victory.
Raymond Carr:	Axis fears of rebel defeat led to extra aid in November 1938.

SECTION 10 – Spain: The Civil War – Causes Conflicts 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

Points in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Sanjurjo and others plotted a coup d'etat."	This was an attempt to bring down the Republican government.
"The coup had a momentary success in Seville."	The coup very briefly took control Seville.
"The illegal confiscation of land hardened the resistance of the landowners."	The land reforms were opposed by the latifundia owners and others. This is why some supported Sanjurjo, but the land confiscation meant that positions became more entrenched.
"The attempted coup led to the statute of autonomy for Catalonia."	Sanjurjo and his fellow plotters were centralists who were worried about the potential for the break-up of the country. Ironically the failed coup hastened the extension of devolution.

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

- The army reforms built created a reaction among some senior officers, hostile to Azaña's Government. Many senior officers were retired and others moved around. Some like Sanjurjo saw this as a humiliation and were ready to act against the Government.
- The coup was doomed to failure because the Government knew about it and planned for it. The crushing blow came from the organised working class who organised a general strike which brought the coup to a standstill and showed the lack of popular support it had.
- The taking of land was attacked by the landed aristocracy and by those on the Left who felt that the land and agricultural reforms were too timid and unlikely to change much.
- The potential to break-up Spain was central to the concerns of many on the Right particularly in the army. This was seen as threat to Spain, therefore legitimising (in their eyes) intervention by the army.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- The army reforms were necessary as the army took up 40% of the budget and Spain had the most "top-heavy" army in Europe. However, the need to "Republicanise" the army often led to officers who may have been loyal resigning or turning against the Government because they were disadvantaged by the reforms.
- There was also the paradox of having to use the army and paramilitary forces to crush resistance to the Government while creating enemies within those forces. This led to resistance from the Left and Right.
- The agrarian reforms were criticised from the Left and Right. Strikes in the countryside, brutal repression by landowners and their lackeys and the flouting of the law by many led to the reforms being called "an aspirin to cure appendicitis" by Government Minister Largo Caballero.

- The regional questions further divided the country and brought resistance from centralists and emboldened the monarchists who saw the return of the king the only way to save Spain. Many in the army believed that the break-up of Spain was a line which could not be crossed. The Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia was carried in the face of opposition in the Cortes partly because of the experience of the Sanjurjada. Other regions, notably the Basque country and Galicia also saw calls for greater autonomy.
- There was resistance to the reforms made against the church as well. Azaña in particular was seen as anti-clerical above all. The church was no longer allowed to educate, which although pleased some who wanted to end the religious monopoly, left an impractical situation of an educational vacuum. The tax on the ringing of church bells and other measures were regarded as vindictive and helped to coalesce opposition to the reforms around a protection of the mother church.
- It was the church reforms more than anything else which helped to create a credible political resistance which became the *Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas* (CEDA). This ultimately proved to be the best resistance as it helped to bring about the end of the Azaña government at the end of 1933.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Paul Preston:	"the statute (of Catalan autonomy) was regarded by the army and conservative classes as an attack on national unity" Several issues caused friction between the government and the armed forces…none more so than the readiness to concede regional autonomy. "The laws of obligatory cultivation were effectively ignored…" "(the reforms)…did nothing to abate the revolutionary nature of the countryside…"
Gerald Brenan:	"…unless very radical land reforms were introduced (Spain) would cease to be (governable)."
Edward Malefakis:	…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.
Stanley Payne:	Republican reforms tended to reflect fragmentation rather than provide the means to overcome it.

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Question 79

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

Point in Source B	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Small revolutionary groups wanted revolution."	There were a number of committed revolutionaries in Spain.
"Fascism cannot be opposed by democracy."	For many, "democratic" government was not the goal.
"The only real alternative to Fascism is workers' control."	For some, a workers' revolution was necessary to prevent Fascism.
"hand the victory to Franco."	Without a 'real' revolution, the war would be lost.

Point in Source C	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"tried to fill the power vacuum"	Many rural places and small towns were left with no one in charge.
"The State no longer existed outside Madrid. It was time for the power of committees"	The defeat of the rising left others in control, such as militias.
"At first there were many people and circumstances that hampered control and favoured anarchy."	The circumstances, more than the overwhelming mass movement of the workers was responsible for the revolution.
"The distribution of arms… a "spontaneous revolution"."	The eventual decision to arm the workers helped to make the revolution a reality in some parts of Spain.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in source B

- The POUM were a small but visible group, though there were others, the most prominent being the anarchists.
- Although the war is seen in terms of Republicans against Nationalists, there were many who saw this as an opportunity to replace the bourgeois Republic with a workers' state.
- The polarised nature of Spain meant that for many the only way of stopping Spain becoming a fascist state was a revolution.
- The best way to win the war was to have a revolution. This was the belief among not only the POUM, but also the anarchists and others on the revolutionary left.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in source C

- As mayors, civil governors and others vanished, there was no authority in many areas.
- The Government was concentrating on the defence of Madrid and the organisation of what was left of the army. The Central Committee of Anti-Fascist Militias was set up in Barcelona on the 21st of July.
- No one knew for certain what was going to happen in the early days as first the rebellion failed and then the battle lines were drawn.
- The arming of the workers allowed a takeover of farms and factories in parts of Spain under collective ownership of the workers, for many this was the realisation of the dream.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- George Orwell fought in Spain as part of the POUM militia (not officially in the International Brigades). His account must be seen in that light.
- Especially in places where the anarchists were strong, such as Barcelona and the surrounding areas, there was a revolution, with the collectivisation of land, transport, communications and other workplaces.
- It is difficult to tell how much support there was for the revolution among Spaniards. Trade unions such as CNT and political organisations like the FAI and the POUM were to the fore.
- The revolution was seen as part of the defence against the Generals' uprising at first, however this soon became a fault line. Many believed that the defence of the Republic should be paramount, which led to tensions.
- The Socialists were split, with many on the left of the party and in the UGT supporting the revolution, while others wanted to postpone this until victory in the war. As the Republican Government gained more control over their zone and the war continued, more socialists came into the camp of victory first, including Largo Caballero.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Burnett Bolloten:	"…individual farmers viewed collectivisation with dismay…farm workers of the CNT and UGT saw it as the commencement of a new era."
Helen Graham:	"…atomised rural collectivisation carried out by local committees (in Valencia)…had fragmented the region's economy to such an extent it was jeopardising the basic process of distribution and supply crucial to the Republic's defences."
Antony Beevor:	The CNT and UGT rapidly filled the vacuum, creating revolutionary organisations in republican territory.
Paul Preston:	As general rule, rural collectivisation was accepted whole-heartedly by the landless braceros but resented by the small holders.

