



2009 History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

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General Instructions

Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

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

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

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

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

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

Open each envelope and:

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

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

Marking Part 1: The essays

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

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

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

Advanced Higher History Script – Grade Criteria

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

Further general advice to markers – Essays

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

Factors which do lead to an essay failing:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marking Part 2: The source questions

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

The ‘how fully’ question (12 marks)

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

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

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

The ‘how useful’ question (12 marks)

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

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

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

The ‘two-source’ question (16 marks)

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

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

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

Marking Scripts and Recording Marks

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

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

(a) **EXAMPLE**

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

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

Ex Supplement

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

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

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

Special Assessment Arrangements

Transcriptions

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

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

Suspected Malpractice

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

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

Marker Report

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

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How far does the archaeological evidence of settlement suggest that Iron Age society in North Britain was warlike?

The candidate is required to assess and evaluate Iron Age settlement evidence to make interpretations about the nature of Iron Age settlements with particular reference to warfare. The candidates will be expected to show awareness of some of the different interpretations of the evidence.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Settlement evidence to suggest a warlike society

- Brochs – isolated structures, ‘towers of the north’, built as retreats from the petty warfare and piracy traditionally thought to have been endemic in Celtic Scotland. Built to protect the occupants – sheer stone walls, small single entrance (such as at Mousa, Bu, Dun Telve), long and narrow entrance difficult to penetrate, guard chambers (such as at Dun Telve, Dun Carloway and Gurness), door bars, thick walls, absence of windows, multiple ramparts and ditches as at Gurness broch village, overall impression of monumentality.
- Hillforts – commanding structures surrounded by a series of ditches and ramparts, immediately appear to suggest violent nature of Iron Age society. Some hillforts reinforced with chevaux de fries (Dreva Craig), defended gateways and palisades. Perceived by Piggott to be a response to violent invasion and population movement (based on Hownam Rings hillfort sequence).
- Crannogs – as roundhouses on artificial islets they would have been relatively easily defended against small bands of raiders. Some had drawbridges to retract in event of conflict (Milton Loch in Kirkcudbrightshire).

Settlement evidence to refute interpretation of warlike society

- Brochs do not make much sense in terms of formal warfare with reference to inability to withstand prolonged siege, lack of fresh water supplies, inability to accommodate sufficient livestock. Occupants were vulnerable since attackers only needed to burn/destroy their crops to ensure starvation ensues or smoke out occupants. Some brochs sited on low lying islets immediately overlooked by higher ground from which attackers could have rained down fire and missiles.
- Hillforts difficult to defend when covering large areas as at Eildon Hill North and Traprain Law. Some hillforts (Chesters and Pirn Hillfort) built immediately next to larger hills – negates defensive value whilst others had only slight defences merely accentuating natural contours.
- Crannogs still vulnerable to attacks by fire or siege. Less easy to defend than a mainland roundhouse with a stout palisade. Little evidence of warfare associated with crannogs.
- Suggested by Hingley that the majority of IA settlements were unenclosed open settlements. Such open settlements lack defences and are still able to produce and manage an economic surplus, as demonstrated through associated souterrains. Indicative of a settled, peaceful society (Newmill, Dalladies in Kirkcudbrightshire and Dryburn Bridge in East Lothian).

Settlement evidence to suggest a hierarchical/prestige based society

- Forts, crannogs and brochs may not have been built for a practical defensive need – intended to demonstrate the status and prestige of the occupants – designed as symbolic of military strength or to create a self-contained community set apart from the outside world.
- Settlements reflected and promoted the power of prominent individuals or families, arguably like a medieval castle and its keep. Some brochs surrounded by contemporary associated village communities (Gurness housing 200-400 people at its height).
- Prestige – brochs, forts and crannogs obviously a visual statement of power, also luxury goods (samian ware, feasting and drinking vessels) found on some prestigious sites.

Settlement evidence to suggest a religious society

- Religious/spiritual centre – built as a place of religious significance where deities were worshipped by means of wells, pits and shafts like those at Gurness.

Settlement evidence to suggest an economically sophisticated society

- Increasing evidence of open farming settlements from pre and post Roman period reflects a settled, agrarian society. For example at Inveresk and New Mains see open settlements with evidence of mixed farming. Field boundaries, saddle querns and associated grains suggest a sophisticated mixed economy.
- Souterrian evidence suggests an economically complex society capable of producing and managing an economic surplus (suggests a society not dominated by disruptive warfare).

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views.

These may include reference to:

- **Ian Armit's:** *Celtic Scotland and Towers of the North*, "the traditional interpretation of broch towers as defensive strongholds is hardly surprising... however, hard to sustain in detail".
- **Ian Armit's:** *Celtic Scotland and Towers of the North*, "evidence suggests that... indigenous populations were enjoying their most peaceful and prosperous period".
- **Richard Hingley's:** *Settlement and Sacrifice, the later prehistoric people of Scotland* – suggests settlement evidence reveals disparate societies concerned with high status and domestic production.

Question 2

How great was the impact of Rome's military presence on Northern Britain in the first century AD?

The candidate is expected to consider the impact of Rome's military presence in Scotland. Candidate could look at the impact of successive military incursions or could tackle a discussion of economic, social, political, cultural impact of military garrison, coming to balanced conclusion.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Argument that impact was fairly substantial or great

- Impact varied – Hanson estimates some c.22000 troops during the Flavian period and duly expects significant impact.
- Arguably military presence had a great economic impact.
- Economic impact – garrisons required food, especially wheat. Cattle required for hides (shoes, clothing, tents). Regular repair and replacement sustain economic demand.
- Economic impact – Rome's military garrison were consumers of items such as building materials (10 tonnes of nails from Inchtuthill), timber pots, personal equipment and ornaments. Goods supplied locally wherever possible thus stimulating local economy.
- Economic impact – stimulated natives to produce economic surplus were they not already doing so and encouraged them to tailor economy to the demands of the Roman consumer (grow more wheat). New field systems, increased Roman goods on native sites and increased souterrains indicate the economic stimulus provided by the military.
- Economic impact – in less fertile or in less economically sophisticated areas, the economic demand of the army may have disrupted subsistence economies. The military presence would demand taxes to be levied on the natives, a significant imposition.
- Economic impact - D Breeze postulates that in frontier zone army was an economic depressant, creaming off money from local inhabitants and replacing local aristocracy as elite.
- Social impact – the military presence led to the development of vici/civilian settlement around some of the larger forts (Newstead, Inveresk, Carriden).
- Social impact – in some areas social relations would be destabilised and traditional leaders humbled. D Breeze suggests “leaders and led were all now second-class citizens”. People either defeated or facing a formidable foe. Armit suggests breakdown in tribal institutions, economic crisis and the emergence of more anarchic social conditions. Other areas, notably East Lothian's Votadini territory, settlements flourished.
- Politically, some amalgamation as a result of military: Dio stated of the Caledonians “the names of the other (Northern Scottish tribes) have been included in these”. Evidence of significant coalescence of small tribal groups into larger confederacies.
- Culturally, in areas close to garrisons see some Latinised names, religious change with elements of Christianity being introduced and even hints at literacy. (ABC inscribed stone, Law, chi-rho symbol on silverware at Traprain Law).

Argument that impact was less great or over-stated

- Military presence and impact often over-stated due to reliance on classical texts, eg taking Tacitus' too literally, accounts such as slaughter at Mons Graupius misleading, perhaps "little more than a skirmish" in reality (Wooliscroft).
- Impact varied geographically, felt most in frontier areas which would have been routinely harried and subdued by border patrols. Areas of Scotland (NE) consistently outwith the sphere of Roman military influence.
- Minimal impact – Rome's military presence never extended to half of Scotland's land mass – geographically slight.
- Minimal impact – military presence was short-lived, little more than a series of brief interludes totalling some 40 years for any substantial part of Scotland and this figure no more than doubles for the more heavily occupied southern lowlands.
- Military impact overstated since as Lloyd Laing states, after Roman interlude "Celts were still Celts". Native social organisation, economic structures and religious beliefs show continuity despite Roman interval.

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

- **W S Hanson:** *The Roman Presence: Brief Interludes in Scotland and the Ice Age*. Explicit on economic impact of the military garrison.
- **Ian Armit:** *Celtic Scotland*. Suggests degree of short term social and economic disruption.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen*, emphasises that, despite Rome's military presence, Celts were left remarkably free of Roman change.
- **D Breeze:** *Roman Scotland*, army had traumatic effect on structure of society, leaders had to conform or be ousted.

Question 3

To what extent did later Christian missionaries develop a religion which had already taken root during the Roman period?

The candidate is expected to examine the extent to which Christian beliefs and practices existed and endured in Northern Britain during and after the Roman period. The candidate is expected to examine alternative explanations for the introduction of Christianity.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Roman introduction

- Process of conversion begins in Roman Britain – evidence, though slight, of late Roman Christianity north of the Hadrianic frontier zone – inscriptions, cemeteries, place names and poetry.
- Alcock suggests the most sensible place to trace the roots of Christianity in Scotland is amongst the soldiers and ordinary Roman citizens in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall, where Christianity existed with other eastern cults such as Mithraism. Chi-Rho inscriptions and Christian grave-slabs have been found on the wall from the 4th century. Geographically close to York where Constantine himself crowned Emperor – proximity to Christian sphere.
- Thin scattering of monuments suggesting Romans bringing Christianity – bear post-Roman Latin inscriptions ranging from 5th – 7th century. They are evidently Christian inscriptions, employing Chi-Rho symbols, invoking God and naming priests. Earliest of these – Latinus stone of Whithorn. 450, a funerary monument dedicated to Latinus and his daughter, but set up by a man named "Barrovadus". Similar inscription at Kirkmadrine, dedicated to two priests called "Viventius" and "Mavorius". Another five or so of these inscribed stones, the furthest north at Catstane in East Lothian, and the rest in the vicinity of Upper Tweeddale. All indicative of early Roman Christianity.
- Place-name evidence adds weight to idea that Romans brought Christianity – various versions of *Eccles* from the British church scattered in southern/central Scotland – have Eaglesham, Eccles, Ecclefechan.
- Early Christian burials suggest Roman conversion – see long cist burials, oriented east-west to Jerusalem and lacking grave goods in the late and immediate post Roman period. (Hallow Hill excavated by E Proudfoot).

Alternative explanations

- St Ninian – 4th century 'shadowy figure' of Saint Ninian, Roman Christian, "regularly instructed at Rome" once attributed with the founding of the Roman church at Whithorn – now disputed and largely disregarded. Can be seen as coming to and strengthening an already Christian community. Bede suggests he converted the southern Picts. Recently his whole existence questioned – he was perhaps really Uinniau!
- Also active in 4th century were Irish monks preaching on the west coast, Saints Colmóc and Brendan and others evangelising the Picts and Scots included Senana, Oran and Finan of Moville.
- St Columba – See burgeoning of Christianity in 6th century with the arrival of Celtic Christianity and monasticism, in particular the arrival of St Columba (563) and establishment of Iona. Trace simple cross-marked pillars and slabs along saints' routes into western and eastern Highlands. Seen as largely responsible for the conversion of the Picts (though Fraser suggests impact on Pictland before 700AD over-stated).
- St Columba – founded Christian centre of Iona and other centres, Hinba. His status, enthusiasm and his successors ensured the perpetuation of Christianity.
- St Columba – branded a "Johnny come lately" who "reinforced" Christianity in Scotland (B Paterson, 2005).
- Still great dubiety over processes behind conversion of Northern British, the picture of the evolving Christian church remains "a fuzzy one" (Crawford).

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

- **T O Clancy and B Crawford:** *The Formation of the Scottish Kingdom from the New Penguin History of Scotland* – process began in late Roman Britain with Christianity being religion of some of the nobility of northern Britain.
- **S Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* – Christianity makes its first recognisable mark with arrival of St Columba in 563.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen* – some substance to claim that Columba was the father of Scottish Christianity though not solely responsible.

Question 4

How justified is it to see the Picts as a typical North British barbarian society with wide connections and parallels?