Question 80

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	The author was an International Brigade member	The first-hand survivor account could give at least that person's motivations. He would have also talked to others about their motivations.
Purpose	The extract is intended to give a justification for joining the brigades	The writer has links to the Communist Party, as did many, though not all international brigade members.
Timing	Recorded in 2008	This source seems to benefit from perspective however the source could be distorted by knowledge of subsequent events such as Franco's victory and the failure of the international brigades to prevent this.

Point in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"Fascism was a terrible thing."	For many the fight was against fascism.
"what it was doing to everybody; trade unionists and politicians who were not Nazis."	There was a genuine belief among many that if they did not go to confront fascism, it would come to them.
"The bombing of civilians."	The images of bombs dropping on civilians, evoked the sympathy of many in Britain and elsewhere.
"All I could do was offer my services and hope it would be worthwhile."	There was a naivety in many of those who joined up, wanting to do something, but not sure what they were going to.

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

- Around 80% of the British volunteers were working class and left their jobs, or were unemployed before they volunteered.
- Just over half were members of the Communist Party.
- Over 500 volunteers came from Scotland.
- The intervention of Germany and Italy seemed to make this a very clear issue of anti-fascism.
- The European Left had been decimated by the rise of fascism and the Nazis.
- The bombing, in Madrid and Barcelona in particular, provided reason for joining the brigades and for trying to prevent a European war at all costs. The idea that "the bomber will always get through" was widespread.
- The recruits ranged from men with military experience to those who had little idea of what they would be facing.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Between 35 000 and 53 000 men from 53 different countries served in the International Brigades.
- Most of the recruits were organised through the Communist Parties across Europe. There was therefore a high proportion who joined for partisan reasons.
- People who had arrived for the People's Olympiad formed the first of the Brigades.
- Many from Britain and France had already been engaged in combatting Mosley's fascists or Action Francaise and the Croix de Feu.
- Many intellectuals, including poets and writers joined in the war effort, stating that "They had to do something".
- There were many who joined because they had already been defeated by fascism in their own countries, such as Germans and Italians.
- Some joined the brigades through a sense of adventure without a great deal of political awareness.
- Many who joined were unemployed and had little motivation to stay in Britain (or elsewhere) in the 1930s.
- For many of those who went, the war in Spain was the embodiment of the battle which was raging across Europe. The European Left saw it as the chance to oppose the onslaught from the Right which had smashed the left in Germany and Italy.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Arthur Koestler:	Spain became the rendezvous of the international Left: Leftist bohemia – Bloomsbury went on a revolutionary junket.
George Esenwein:	"For many, the foreign volunteers who had come to Spain embodied the international spirit of anti-fascism."
Antony Beevor:	"Sheer courage, bolstered by the belief that the whole world depended on them."
David Boyd Haycock:	Some went because, "if Spain fell to fascism and joined with Germany and Italy then Britain and France were doomed" though most were open or secret communists.

SECTION 11 – Britain: At War and Peace, 1938-1951

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 81

Aim of the question:

This question enables the candidates to discuss the arguments relating to Britain's preparedness for war in 1939 in terms of its military preparedness and its civil defence measures only. Candidates should provide an analysis of the readiness of the British Army, the Royal Navy and RAF at the outbreak of war. Candidates should make an assessment of the effectiveness of the civil defence measures put in place by Chamberlain's Government to protect the civilian population, especially from air attack.

Civil Defence

- In 1935 the Government made it the responsibility of the local authorities to set up ARP services in their area and train local volunteers to be Stretcher Bearers, man First Aid Posts and form Rescue Parties.
- Fire Brigades and Ambulance Services were expanded and many auxiliaries were recruited.
- ARP Act of 1937 made the taking of ARP measures mandatory by the local authority and that the Government would pay for most of the costs incurred.
- After the Munich Crisis of September 1938 the Government distributed 38 million gas masks.
- The number of ARP volunteers increased considerably after the Munich Crisis.
- Exercises took place to deal with the possible effects of a poison gas attack.
- In 1939 new hospitals opened to deal with potential bombing casualties.
- 140,000 patients sent home from hospitals to make way for expected air raid casualties.
- The Government sent every household in the country a leaflet outlining methods to cope with air raids, "How to Prepare Your Home for…"
- An analysis of the extent to which the ARP scheme provided effective protection for civilians and the response of the emergency services to the Blitz.
- Blackout procedures and the role of the ARP wardens.
- Women's Voluntary Service for Civil Defence. (February 1939) Did a variety of jobs including medical support and staffing public kitchens.
- Anderson and Morrison shelters. Numbers, affordability and effectiveness of these.
- Use of the London Underground (the tube) for sheltering. Evacuation in September 1939. Commenced on Friday 1st September. Within three days 1.5 million children were evacuated. Codename Operation Pied Piper.
- Private evacuation.
- Overseas evacuation.
- Role of the Observer Corps.
- Rescue Services including Auxiliary Fire Service, medical services.

Criticisms of the Civil Defence Precautions

- Shortage of ARP volunteers prior to the outbreak of war.
- Disagreement between the Government and Local Authorities over who should pay for the cost of Civil Defence Precautions.
- Anti-aircraft defences. Severe shortage of guns to defend cities.
- Historical debate over the question of whether there were sufficient shelters and were they of sufficient quality?
- A Morrison Sandwich was the popular name given to badly built shelters which had to be torn down and replaced as they were unstable due to poor materials used.

- Government's belief in the possibility of "Deep Shelter Mentality" delayed the use of the London Underground for sheltering. Many took the initiative by simply buying a ticket and not getting on the train.