The candidate is expected to demonstrate understanding of typical Northern British barbarian society and evaluate the extent to which the Picts conformed to this type. The candidate is expected to engage with the contemporary historic debate on the alleged 'distinctness' of the Picts.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Areas of typicality

- L Alcock states, "Picts were a typical northwest European barbarian society" – this presumes Picts to be sharing common cultural, social, political and economic traits with the Gaels, Scots and Britons.
- Areas of typicality have been overlooked due to domination of Wainwright's idea (1955) that Picts were "problematic" and peculiar.
- Religion typical ultimately – Picts shared Christian faith with neighbouring barbarian societies thus securing wide connections through travelling clerics/Holymen.
- Language typical – language very much like Celtic Britons – a form of p-Celtic.
- Trade typical – Picts, like neighbouring tribes, engaged in trade, primarily along east coast, with Northumbria perhaps as far afield as Frisia, so hints of connections.
- Social organisation typical – Picts, like their contemporaries were hierarchical, concerned with social status, warrior elites and symbols of power – common values amongst early medieval kingdoms.

Areas that were not typical

- Perception has been that Picts were atypical – born out of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, propounded that Picts from Scythia, obtained brides from the Irish, matrilineal and had been wiped out. Ideology perpetuated in part by Wainwright, "*The Problem of the Picts*" 1955 – seminal text, shaped all but most recent interpretations. Traditional interpretation based on Wainwright has emphasised differences rather than similarities between Picts and contemporaries.
- Regarded as problematic and atypical on basis of what S Foster now calls the Pictish paradigm – Pictish symbols, Pictish language, matrilineal succession, 'Foul Hordes' paradigm, lack of documentary sources and idea of Picts as a lost people.
- Politically atypical – since Picts had a degree of political cohesion which marked them out from Britons and Scots though typical with kings, warrior elites, clerics.
- Religiously atypical – in that they remained pagan long after others were baptized though then converted.
- Origins atypical – notion of non-European origin invalid – Picts existed in Britain as any other Northern British people, common artefacts, monuments and social structures suggest indigenous and typical.
- Language, succession and origin atypical – Notion of non-Indo-European language and matrilineal succession now robustly discredited, idea of Foul Hordes based on 6th century Gildas' biased writings, idea of lost people exaggerated since evidence to suggest aspects of continuity.
- Stones atypical – Symbol stones are undoubtedly distinctive and Crawford states "if the Picts are to remain to many people doggedly mysterious... it is a result of these mute yet eloquent inscriptions". However, reveal typical barbarian social values and structure – the world of warriors, aristocracy, power, prestige.

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

- **S Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* – evaluates basis for perceiving Picts as atypical, dismissing, suggesting typical barbarian society.
- **F Wainwright:** *the Problem of the Picts* – was the starting point for any Pictish study and even though challenged by contemporary academics still shapes popular thought.
- **L Alcock:** *Pictish studies: Present and Future in Small (ed)*
- **T O Clancy and B Crawford:** *The Formation of the Scottish Kingdom* in Houston and Know (eds), at certain level ruling elites, whatever ethnic background, shared common aims and ethical constraints however, marked difference between Picts, Scots, Gaels and Britons.

Question 5

“The emergence of Alba, the Scottish nation, was a peaceful process of cultural interaction and political assimilation.” How far does the available evidence justify this view?

The candidate is expected to demonstrate awareness of the alleged evidence for a peaceful union of the Picts and the Gaels and come to a measured conclusion on the factors leading to the emergence of the political unit of Alba.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

- Alba coined as a territorial term c.900 to replace “Pictland”. Expressed a landmark in the origins of the Scottish nation with the Gaels and Picts both referred to as Scots, “fir Alban”, men of Scotland. Represents the development of a new territorial concept and the construction of a state identity.
- Standard narrative agreed that Alba emerged when the Scots, under lead of Cinead mac Alpin, came to subjugate and dominate the weaker Picts. However, D Broun deconstructs this view, postulates that Picts may have dominated the Dal Riata, Cinead mac Alpin may have been a Pict and there was no power vacuum into which he walked – ambiguity over emergence of Alba!

Result of cultural interaction and assimilation

- The kingdom of Picts and Scots were united by Christian faith. Early as 6th century Irish monks were reported in Pictland, introducing Gaelic presence. Mobile Christian clerics “highly efficient ambassadors for change in political, religious, social and technological sphere” (S Foster). Church also brought literacy to elites amongst Scots and Picts (scriptoriums at Iona and Portmahomack). Common Christian faith brought shared ideology of kingship based on former Christian Roman Empire.
- Common Christian faith meant church strove to nurture more peaceful society, no place for petty aggression amongst kings, one common Christian king and church.
- Result of cultural interaction and assimilation – Shared common Celtic heritage, linguistically similar, shared similar values (warriors, hunting, aristocracy). See gradual spread of Gaelic place-names in Pictland, Pictish “pit” followed by Gaelic element. Pictish institutions persisted suggesting assimilation. Prior to Cinead mac Alpin three predecessors held both kingships simultaneously – evidence of commonality and close links.

Alternative explanations

- Result of violence – Scots, the minority, succeeded in subsuming Pictland and Pictish institutions as power vacuum emerged following the Vikings’ slaughter of Picts at Fortriu, 839. In ensuing civil war Cinead able to emerge as most powerful warlord. Recently questioned by Dr Dauvit Broun – suggests there was no power vacuum into which Cinead walked.
- Result of Viking pressure – Alba emerges out of the maelstrom of Viking turbulence. Simplistically, Cinead mac Alpin moved east from Dal Riata in face of Viking pressure and took over the Pictish kingdom, however, more realistic that Vikings displaced Gaels and their political structures, impelling them to move east.
- Result of Cinead mac Alpin (843-58) – “the Scottish Chronicle”, contemporary or near-contemporary account of the combined kingdom of Dal Riata and the Picts look to Cinead as the founding father. Traditionally considered a superior military leader using treachery to kill Pictish rivals at Scone. Bi-lingual with Scottish and Pictish followers.
- Arguably, Alba did not emerge, as thought in the 9th century – there was no union of the Scots and Picts at this time, and “Alba” was simply the Gaelic word for “Pictland”. Very recent calls for the reformulation of questions on the beginnings of the Scottish Kingdom (D Broun – unpublished lecture, 2006)

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

- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen* – suggests Viking pressure led to growing Scottish self-awareness.
- **S Driscoll:** *Alba: The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland*, “conquest of the Picts must have involved some violence”, not a 17th century union of crowns type of affair.
- **S Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* – conflict a major component but cannot alone account for emergence of Alba, emphasis on church.
- **Dauvit Broun:** deconstructs standard narrative on creation of Scotland which emphasised Kenneth mac Alpin's role. Broun highlights Norse as a catalyst and calls for a reinterpretation of creation of Alba.

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the economy and society of Iron Age North Britain before the Roman invasions? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the value of **Source A** in providing a full understanding of Iron Age economy and society in Northern Britain before the Roman invasions in terms of:

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

- Primary source, Strabo, a Greek historian, philosopher and geographer.
- Writing in the first decades of the 1st century AD (either c.7AD or c.18–19AD).
- Extract from one of 17 volumes.
- The text can be regarded as a descriptive history of people and places, as an encyclopaedia of the geographical knowledge of Strabo's time.
- Though Strabo travelled extensively, this was never to Britain and so his text is based on second-hand news. Strabo was dismissive of those eyewitnesses who were in Britain.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Iron Age society was unsophisticated and barbaric with little control over resources and landscape.
- Society was hierarchical with a chieftain holding power over his peoples.
- Society was nomadic and warrior based, using chariots in battle.
- Settlements were temporary, huts in forest clearings.
- Basic economy – livestock kept though no agricultural pursuits.

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

- The Iron Age peoples of the North were involved in pastoral farming with cattle, sheep and pig bones being excavated from contemporary sites across the North.
- Field systems suggest Late pre-Roman Iron Age was agriculturally sophisticated.
- No evidence of a nomadic lifestyle since settlements show continuity of occupation and demanded an investment of time and energy unlikely to render them temporary camps.
- Society was warrior based – many settlements were enclosed by either wooden fences, ditches or ramparts – may reflect the warring nature of society or the desire to display power/status.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source

- Economically, Celts were rural though developing some “oppida”/proto-urban centres in places such as Traprain Law and Eildon Hill North.
- Economically skilled producers of agricultural surplus, stored in soutterains.
- Economy sophisticated enough to support craft specialists such as metal workers and potters (workshops found at Traprain Law).
- Society was tribal, Ptolemy names 16 tribes whilst settlements reflect distinct tribal traditions.
- Society was hierarchical and prestige based – warrior elites dominated using symbols of power to reinforce their status (hillforts, brochs, caryxs, swords).
- Society was pagan with a myriad of Celtic Gods and cults (Ballahulish figure, cult of the head).

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

- **Ian Armit:** places emphasis on the sophistication of society, with substantial settlements, complex rituals, thriving farming economies and developing petty kingdoms.
- **Richard Hingley:** stresses the settled agricultural nature of life; the importance of displaying power and prestige and the role of warfare and ritual in Iron Age society.
- **Andrew and Graham Ritchie:** farming and stock rearing formed the economic basis of Celtic society but society was nevertheless warrior based and turbulent.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the degree to which a consideration of **Source A** provides a full understanding of pre-Roman Iron Age economy and society in North Britain.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing perspectives on the effectiveness of Hadrian's Wall? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and Historical Interpretations (Maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on the effectiveness of Hadrian's Wall, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. *Historiae Augustus* produced by either 6 different authors or one later author, contains wealth of falsehoods and fabrications yet also wealth of information, only continuous account of the period, arguably a product of historical fiction.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Hadrian had to bring order to Britain.
- Wall to separate Romans from the barbarians.
- Containment – shut off barbarians from Roman south.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Wall was built following a visit by Emperor Hadrian (AD 76–138) in AD 122. Hadrian was experiencing military difficulties in Britain and was keen to impose order.
- The Trajanic Stanegate system was not efficient enough to keep the native tribes of that area (Brigantes, Selgovae, Novantae) under control.
- It was rather a political and strategic project to protect the province as well as to divide the Roman province from the barbaricum.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate comment on Breeze will be credited as historiography.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Wall was to control movement in and out of the empire.
- Wall was not built for frontier defence.
- Wall led to army being rendered immobile, garrisoning frontier.
- Wall did not protect empire from attack and without a strong army the frontier was of little use.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Until Hadrian, Rome was expansionist, conquering new lands, however Hadrian was concerned to effectively consolidate power.
- The army garrisoned the wall for nearly 300 years, controlling entry and exit to the empire.
- Defending the wall was problematic for a mobile army – forts subsequently built astride the Wall to allow the army to move freely and defend the province.
- The effectiveness of the wall hinged on the presence of a vast garrison (estimates of an average 9000 men garrisoning the wall), rendering the frontier a costly method of control.

Points which offer a more critical contextualization of the views in the sources

- Effective symbolic edge to the empire (Laing) – an enduring symbol of power – great Roman propaganda.
- Ineffective as a barrier to separate Romans from barbarians since the wall actually cut through Brigantian territory, a tribe subject to Rome.
- Ineffective as a barrier since it was a fairly open barrier with gates every mile.
- Effective as a method of movement control since regular gates would funnel locals to directed areas to pay required duties and tolls.
- Ineffective fighting platform – too narrow to allow soldiers to freely move behind one another and the only access points would have been from the turrets and mile castles, which were about 500 metres apart. The turrets and mile castles are set behind the Wall, making them useless for enfilading fire.
- Undoubtedly the more effective method of control in North Britain since it was reoccupied after the short-lived occupation of the Antonine Wall (a mere 20 years).

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

- **D Breeze:** emphasises bureaucratic function of the wall, effectiveness in controlling movement.
- **Dr R Birley:** acknowledges range of functions which the wall fulfilled.
- **James Crow:** emphasises the effectiveness of the wall as a symbol of power and interprets the wall as indicative of Rome's concern with security to the north and south of frontier zone.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the effectiveness of Hadrian's Wall.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as evidence of the process of Viking conversion to Christianity by the ninth century AD? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** as evidence of the process of Viking conversion to Christianity in terms of:

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

- Archaeological assemblage from a Viking grave.
- Goods may have been chosen for their religious significance.
- Pagan and Christian artifacts lying side by side within grave complex.
- From the time of Viking conversion to Christianity, 9–10th century.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Elements of paganism evident (scales, weights and sword) since the presence of any grave goods suggest paganism. Christian burials are devoid of all grave goods.
- The 'boat burial' is a typically pagan Viking burial practice unlike simple Christian inhumations.
- Elements of Christianity – the stone slab inscribed with Christian cross.
- Grave of a thoroughly Viking warrior armed with their sword though there is a Christian element.
- Folding scales and lead weights reflect Viking predilection for trade and commerce rather than for Christian faith.