Britain's armed forces

- Financial stringency of the 1930s. The government was fully aware of the exorbitant cost of rearmament.

Conscription

- The Emergency Powers (Defence Act) of August 1938 allowed the government to take measures in defence of the nation and to maintain public order.
- The Defence Act contained around 100 measures aimed at calling up military reservists and Air Raid Precautions (ARP) volunteers for mobilisation.
- The Military Training Act of 27 April 1939. All British men aged 20 and 21 who were fit and able were required to take six months' military training.
- The National Service (Armed Forces) Act made all able men between the ages of 18 and 41 liable for conscription; as part of the legislation it was decided that single men would be called to war before married men.
- Men aged 20 to 23 were required to register on 21 October 1939 - the start of a long and drawn-out process of registration by age group, which only saw 40-year-olds registering in June 1941.
- By the end of 1939 more than 1.5 million men had been conscripted to join the British armed forces. Of those, just over 1.1 million went to the British Army and the rest were split between the Royal Navy and the RAF.

The Army

- The Army was given the lowest priority of all three services.
- Detailed evidence of the preparedness of the armed forces for warfare and the conflicting ideas of the role likely to be played by the army in any future war. Defence of the Empire was the main priority for the Army during the 1930s.
- Size of the army, equipment, training of soldiers.

The Navy

- The Royal Navy was the largest in the world in 1939. It consisted of 15 large battleships, 15 heavy cruisers, 46 light cruisers, 7 aircraft carriers, 181 destroyers and 59 submarines. However, only about half had been modernised and the rest were deficient in horizontal armour needed for protection against modern, long-range shellfire.
- Strategic role of the Royal Navy, defending the Empire and protecting Britain's sea routes.
- Anti -submarine measures to combat the U-boats menace. However Coastal Command was not sufficiently prepared in 1939 to locate and destroy U-boats.

The RAF

- The relative strengths of Bomber and Fighter Command at the beginning of the war.
- In September 1939 Bomber Command consisted of 55 squadrons (920 aircraft). However, only about 350 of these were suitable for long-range operations. Fighter Command had 39 squadrons (600 aircraft) but the RAF only had 96 reconnaissance aircraft.
- Development and introduction of impressive new RAF fighters (which replaced biplanes) Spitfires and Hurricanes, which were a match for the Luftwaffe.
- Development of radar (RDF) and its crucial importance to the defence of Britain.

The Norway Campaign

- The degree to which the Norway campaign and the evacuation at Dunkirk showed up exactly how unprepared the armed forces were.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Charles Loch Mowatt and Michael Howard:	There is little debate over the degree to which the armed services were prepared for war with stressing different aspects of the topic.
Andrew Roberts:	maintains civil defence was as effective as it could have been under the circumstances.
Angus Calder, Stuart Hylton, Nick Tiratsoo and **Clive Ponting:**	more critical of the lack of deep shelters (particularly in the East End of London).
Robert Mackay:	a more sympathetic stance on the issue and questions the degree to which any democracy can effectively prepare for total war.

Question 82

Aim of the question:

The aim of the essay is to invite candidates to evaluate the success of the Allied bombing campaign against Nazi Germany. This may include comment about Allied bombing strategy, accuracy and target selection. Ideally candidates should provide some analysis of the positive and negative impact of strategic bombing at this time.
Allied bombing remains a controversial issue; did it play a vital role in the defeat of Nazi Germany? To what extent did it constrain then degrade German war production? Was area bombing with a concomitant heavy loss of civilian life important in the eventual defeat of Nazi Germany?
From the Allied perspective the bombing campaign was costly in both aircrew personnel killed and in material resources, arguably the resources could have been used more effectively. The candidate is likely to discuss the head of Bomber Command, Arthur Harris, and to the extent that his high expectations of bombing as a means of winning the war were proved to be correct.
(This is not a question about the morality of the Allied bombing campaign which candidates may mistakenly discuss).

Aims of the Allied Bombing Campaign

- The reasons for bombing Germany were to disrupt industrial production of weapons, to wear down the German morale and to force the German Army and Air Force to defend against the bombing over a wide area.
- A key objective of the bombing offensive was ultimately to weaken the German war effort by reducing war production.
- Archibald Sinclair, the Secretary of State commented that, "the objective of our bombing offensive in Germany is to destroy the capacity of Germany to make war".
- Sinclair supported Bomber Harris and believed that strategic bombing of Germany was an effective way of destroying Germany's war effort and morale. Sinclair argued that the targets were industrial rather than residential.
- After the evacuation at Dunkirk, arguably bombing was the only feasible method of taking the war to Germany.

The Early Bombing Campaign, 1939 to 1941

- By August 1941 "only about one in five of Bomber Command's aircraft was putting its bombs within five miles of its target".
- The difficulties were flying in darkness and in bad weather.
- In the autumn of 1941 the decision was taken by Air Ministry planners to switch the order of target priority: Area bombing was to be the first priority and precision raids would be carried out when appropriate.
- The bomber force needed more aircrews, bigger and better bombers and improved navigation equipment to be effective.
- In October 1940, the War Cabinet agreed "the civilian population around the target areas must be made to feel the weight of the war".
- Bombing was justified on the grounds that the Germans were employing similar tactics against Britain and retaliation in kind was a morale booster for the British public.

The Bombing Campaign,1942 to 1945

- Arthur Harris was appointed to lead Bomber Command in February 1942, he followed the Government's policy of area bombing.
- Harris stated that, "They had sowed the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind".
- Harris saw civilian death (or the 'dehousing' of the German workforce) as entirely necessary. He argued that 1,000 bomber raids objectives, could destroy industrial cities in hours.
- Crucially Harris argued that area bombing would render the ground invasion of Europe unnecessary. He pointed to the Cologne raid of May 1942 as an example of what could be achieved: in one night, 1,046 aircraft dropped more than 2,000 tons of bombs on the city, reducing 13,000 houses to rubble.
- RAF bombers improved during the war, the Lancaster heavy bomber was a very effective bomber.
- Lancasters could also be used for precision bombing targets such as bridges using 10 ton Grand Slam bombs.
- Repeated attacks on Germany caused the diversion of industrial war production to defensive rather than offensive weapons.
- As there was no Second Front until D Day, Churchill promised heavy bombing of Germany to placate Stalin.
- US Army Air Force bombed German cities during the day. They attempted precision bombing, the RAF bombed at night.
- In May 1943, the Dambusters raids against dams in the Ruhr Valley, in the German industrial heartland.
- Although the economic impact of the Dambusters raid was negligible, the operation had a great impact on public morale.
- The defeat of the German Air Force coincided with improvements in accuracy making the combined bomber force a valuable asset against an expanding German war economy.
- Germany's losses in the bombing offensive are estimated to be approximately 600,000 dead, most of them civilians. A further five million people were 'de-housed'.
- By 1945, the major cities of the Third Reich had been razed to rubble.
- Churchill was very much committed to the Allied Bombing Campaign. However, Churchill's attitude towards the campaign changed after the destruction of Dresden, February 1945.
- By the end of the war, RAF Bomber Command had dropped nearly one million tons of bombs in the course of 390,000 operations.
- No major German city was not bombed, and many were more than half-destroyed, including Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Dresden.

German reaction to Allied Bombing

- German morale may even have been strengthened rather than damaged. Wholesale defiance on the part of the German civilian population was not expected. British analysts thought the German population would capitulate, it did not.
- They may have been arrogant to think that the reaction of the German civilian population would be any less patriotic than the reaction of Londoners during the Blitz.
- German war production actually increased until 1944.
- Albert Speer, Minister of Armaments and War Production of Germany, wrote: "In the burning cities we daily experienced the direct impact of war...Neither did the bombings and the hardships that resulted from them weaken the morale of the populace…I carried away the impression of growing toughness."

How effective was Allied bombing?

- Forcing the Germans onto the defensive through bombing was a critical factor in the liberation of Europe and the concomitant defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945.
- Bombing was vital to British victory 'bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential'.
- German bomber production was cut back and one-third of the production of heavy guns, electrical and radar equipment went to anti-aircraft defences.
- Seventy-five percent of their heavy anti-tank guns, manned by 900,000 soldiers, had to be used as anti-aircraft guns, scattered across Germany.
- German factories had to concentrate on producing aircraft which were used in a defensive role.
- Churchill, in the final volume of his memoirs said: "In judging the contribution to victory of strategic air power…before the end, we and the US had developed striking forces so powerful that they played a major part in the economic collapse of Germany."
- There was further criticism of the bombing strategy when economists looked at the amount of men and material involved. They surmised that the resources employed could have been better used elsewhere in the war effort at this time. As the war came to an end, it became harder to argue that raids were saving the lives of Allied soldiers.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Richard Overy:	argues that bombing was vital to British victory, bombing placed a ceiling on the expansion of German war potential. Germany mounted a huge effort to protect itself from Bomber Command and this, in turn, deprived their army and air force of men and equipment. Arguing the bombing campaign diverted a great deal of Germany's war effort away from the war at sea or the main fighting fronts.
Max Hastings:	argues that bombing failed in its attempt to destroy German morale as it never came near to collapse until the very end. If anything, the continuous bombings of German cities only strengthened morale.
Basil Collier:	believed that destroying cathedrals and hospitals and killing non-combatants of all ages and both sexes, either in the course of impracticable attempts to bomb strictly military objectives…[was]…both legitimate and sound.
Detlef Siebert:	is sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production and its population.

Question 83

Aim of the question:

The candidate may commence with a brief overview of the state of the British economy at the outbreak of war. However, the essay should clearly concentrate on the war years, concentrating on changes in industry, agriculture, finance and problems with food supply etc. The candidate should address the question regarding the transition from a peace time economy to a war economy. To what extent was this move uncoordinated and could it have been achieved quicker and come to a conclusion about the effectiveness of the transition.

The Economy at the Outbreak of War, 1939

- A brief explanation of the many shortcomings in the British economy at the outbreak of war.

The Government's Economic Policies 1939 to 1945

- 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.
- 4 million new tax payers were brought into the system.
- 1941 Budget promoted savings to prevent inflation.
- Excess profit tax raised from 60% to 100% in 1940.
- 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.
- Some food was subsidised.
- Alcohol and cigarettes were not rationed but were heavily taxed to increase government revenue.
- Ministry of Supply supplied the army, Ministry of Aircraft Production supplied the RAF, Admiralty supplied the Navy.
- Shadow Factories produced 500 planes a month.
- New industries such as rayon, dye stuffs and electrical wires flourished during the war.

Possible criticisms of the Government's Economic Policies

- Shortages of some foods and consumer goods due to restriction of imports.
- Clothing and many household goods such as furniture were in short supply.
- Rationing - complaints that individuals involved in heavy manual work did not have sufficient rations.
- There was a large black market in rationed goods. These were affordable by the wealthy whilst the majority had to do without. (However many people would not buy black market goods on principle).
- The impact of the war on the balance of payments.

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 to pay for the war.
- Britain was the greatest recipient of Lend–Lease.
- 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.

- Arguably Lend-Lease merely postponed an ongoing decline in the level of debt incurred by Britain and the reliance on the USA for machine tools and other essential production tools even prior to the programme.
- Lend Lease ended suddenly after the defeat of Japan which left Britain facing a "financial Dunkirk" (Keynes).

The Workforce

- Chamberlain established the Ministry of Supply and the Ministry of Information.
- Minister of Labour and National Service, Ernest Bevin was responsible for organising the nation's workers.
- Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940 gave Bevin the authority to force individuals to do war work.
- 10,000,000 people employed in armed forces/employed in the munitions industries.
- Key workers were prevented from joining the armed forces to ensure war materials were produced.
- Unions reluctantly accepted dilution to ensure productivity.
- Bevin consulted both unions and employers over policy to avoid industrial unrest, (although strikes did take place).
- Until May 1940 the there was little mobilisation of industrial manpower to fulfil government orders due to a shortage of skilled labour and some materials.
- Arguably hostility from trade unions ensured that the Control of Employment Act was in fact useless.
- Chamberlain's Government failed to mobilise manpower during his months in charge of the war effort.
- Only 250,000 men and 90,000 women were directed into wartime industrial work which they had not chosen.
- However Industrial disputes continued throughout the war.
- As invasion threatened, factories worked day and night, holidays were cancelled.
- Across the whole economy from 1938 to 1943 output per worker rose by 10%.