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

- A pagan custom to include grave goods.
- A pagan custom to have a boat burial facilitating a journey to the afterlife – not a Christian belief.
- Goods reflect Viking not Christian sphere of interests – military might and commerce, scales used for the weighing out of silver bullion (perhaps to pay warriors).
- Appearance of cross incised stones imply Vikings coming into contact with Christian ideas.

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

- Represents Vikings integrating Christian ways with their pagan ways – see similar integration of religious practices at the Kilbar rune-stone on the isle of Barra (a cross on one side and a runic inscription on the other).
- Vikings ‘hedging their bets’ – either going to Valhalla or to heaven, but definitely going somewhere!
- Use of cross inscribed slabs could just be pragmatic use of a large stone slab, the Christian carving may be incidental.
- Use of cross inscribed slabs could be indicative of religious tolerance if not of actual conversion. The Vikings were willing to add another God, a Christian God, to their existing pool of Gods.
- Other examples of religious tolerance/dual religions – Bressay Stone, Shetland see Viking tolerance of Christian faith – runic inscription dedicated to Norse woman but fuses Christian and pagan imagery.
- Kiloran Bay Boat Burial represents a transitional period for the Vikings as they slowly convert to Christianity whilst retaining pagan traits – as conversion continues see the cessation of grave goods and abandonment of pagan practices.
- Process of conversion was, in places, a result of force – The Orkneyinga Saga tells of Earl Sigurd’s forced conversion at the hands of Olaf Trygvasson in 995AD – “I want you and all your subjects to be baptised’ he said when they met. ‘If you refuse, I’ll have you killed on the spot.”

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians’ commentary to support their views.

These may include reference to:

- **O Owen:** suggests that the Vikings were pragmatic in adopting faith, it was easy for them to assimilate another God into their polytheistic faith. If adopting Christianity meant acceptance or even being allowed to trade, as at Whithorn, then it would be well worth the effort.
- **A Ritchie:** suggests that Kiloran Bay is the burial of a thorough Viking warrior, who had encountered if not adopted aspects of the Christian faith.
- **A Smyth:** suggests that Vikings would be greatly impressed by the higher Christian civilization, with its writing and book learning and would readily emulate and adopt the faith.

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

Scottish Independence (1286–1329)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How justified is the view that the Bruce family represented the greatest threat to the peace of Scotland between 1286 and 1291?

Candidates should evaluate the nature of the threat posed by the Bruces in relation to other threats (both internal and external) which the kingdom faced at the time. The candidate will then be able to make a balanced judgement about whether the Bruce family represented the greatest threat to the peace of Scotland before 1291.

Evidence the Bruce family represented the greatest threat to the peace of Scotland

- Bruce (Lord of Annandale) raised an army 1286, to press a claim to the throne following the death of King Alexander III.
- The Scottish political community clearly regarded Bruce as major threat to the peace: Bruce was forced to back down in 1286.
- The Bruces were excluded from the Guardianship of 1286 (by contrast, 2 members of the Comyn family served as Guardians).
- The Turnberry Bond illustrates the lack of Bruce support for the government during the Minority of the Maid of Norway.
- The letter of Bishop Fraser to Edward I to intervene in the succession dispute can be seen as an attempt to isolate the Bruce faction, which was not, as the letter implies, representative of the views of the community.
- Fraser saw Bruce as posing a risk of Civil War.
- The Appeal of the Seven Earls to Edward I can be seen as Bruce trying to circumvent both the Community of the Realm and the by now established principle of primogeniture.
- Bruce, Lord of Annandale was quick to accept King Edward's claim of lordship at Norham in 1291, compromising the independence of the kingdom in his pursuit of the throne.
- By dividing the Scottish political community, these actions made it easier for King Edward to impose his claim of lordship.

Other threats to the peace of Scotland

- The Balliol/Comyn faction can also be seen as risking civil war to pursue their political goals.
- Bishop Fraser's letter of 1291 can be seen as seeking English support against the Bruces.
- King Edward I was keen to make the most of the weakness of the Scottish government during the Succession crisis.
- King Edward regarded the death of Margaret as rendering the terms of the Treaty of Birgham void. He had, in any case, 'reserved his rights' under the terms of the Treaty.
- King Edward I arrived at Norham with an armed retinue, though there is debate amongst historians about whether he could have mounted an invasion with this force.
- King Edward's appointment of Anthony Bek to oversee his interests and the annexation of the Isle of Man in 1291 were a clear challenge to the Scots.

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

Geoffrey Barrow

- accepts that the behaviour of the Bruces in 1286 was 'ominous'
- generally argues, however, that the Bruces remained within the Community of the Realm and that their interests were represented by Bishop Wishart and MacDuff of Fife in the Guardianship
- argues that after the death of the Maid of Norway, King Edward's actions posed a grave threat to the kingdom of Scotland
- regards King Edward's actions at Norham as 'thoroughly discreditable'.

Michael Prestwich

- has argued that Edward acted cautiously and with a sensible regard to his own position after 1290
- argues that the Scottish position was weakened by the succession crises which had begun in 1284 and by factional infighting.

Michael Penman

- regards the Bruce family as behaving with disregard for the wishes of the majority of the political community after 1286.

Alan Young

- argues that the Comyns were the true representatives of the political community and that the Bruces did indeed pose the greatest threat to peace.

Question 2

“Recent attempts to salvage the reputation of King John have gone too far.” How valid is this view?

The candidate is required to analyse whether attempts by historians to salvage the reputation of King John ‘have gone too far’ in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion. Candidates will be expected to show understanding of the main debates between historians about the nature of King John’s rule. An evaluation of the views of historians should be made in the light of reference both to the limited contemporary evidence and the work of later medieval chroniclers. This question does not demand, however, a mere summary of the historical debates.

Evidence that attempts to salvage the reputation of King John have ‘gone too far’

- Medieval chroniclers are unanimous in their condemnation of the reign of King John
 - Rishanger, Bower, Fordoun – ‘Toom Tabard’, ‘a lamb among wolves’.
- King John paid homage to King Edward 3 times.
- When he did attempt to resist growing English pressure, he always backed down in the face of threats from King Edward
 - King Edward threatened to take sasine of a number of royal castles in 1293.
- John was prepared to accept personal humiliation
 - he appeared as a witness in Court cases brought against the Scottish Crown and heard in English courts
 - this was an insult to his kingly status.
- The legal ‘test cases’ (Mazun, MacDuff, Bartholomew) effectively removed control of the Scottish legal system from King John’s hands.
- King John alienated his own supporters by his craven attitude to the English, especially when called upon to provide military service to the English.
- The Council of 12 removed power from Balliol in 1295; it was the nobles who were behind the decision to refuse King Edward’s demands for military service.
- The Council may well have been behind King John’s renunciation of homage in 1296.