Agriculture

- Women's Land Army – by the end of 1939, 17,000 women had volunteered.
- Land Girls worked very long hours/pay was poor.
- 69% drop in meat output during the war.
- Timber Corps established in March 1942.
- "Dig for Victory" campaign.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Mark Donnelly:	The agricultural sector also performed remarkably well with more land under cultivation, more labour employed and the balance of crops altered to produce a greater calorific yield per acre of land.
Peter Howlett:	The wartime economy was effective, if not Britain could not have resisted the powers of Germany.
Correlli Barnett:	Compared the productivity of British workers unfavourably with their wartime counterparts in Germany and the US.

Question 84

Aim of the question:

The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to evaluate the part played by Winston Churchill himself in the defeat of the Conservative Party in the 1945 General Election. However, the question requires the candidate to explore several other reasons which may account for the Conservative defeat at the polls. These may include the contrasting Conservative and Labour attitudes towards the Beveridge Report, the role of ABCA, the swing to the Left during wartime and the election campaign itself.

Churchill's errors

- Churchill broadcast a very negative speech about the Labour Party in the run-up to the 1945 election, his ill-judged "Gestapo Speech". He expressed views that the public largely rejected and subsequently the Conservatives lost votes at the election.
- However, the decline in electoral support due to this is hard to quantify but there is evidence to suggest that these ideas were abhorrent to the majority of the public who could scarcely believe that Churchill would round on his coalition colleagues with such venom a few weeks after VE Day.
- Churchill neglected Conservative interests during the war.
- Churchill was reliant upon his war reputation to attract votes from the electorate.
- The Conservatives focused too much on Churchill's charismatic leadership.
- Churchill said that decisions about the Beveridge Report must await the outcome of the election at the end of the war.
- Churchill stated that Beveridge was a "windbag and a dreamer".

Conservative Party errors

- Churchill and the Conservatives failed to appreciate the widespread support which the Beveridge Report enjoyed, this was a crucial missed opportunity on their part.
- The Conservatives took for granted a public gratitude for winning the war which they wrongly assumed would result in support for them at the polls.
- The Conservative and Labour manifestos were very different in emphasis.
- The Conservatives were associated with the then unpopular policy of appeasement and the poverty and unemployment of the 1930s, "the Ghost of Neville Chamberlain."
- The 'never again' mentality was well to the fore in 1945 and that fears of a return to mass unemployment and the hungry 30s persuaded many to vote Labour.
- Conservatives were blamed for the military defeats at the beginning of the war, "Tories were unlikely to win any general election after the evacuation of British forces from Dunkirk in June 1940," Paul Addison.

The Beveridge Report and its influence on the 1945 General Election

- Published in December 1942, the Beveridge Report sold a very impressive 635,000 copies.
- The contrasting response of Labour and the Conservatives to the Beveridge Report of 1942.
- Labour firmly tapped into the mood of the nation for a "New Jerusalem," a better future for all post war.
- The Conservatives appeared reluctant to engage in a national discussion about future welfare reform which counted against them at the polls.
- Many would argue that the Tories' lukewarm response to the Beveridge Report sealed their fate at the election and that the electorate trusted Labour far more with the task of reconstructing Britain and delivering the 'New Jerusalem'.

The Labour Party and the General Election

- The significance of the ten-year election gap. Prior to 1945 there had not been an election since 1935 due to war. Arguably if there had been an election in 1940 the Labour Party would have won many seats. The number of Labour MPs was "artificially low."
- The Labour Party ran a coordinated and effective election campaign.
- Labour campaigned in favour of full employment, nationalisation of certain industries, social security and housing in its manifesto, Let Us Face the Future.
- The Conservatives complained that the Labour Party's election agents had been in place throughout the war whilst theirs had been serving in the forces Hence the Conservatives were not well organised when an election was called.
- The Labour Party was much more organised than the Conservatives. Indeed, some constituencies were not contested by the Conservatives and the prospective candidates effectively were handed a seat in parliament.
- Labour Ministers such as Attlee, Dalton, Morrison and Bevin were high profile during the war and had gained a great deal of experience organising the Home Front. The popular view was that they had the experience to run the country during peacetime.
- The General Election of 1945 was not a betrayal of the greatly revered Winston Churchill; rather it was a positive vote in favour of a dream - the New Jerusalem that so many wanted to build and they trusted Labour to build it.

ABCA and its influence on the General Election

- The importance of the armed forces vote which generally went to Labour.
- ABCA was accused by the Conservatives of encouraging the members of the armed services to vote Labour.
- The result of the 1945 General Election came as a surprise to many. The votes of men serving in the Forces were decisive - Alfred Duff Cooper, (Conservative politician).

The Swing to the Left

- The role of the media. Left wing ideas and beliefs were increasingly promoted by individualists such as JB Priestly Postscript on the radio.
- The perceived success of large scale government intervention in all aspects of daily life during the war led many to believe that such an approach to government should be tried in peacetime and that Labour was the only party advocating such an approach.
- The Soviet Union had a planned economy and the Red Army had been pivotal in defeating Nazi Germany. The Labour Party was associated much more with central planning than the Conservatives were.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Paul Adelman:	argues that Conservative smear tactics during the campaign was an important factor in losing the election. He criticises the use of such tactics and he tells us they 'backfired' as a plausible vote winner.
Michael Jago:	The Prime Minister's most violent criticism turned out to be his biggest blunder of the election (on Churchill's Gestapo Speech).
Paul Addison:	(The Road to 1945) believes that the 'Gestapo speech' had only minimal impact on the election and that the result was decided long before the war ended. He points to a consistent Labour lead of 10 points in the polls from 1943 onwards. The success of anti-Conservative parties in wartime by-elections is often seen as a sign of a swing to the Left in British politics between 1940 and 1945 with the collectivism of wartime government policies being hugely approved by the public.