Evidence to support the salvaging of King John’s reputation

- Most of the later medieval chronicles were written in support of the Bruce cause.
- King John attempted to govern in a manner very similar to that of his predecessors
 - the ‘Comyn dominated’ nature of the government made it very similar to that of King Alexander III.
- He had some success in domestic government
 - he held at least 4 parliaments.
- He stated his intention to create a new sheriffdom in Argyll
 - this was a continuation of the policy of consolidating royal authority in the west.
- He may have been complicit in the creation of the Council of 12; it need not be seen as taking power out of his hands.
- His position was untenable from the start due to the burdens placed upon him from the outset of his reign.
- His renunciation of homage can be seen as a strong defence of his kingship.

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

The 'traditional view'

- not now widely argued, but candidates may refer to the persistent image of King John as a 'Toom Tabard' which has its modern origins in the work of C19th historians. Perhaps the nearest a recent writer has come to this view is **Caroline Bingham**.

Geoffrey Barrow

- has done much to rehabilitate the reputation of King John, arguing that his position was made impossible by King Edward.

Ranald Nicholson

- has stated that Balliol set out to be "no less a King than his predecessors" and emphasises his success in holding 4 parliaments.

Fiona Watson

- has shown that Balliol has been a victim of the medieval chroniclers who worked in the service of the later Bruce/Stewart dynasty.

Question 3

How united was the Scottish resistance to English occupation between 1296 and 1304?

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about the unity of the Scottish resistance to the English occupation between 1296 and 1304. Candidates may place greater emphasis on one part of the period rather than another (eg the Wallace Rebellion 1297/8) but answers should show awareness of the changing nature of the resistance during the period in question.

Evidence which shows the unity of Scottish resistance to the English occupation

- William Wallace was able to raise support amongst commoners.
- Wallace appears to have had some support from sections of the nobility.
- James the High Steward may have supplied horses for the raid on Scone.
- Robert Bruce (the future King) was present at Irvine on the Scottish side – breaking with his family’s traditional allegiance to King Edward I.
- Nobles may have let negotiations at Irvine continue to ‘buy time’ for Wallace.
- Wallace was joined by Moray – a minor nobleman.
- Wallace’s appointment as Guardian was approved by the political community.
- The Bruce/Comyn guardianship 1298 shows rival factions uniting to conduct the war against the English.
- Churchmen and other nobles later joined the Guardianship; Lamberton, Umfraville.

Evidence which shows that the Scottish resistance to the English occupation was not united

- Wallace’s rebellion came about in part due to the lack of ‘noble led’ resistance in 1296.
- The collapse of Comyn leadership after the Battle of Dunbar, the arrest of King John and the ‘Ragman’s Roll.’
- Wallace may have been a ‘free agent’ acting without support from the nobility.
- Wallace was failed by the cavalry of the nobles at both Stirling Bridge and Falkirk.
- Wallace’s career as Guardian did not survive the defeat at Falkirk.
- Wallace was eventually given up to the English by leading Scottish nobles.
- The Bruce/Comyn guardianship was riven with faction from the start and quickly failed; the resignation of Bruce (1299).
- The dispute at Peebles.
- The subsequent appointment of Umfraville and Lamberton reveals continuing faction in the Scottish political leadership.
- The defection of Robert Bruce to the English makes his commitment to the Scottish ‘cause’ questionable.
- The surrender of 1304 was essentially a surrender of the Comyns, who were treated leniently by the English.

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

Geoffrey Barrow

- emphasises the points of continuity in the resistance to English occupation; citing the survival of the Guardianship as an institution and the willingness of Bruce and Comyn to work together
- sees the resistance as being in the name of a 'single, united, national effort'
- argues that Bruce's defection to the English in 1302 was tactical and did not represent an abandonment of the 'patriotic' cause.

Andrew Fisher

- has argued that Wallace's rebellion was largely independent of support from the nobles who were hostile to him due to his status as a commoner.

Michael Penman

- argues that Scotland was effectively in a state of civil war for much of the period and that the relationships between leading Scots are best characterised by their fractiousness.

Norman Reid

- has argued that John De Soules represented the Balliol interest in the guardianship after 1300.

Ranald Nicholson

- argues that Bruce was only ever motivated by self interest.

Fiona Watson

- has also questioned the unity of the Scottish political and military leadership in the period.

Question 4

“Caution in strategy, boldness in tactics”. How far is this an accurate assessment of King Robert’s military campaigns against the English between 1309 and 1314?

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about whether or not Bruce’s military campaigns demonstrated cautious strategy and bold tactics. Whilst candidates may differ in their definitions of strategy and tactics, some distinction between the two will be made.

Evidence which supports the view that King Robert’s campaign showed ‘caution in strategy’ between 1309 and 1314

- King Robert never engaged the English in pitched battle before Bannockburn.
- Robert aimed to consolidate his position north of the Forth before attacking positions of greater English strength.
- Robert’s strategy was not to achieve decisive military victory but to erode the will of the English to continue their occupation of Scotland.

Evidence which does not support the view that Bruce’s campaign showed ‘caution in strategy’ between 1309 and 1314

- King Robert’s strategy was to take the war into England as soon as possible; dramatic raids were made on the north of England after 1311.
- King Robert appears to have changed his strategy in 1314 in order to force the issue by pitched battle at Bannockburn.
- The strategic decision not to challenge English dominance on the vital South East in this period can be regarded as courageous.

Evidence which supports the view that King Robert’s campaign showed ‘boldness in tactics’ between 1309 and 1314

- Daring tactics used to take and then raze castles.
- Use of unconventional guerrilla tactic (‘secret’ war) can be seen as bold for one of King Robert’s social background.
- Increasingly daring raids into England.