Henry Pelling:	however, justifies the overwhelming support for Labour as a reaction to Conservative rule in the 1930s.
Jefferys, Martin Pugh and Paul Addison:	agree that the responsibility for the 'Home Front' held by Labour members of the Coalition Government were a major vote winner.
Alan Clark's:	view is that Armed Service votes and the contribution of organisations such as ABCA played a major role in the defeat of the Conservatives.
Steven Fielding:	argues that the winner of the election would simply be the party who whole heartedly advocated the social change proposed in the Beveridge Report regardless of label and campaign style.

Question 85

Aim of the question:

Candidates should approach this question from the point of view of assessing British foreign policy against the backdrop of the changing world circumstances and Britain's vastly reduced economic capability which forced it to re-evaluate its overseas commitments. The central theme should be an assessment of Britain's success in carrying out its post-war commitments and its ability to find a role that fitted in with the reality of the Cold War era.

Reference should be made to Bevin's central role in developing British policy at this time, its relationship with her Dominions and the creation of the Commonwealth, the formation of NATO and Britain's possession of an independent nuclear deterrent. Candidates may be familiar with the criticism of Corelli Barnett who accuses Britain of global overstretch and clinging on the dreams and illusions of power we neither no longer had nor could afford.

Britain in 1945

The Performance of the British Economy between 1945 and 1951

- An analysis of Britain's financial situation in the immediate aftermath of the war.
- From being a great creditor nation with the world's most powerful currency, Britain ended the war in debt to the tune of £3,700 million, a huge balance of payments deficit and an enormous loss of overseas markets.
- By July 1947, sterling was freely convertible to dollars, threatening to wipe out Britain's dollar reserve and virtually destroying the £ as a trading currency.
- After the financial crises of 1947, 1949 and 1951, Britain's economic capacity to remain a world power, even with US financial aid, was severely challenged by the fragility of her trading and financial position.
- Faced with financial ruin, Britain was forced to reduce some of her overseas commitments, resulting in military withdrawal from Greece, Turkey and Palestine.
- The sterling area still accounted for over half the world's trade in the immediate post-war years and Britain retained close commercial ties with her Dominions despite interference from the USA.

Ernest Bevin, Labour Foreign Secretary

- The extent to which Bevin's abrasive personality and forthright views dominated British foreign policy and whether his personal intervention in a number of key areas secured for Britain, a more satisfactory outcome than at first appeared possible.
- Britain found itself in a difficult position relative to the new world order of the competing superpowers of USA and USSR and there is an argument that Bevin himself was in some way responsible for the onset of the Cold War mentality.
- Specific foreign policy issues may be referred to including the breakdown in relations with the USSR and the abandonment by Bevin of the Labour philosophy of "left speaking to left" in our relations with the USSR.
- Bevin's attitude towards the Soviet Union in comparison with the USA.

The British Empire in retreat

India and Palestine

- The loss of India was a major blow to Britain's military and political presence east of Suez Indian independence and the issue of further decolonisation. Successfully achieved and a noble foreign policy initiative or an abandonment of the Indian sub-continent to civil war with undue haste?

- How far was Britain's decision to decolonise forced upon it by the superpowers or how far was it a rational decision taken for sound political reasons?
- The thorny problem of the Middle-East, particularly Palestine, and the degree to which Britain pursued an appropriate policy in this area.
- Ultimately Britain was relieved to withdraw from Palestine, it had governed the area under a League of Nations Mandate since 1922, and the state of Israel came into existence in May 1948.
- After Britain left, fighting immediately broke out between the Jews and the Arab League.

The remaining Empire
- Britain still retained control over substantial parts of Africa as well as islands in the Caribbean, Hong Kong and had interest in the Suez Canal.
- Reference to specific examples of decolonisation, Transjordan (1946), Burma and Ceylon (1948) and Libya (1951).
- By 1951, Commonwealth relationships had undergone a fundamental transformation, the full effects of which were only just becoming apparent and in Malaya and Iran the emerging conflicts there clearly marked out some of the limits of British world power status in the post-war world.

The formation of NATO
- Bevin's important role in helping to create NATO, April 1949, and to tie the USA to European security for the first time.
- This strengthened Britain's position as a key element in a Western European security system.

Europe, the Cold War and the Marshall Plan
- Argument that Britain missed an opportunity in this period of enhanced European co-operation due to its reluctance to participate in the Schumann Plan, concerning coal and steel production, and ultimately to further European integration. However, with much of Europe in ruins close European ties were not an attractive proposition.
- Bevin's success in obtaining considerable American financial aid, Marshall Plan funding for European (and British) economic regeneration.
- Britain's 'special relationship' with the USA and its Cold War policies. Did these further British interests? or US interests?
- An examination of Britain's contribution to the resolution of issues relating to Germany in the context of the Cold War.
- The issue of Britain's independent nuclear deterrent. The possession of an independent nuclear deterrent was a significant factor in allowing the British to see themselves as the third world power, and if nothing else, the gap between Britain's status in the world and any other countries apart from the USA and USSR was enormous.

The Korean War
- Rearmament and British involvement in the Korean War,1950 -1953.

Britain's international status in 1951
- Britain continued to see herself as the world's third greatest power and to that end retained a military presence in significant and strategic areas of the world.
- Britain was a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and as such wielded considerable influence in international affairs.
- The onset of the Cold War and Britain's alignment with the USA led many critics to suggest that the concept of an independent British foreign policy had been subverted by the necessity of following the lead of the USA, a notion which seemed to gain credence after Britain's entry into the Korean War in 1950.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Darwin:	is less convinced that world power status had been lost by 1951, citing the fact that Britain's continued influence on the development of world affairs was still considerable.
Corelli Barnett:	is, of course, disparaging about Britain's dreams and illusions of continued great power status and cites this misguided pursuit of a seat at the top table as primary cause of the country's decline as an industrial nation in the post-war decades.
Peter Hennessey:	still sees much value in considering Britain as the third superpower at least, that is, until the Suez Crisis, 1956, which finally did dispel any notions of world power status.
Steven Fielding:	bemoans Britain's subservient position between the two superpowers and focuses on the degree to which Britain followed US foreign policy.