Evidence which does not support the view that King Robert’s campaign showed ‘boldness in tactics’ between 1309 and 1314

- King Robert’s decision to give battle at Bannockburn, especially on the second day when a tactical withdrawal would not have risked his strategic position.
- His use of guerrilla tactics can be seen as cautious, and as being born of necessity rather than a preconceived tactical plan.
- The tactics of razing may not reflect boldness so much as a recognition of the underlying weakness of his military position; he could not garrison captured castles.

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

Geoffrey Barrow

- is the author of the quotation used in the question
- emphasises how unusual King Robert's strategy and tactics were for someone from such a conservative feudal background.

Colm MacNamee

- has made a detailed study of King Robert's strategy and tactics. He reveals the effectiveness of Bruce's raids on England.

Michael Penman

- regards luck as being one of the major characteristics of Bruce's campaigns.

Aryeh Nusbacher

- argues that Robert only made the decision to fight at Bannockburn at the last possible moment.

Caroline Bingham

- praises Robert's military strategy and tactics.

Question 5

How destructive was the impact of war on Scottish society between 1296 and 1328?

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate how destructive the impact of war was on Scottish society between 1296 and 1328 in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion. Candidates may wish to achieve balance either by arguing that the war was not, in reality, that destructive (which is plausible) or by choosing to emphasise positive innovations which were a product of that warfare.

Evidence which supports the view that war had a destructive impact on Scottish society

- Berwick was razed by the English; Scotland lost its most important trading link with the continent.
- The defeat at Dunbar permanently reduced the power of the 'old' governing faction, the Comyns.
- Bower notes the effect of the loss of life at Falkirk (1298) on 'every family in Scotland.'
- Impact of English armies 'living off the land.'
- English armies attacked important institutions of the Scottish Church; eg abbeys, priories and churches.
- Much of the destruction was caused by fighting between rival Scottish factions.
- The Suppression of Galloway.
- The herschip of Buchan.
- The impact of Bruce's disinheritance of his enemies; especially in the North East.
- The impact of repeated demands for military service on economic productivity.
- Bruce's response to the English invasion of 1319 was a 'scorched earth' policy in the Lothian region.

Evidence which suggests that the war had an impact on Scottish society beyond being merely destructive

- The area north of the Forth was not much affected by warfare for much of the period.
- In common with many other medieval wars, the amount of actual campaigning was very limited by later standards.
- The commoners gained a greater (if temporary) role in the 'Community of the Realm' during Wallace's guardianship.
- The role of the Community of the Realm was enhanced generally during the wars eg The Declaration of Arbroath.
- The northern burghs grew in importance after the fall of Berwick.
- Aberdeen became a new centre for continental trade after it was retaken by Bruce in 1308.
- Burghs were routinely represented in Parliament after 1300.
- Feudal government was strengthened by the necessity of war; regional particularism declined (though this too, would be temporary).

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

G W S Barrow

- has described the impact of the English occupation of SE Scotland as being very destructive
- is particularly critical of the harshness of the English occupation following the Battle of Falkirk
- argues that Bruce's warfare was less destructive inside Scotland, except for the herschip of Buchan and the retreat in Lothian in 1319
- argues that Scottish society was in many ways unchanged by the wars as Bruce tried consciously to recreate conditions as they had existed under King Alexander III.

Colm MacNamee

- has argued that the wars had a major impact on the Scottish economy; though it is possible this only exaggerated an economic downturn which was taking place anyway
- has shown that with the exception of the NE there was remarkable continuity in the organisation of Scottish society.

A A M Duncan

- has shown that there was remarkable continuity even in the native 'Celtic' earldoms which Bruce sought to bring under greater royal control.

Andrew Fisher

- has sought to argue that commoners earned a greater place in the Community of the Realm during the guardianship of William Wallace.

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A for understanding King Edward I's role in the choice of John Balliol as king in 1292? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** in understanding King Edward I's role in the choice of John Balliol as king in terms of:

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

- The judgement was made in the context of a succession crisis caused by the death of the Maid of Norway which left a situation which was ambiguous at best.
- Clerks to the Royal Court were often required to make records which suited the interests of the King. Such records, (though not this one) have even shown evidence of being altered subsequently.
- English clerks were under pressure to produce a record favourable to King Edward I.
- The judgement was made at Berwick, on the Scottish side of the border; the English took this as a de facto admission of Edward's overlordship.
- The judgement was made at the end of a process which had taken almost a year as all the claims were heard.
- The judgement shows evidence of bias in terms of justifying and asserting Edward's right to overlordship.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- It was declared that Scotland was not partible as a matter of law, so the claims of Hastings and Bruce had to fail.
- John Balliol should receive everything that was due to him.
- Edward's reference to himself as 'lord superior.'
- John Balliol to perform fealty to Edward.
- John Balliol to pay homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

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

- King Edward had been invited to intervene by Bishop Fraser.
- King Edward had successfully settled a similar dispute in Sicily.
- English Kings had a long standing claim to the overlordship of Scotland.
- King Edward had consulted legal opinion in Paris about which system to use in making the judgement; they argued he should use local law, which he did.
- Hastings had claimed that Scotland was partible as the claimants were descended from a female co-heir and so the country should be treated as any other fief.
- Bruce had joined Hastings in the claim that Scotland was partible when it was clear that his bid for the throne on the grounds of nearness of degree would fail.
- King Edward had extracted a recognition of his overlordship from the claimants during the Process of Norham.
- King John was forced to accept that he was a vassal of the English King.

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

- King Edward's judgement in favour of Balliol was supported by the majority of the Scottish Community of the Realm.
- King Edward had already achieved his aim of overlordship at Norham.
- He had a sasine of royal castles.
- He was to be a judge not an arbitrator.
- Edward had gone over the heads of the Guardians by asking the claimants to perform homage.

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

- **G W S Barrow:** argues that King Edward's real aim was always the subjection of the Scottish kingdom.
- **Caroline Bingham:** is inclined to accept the legitimacy of Bruce's claim and argues the more traditional case that Balliol was chosen because he could be more easily manipulated by Edward.
- **F M Powicke:** argues that King Edward was motivated only by choosing the right candidate according to law, and that he behaved 'impeccably.'
- **Michael Prestwich:** emphasises the importance of the distinction between Edward's role as a judge rather than an arbitrator.
- **Michael Prestwich:** argues that Edward always acted with an appropriate and understandable regard to his own interests.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful for understanding King Edward I's role in the choice of John Balliol as king in 1292.