SECTION 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938—1951

Part B — Historical Sources

Question 86

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

Point identified in Source A	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"In January 1939, there were no more hunger marches in England or Wales, though in Scotland there had been a march along Princes Street."	Although unemployment remained high, it was only in Scotland that hunger marches took place.
"They demanded work projects including new bridges across the Tay and the Forth, a ship canal and the developments of the Highlands."	The Scottish unemployed demanded several work projects to create employment.
"On 20 December two hundred men lay down in the middle of Oxford Street chanting "work or bread."	200 protestors took part in a high profile protest in central London prior to Christmas to highlight their plight
"Others chained themselves to railings in front of the home of Ernest Brown, the Minister of Labour"	Unemployed took their protest to the home of an important Government Minister

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

- Jarrow Hunger March, October 1936. 200 men marched 300 miles to London to present a petition to Parliament asking for work in a town in which there was 70% male unemployment.
- The petition was presented by the local Labour MP Ellen Wilkinson.
- The official TUC and the Labour Party position was not to help the marchers.
- However, there was a great deal of criticism of the Labour Party's lack of support for the unemployed during the 1930s.
- The National Unemployed Workers' Movement was a British organisation set up by members of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
- Ernest Brown was Minister of Labour, 1935 to 1940, Liberal Nationals.
- In 1939 Brown was put in charge of National Service.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Candidate may provide examples of national and/or local unemployment statistics.
- Unemployment rates varied considerably. In general, the North of England, central Scotland and South Wales fared much worse than the Midlands and the South East of England.
- However, within the so called depressed areas some industries were thriving.
- Heavy industry in the north of England and Scotland was adversely affected because of the global economic downturn of the 1930s. Industries such as coal, iron and steel, textiles and

shipbuilding were affected due to fall in demand both at home and overseas. Moreover, the ancillary services for these industries were also affected by their decline.
- With high unemployment the Treasury was faced with the situation where tax revenue was reduced.
- Government spending on welfare was reduced which reduced disposable income which in turn restricted demand.
- The social implications of large scale unemployment. High unemployment caused stagnation in social mobility; it allowed many to descend into poverty, especially those workers who were teetering around the breadline.
- High unemployment gave rise to political unrest. Riots and demonstrations by the unemployed were not uncommon in the industrialised heartland of Britain. This was at a time when neighbouring countries such as Germany and Italy were mobilising their unemployed to complete government funded projects to improve their infrastructure, a path not really followed in Britain.
- An evaluation of how the unemployed were provided an income and how they were incentivised to work by government and non-governmental organisations.

Poor Living Standards for many
- The falling standard of living for many resulted in a poor diet for millions and subsequent decline in the population's health.
- At this time 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 an effect on the overall health of the population.
- Rents were frequently not met and difficult choices had to be 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.
- 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 effect of the class system in the 1930s, little social mobility.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Martin Pugh:	is critical of the National Government of the 1930s 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."
Tony Mason:	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.
Charles Loch Mowatt:	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.

Question 87

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

Point in Source B	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"though they have been badly shaken by their experiences and are afraid, they do not want to give in."	The British people have been badly affected by the bombing but have no intention of surrendering
"The ability to return to normal may be seen in the way cinemas begin to fill and shelters empty as soon as there is a lull."	Everyday life soon returns to normal after the bombing ceases and people leave the safety of their shelters and are confident enough to visit places of entertainment
"On all sides we heard that looting and wanton destruction had reached alarming proportions where the police seem unable to exercise control."	The police cannot deal with the situation and reportedly some shelters are deliberately destroyed and thefts taking place from bomb damaged houses. Many sources confirm that stealing and vandalism has reached epidemic proportions
"Some of the trouble is caused by children, many of whom do not go to school, though attendance for half a day is again compulsory, the worst offenders appear to be youths of 18 or 19, though it is difficult to judge as few are caught."	There were many problems caused by the Blitz which affected the education of young people

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

- Many bombed houses were looted during the Blitz.
- 390 cases of looting were reported to the police in the first 8 weeks of the Blitz.
- Looting took place throughout the country not just London, Dover and Sheffield.
- Trials of looters commenced in November, many of them were members of the Auxiliary Fire Service.
- Juvenile delinquents stole from people who were asleep in the London Underground.
- Houses were burgled when their occupants went to public shelters.
- Some people tried to defraud the Government by wrongly claiming that they had been bombed out and asking for payment.

Point in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"One of the surprising features of the Blitz, when it arrived, was the relatively small loss of life compared with the unexpectedly large amount of damage to buildings."	The Blitz resulted in surprisingly few fatalities considering the huge number of buildings destroyed
"The homeless might be left with nowhere to eat, nowhere to wash, no money, no ration book, no clothes except those they were wearing"	Many of the homeless were left with absolutely nothing
"For the first few weeks of the Blitz, the authorities were taken by surprise. They could not control the situation."	The authorities did not know how to deal with the situation which they found themselves in
"Illiteracy was a serious problem in Britain"	The Blitz revealed the hidden extent of illiteracy amongst adults

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

- Over 13,000 people were killed in September and October, and however much suffering this represented, it was much smaller figure than had been feared.
- It is argued that most people ignored the air raid siren and did not shelter and simply remained in bed.
- 60% of London's buildings were damaged or destroyed.
- The number of Londoners made homeless by the middle of October was around 250,000 – far greater than expected.
- Many of the people who had been evacuated in September 1939 returned home by Christmas 1939.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- The Blitz commenced in September 1940 and finished in May 1941.
- London was bombed for 57 nights in a row.
- 10th May 1941 London suffered its worst night, but this was the last night of the Blitz.
- 30,000 people were killed during the Blitz.
- On the 13th and 14th March 1940 Clydebank was bombed with over 500 killed and over 600 injured.
- In Clydebank over 4,000 houses were completely destroyed.
- Clydebank raids were not a military success from the German perspective.
- Coventry was bombed in November 1940 and was the single most concentrated attack on a British city in World War Two.
- In Coventry over 550 people were killed and more than 43,000 homes, just over half the city's housing stock, were damaged or destroyed in the raid.
- Southampton, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield were bombed.
- However German bombing did not seriously hamper British war production.
- German bombing had little effect on British morale, in fact there is an argument that bombing may have helped morale, the "Blitz Spirit".
- Contemporary newsreels show the spirit of the Blitz, people pulling together and helping each other in their hour of need.

- Ministry of Information newsreel films for public consumption in cinemas both at home and abroad, especially for the USA's consumption.
- Those who advocate that a spirit of the Blitz did exist claim that the British were at their best in this period of extreme adversity.
- There was no wide scale collapse of civilian morale.
- Some would argue that the theory that there was unity at this time was indeed a myth. Class was used as a barrier for people to access air raid shelters in the more expensive London hotel, where only customers and guests were allowed to use the facilities. There was a large black market in rationed goods and items. These were affordable by the wealthy whilst the poor had to do without.
- Argument that the government were slow to make available Anderson Shelters to those who couldn't afford them.
- Overall shelter provision was poor in the areas most affected.
- The Blitz caused widespread homelessness and medical care for the victims had to be planned carefully to offer the best service.
- In areas of extensive bombing, London, Clydebank and Coventry people had to be recruited as fire crews and air raid wardens to prevent large scale damage to infrastructure.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Andrew Roberts:	who remains steadfast in his adherence to the 'finest hour' argument and insists that the British people were indeed at their best in this period of crisis and that morale was rock solid.
Nick Tiratsoo and Stuart Hylton:	more sceptical view of this thesis and their assertion that morale was nowhere near as high as suggested, citing widespread panic and anger in the East End of London at inadequate shelter provision as well as the widespread incidence of industrial unrest especially on the Clyde where workers often saw their employers as a greater enemy than Hitler.
Angus Calder and **Harold L Smith:**	makes several references to the huge increase in opportunistic crime during the Blitz

Question 88

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

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

Aspect of the Source		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Mass Observation	The records of people's experience recorded by one of the first mass market research organisations, Mass Observation.
Purpose	A report written based on the research collated by Mass Observation.	To provide a better understanding of women's lives and expectations post Second World War. This information was used to inform social planning.
Timing	1944	Written during the latter stages of the war when women's war work was well established and when people were considering women's employment after the war was over.

Point in the Source	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
"The shifting of women out of war industries as these become no longer necessary will require nice judgment as well as immense organisation."	Return to normality after the war is over will require both judgement and detailed planning.
"It is more or less true also that the average human considers the bearing and rearing of a family, combined with looking after a house and husband, a full-time job for a woman, leaving her little time to go out to earn an independent living."	Widely held belief that it is the role of women to primarily look after her children, husband and house which leaves women with little opportunity for employment.
"In general, therefore, the ranks of female labour have always been recruited on a short-term basis from young unmarried women who wished to keep themselves for a few years with marriage in view"	Women workers have traditionally been single who wanted to have employment until they were married.
"The war has changed all this, and has forced women of all classes, and all ages from 18 to 50, to break or neglect home ties, and embark on an independent wage-earning existence."	The experience of war has changed everything, and now women irrespective of class, and aged between 18 and 50 are now earning and therefore independent.

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

- To many women factory work had little appeal but was viewed as a wartime necessity.
- The limited opinion polls which exist on this issue suggest that as few as 25% of women war workers wished to continue their wartime employment after the war ended.
- Many women saw their wartime employment as a temporary phenomenon and a pragmatic response to highly particular circumstances.
- Arguably war work was seen as neither a new nor liberating experience for women and that many women gave it up as soon as they were able. That lack of opportunity, low wages, sex discrimination (and frequently abuse) low skilled job related tasks and lack of facilities, all convinced many women that a return to domesticity and a pre-war family ideal was preferable to the drudgery of wartime employment.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- There is little evidence to suggest that women were welcomed into the workforce by either employers or male workers and that very often, the work given to the women workers was monotonous, and low paid.
- Trade unions made it clear that they expected a resumption of normality after the war.
- Trade unions were concerned that job dilution during the war may result in lower wages/unemployment for men after the war.
- The ending of the marriage bar was a clear example of this new attitude to women's career opportunities and heralded the arrival of the professional woman worker.
- By the end of 1943 nearly two million women were in trade unions - double the pre-war total.
- To that end candidates may wish to refer to Marwick's theory that the war was a liberating experience for women and that millions of women entered the workplace for the first time, thus changing their perceptions of their role in society and within marriage. That such an experience opened up hitherto unseen career possibilities for women who became an increasingly important feature of the industrial workforce in the post-war period.
- That this new found freedom and independence gained from being a wage earner out-with the domestic situation translated into a greater degree of personal freedom both within and out with marriage and that was to be a lasting feature of the post-war period.
- That many women now strove to break out of their traditionally envisaged gender role within marriage and family, and saw subservience to their husbands as a thing of the past, based on their new found freedom experienced within war work and the role of having been head of the family.
- That government policies specifically encouraged such ideas, particularly with the immediate withdrawal of government sponsored nurseries and the philosophy of the Beveridge Report which encouraged women to have larger families through the Family Allowance provision and restrictions on married women's national insurance entitlements.
- Apparent desire within Parliament for women to return to their pre-war roles and leave employment.
- However, there is an argument that female politicians played an important role although women were consigned to traditional areas of "expertise".
- Dr Edith Summerskill worked in the Ministry of Food and became Minister of National Insurance in 1950.
- Ellen Wilkinson was Minister of Education in 1945.
- Political parties focused more on the wants of the female voting population which demonstrates how women were gaining more influence as political parties tried to please them.
- The 1951 General Election became known as the "Housewives' Election".

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Arthur Marwick:	argues 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.
Richard Titmus:	holds the traditionalist line that the war had a profound social impact, war as an agent of social change, and that its effects were to be felt long after its conclusion.
Peter Hennessy:	presents the view that women were more influenced by the community in which they lived with regards to their expectations of life and that the prevailing norm of the fifties was a return to domesticity and motherhood.
H.L. Smith:	and his highly sceptical views of war work as either a new experience for women (at best he suggests there may have been fewer than 2.5 million additional women workers during the war and that many of these may well have worked before marriage) or a liberating one, given the difficulties encountered by women in work.
Penny Summerfield:	who goes some of the way to accepting a degree of psychological change in women's attitude to marriage but largely rejects the notion of war work as encouraging a feminist dawn.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]