Question 2

How fully does Source B illustrate the reasons for King Robert's victory in the Civil War of 1306–1309? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source B** as an adequate explanation of the reasons for King Robert's victory in the Civil War of 1306–1309 in terms of:

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

- Fordoun was a chronicler writing in support of the Bruce/Stewart dynasty; it is reasonable to expect his work to cast King Robert in a favourable light.
- Fordoun's work shows clear evidence of being based on (now lost) primary accounts, increasing its reliability.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Edward Bruce defeated Donald of the Isles in Galloway.
- Bruce subdued Argyll and besieged Dunstaffnage Castle.
- Safe conducts were given to those who would not come to Bruce's peace; they fled to England.

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

- Galloway was Balliol's old lordship.
- Galloway was traditionally hostile to the authority of the Scottish Crown, and the Bruces in particular.
- Edward Bruce subdued Galloway with great violence.
- The subjugation of Argyll was part of Bruce's more general campaign to exert royal authority in the West.
- Bruce besieged a number of castles (eg Urquhart) as part of his campaign against his Scottish rivals.
- Bruce often treated defeated enemies with some leniency; offering safe passage to England. Many former enemies eventually became allies, such as the Earl of Ross.

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

- Bruce won the civil war for a variety of reasons:
 - Comyns were weakened by the murder of John Comyn
 - Bruce quickly attracted a following which gave him a reputation for invincibility
 - He attacked Buchan from the north, where it was weakly defended
 - The victory at Oldmeldrum
- His use of mercenary fighters gathered in the west of Scotland.
- He gave his campaign legitimacy by his coronation, which was supported by some leading churchmen and members of the Community of the Realm.

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

- **G W S Barrow:** argues that Bruce won the Civil War because he increasingly represented the 'national' cause. He writes of the early development of the 'Bruce myth' which demoralised his opponents. He also argues that the policy of 'leniency' towards defeated opponents was crucial in allowing Bruce to build a new coalition to support him.
- **R Nicholson:** praises Bruce's military acumen.
- **Michael Penman:** emphasises that Bruce was lucky not to face sustained opposition from the English during the period of the Civil War.
- **Colm MacNamee:** argues that Bruce was able to win substantial support in the west.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the reasons for King Robert's victory in the Civil War of 1306–1309.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing views on King Robert's government of Scotland between 1314 and 1328? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C and D** on the nature of King Robert's government of Scotland between 1314 and 1328, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

Accurate comment on Norman Reid will be credited as historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Most of Robert's legislation was in the interests of the Community.
- Effective trade and a fair judicial system would win support for Bruce's government.
- Those who did not support Robert's legislation could be seen as 'common foes'.
- Without the Community's support there could be no effective kingship.
- De Soules plot did not have significant support.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Robert aimed to increase trade by issuing and renewing burgh Charters.
- Robert aimed to modernise the Scottish legal system; justice was to be a matter for the state not the individual.
- Examples of legislation: laws to prevent spread of sheep scab; to preserve fisheries.
- Many of King Robert's acts were aiming to restore government to its status in the time of King Alexander III.
- De Soules plot was an attempt to overthrow Bruce by the remnants of the Comyn faction.

Source D

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

Accurate comment on Michael Penman will be credited as historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Act of Succession passed in 1318.
- Robert Stewart designated as heir until Bruce produced a male heir.
- Law passed to make weapons practice compulsory.
- Laws against sedition and rumour-mongering against the Crown were passed.
- Robert faced threats to his government from Balliol supporters and took action to strengthen his position.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The Act of Succession of 1318 was made necessary by the death of Edward Bruce.
- The Act provided for arrangements in the event of a Minority; James Douglas to be ‘Steward of Scotland’.
- The Act passed over Robert’s daughter, Marjory, in the line of succession.
- Another Act would be passed in 1326 to provide for arrangements for a Minority after the birth of Robert’s son, David.
- Men had to provide either a spear or a quiver of arrows and a bow, or ‘gloves of war’, depending on wealth.
- Laws against sedition may have been as a result of the De Soules conspiracy.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- The nature of Robert’s relationship with the political community may be revealed in the Declaration of Arbroath.
- Robert’s government was dependent on the administrative support of the Chancery under Bernard de Linton.
- Bruce used legislation to secure his own position; his enemies were disinherited in 1314.
- Bruce revived traditional Offices of State: Chancellor, Chamberlain, Justiciars.
- Parliament had a greater role than under previous monarchs.
- Parliament was peripatetic. Examples include Cambuskenneth (1314), Scone (1318).

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow:** holds a highly favourable view of the government of King Robert.
- **Michael Penman:** has argued that King Robert’s main motivation was always to secure his position and to overcome his roots as a usurper.
- **Colm MacNamee:** has argued that Bruce’s government was very effective. He is sceptical of some attempts by recent historians to ‘debunk’ the reputation of King Robert.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the nature of King Robert’s government of Scotland between 1314 and 1328.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

**“The prosperity of the Italian city-states of the early fifteenth century was built upon trade.”
To what extent is this view valid?**

This question invites candidates to explain the extent to which the prosperity of the Italian city-states of the early fifteenth century was built upon trade. Candidates may bring in a number of alternative sources of wealth, but the main focus should be on the matter of trade.

Relevant areas for discussion might include

Trade as a source of prosperity

- Growth of trade in the wool and textile industries, particularly in Florence. The diary of Gregorio Dati from Prato provides evidence of this trade. He speaks of transactions in 200 cities, from Edinburgh and Stockholm in the north to Beirut, Alexandria and the Caspian Sea in the south and east.
- Italian wool and textiles were traded into France and northern Europe. Giovanni Villani estimates that there were 300 Florentine merchants engaged in commercial activity abroad in 1348. According to Villani, in 1348 the woollen cloth industry employed 30,000 people in Florence and produced cloth valued at 1.2 million Florins. Exported cloth was valued at 350,000 florins. He also tells us that there were 80 banking and money-changing firms and 600 notaries.
- The guilds of Florence (such as the Arte della Lana, the Arte della Calimala).
- The trade of Venice in the Levant. Wealth dependent upon ship building.

Prosperity from banking

- The Medici fortune in Florence was built upon banking. Cosimo de Medici's father acted as banker to the papacy for a short time. International loans brought in wealth too. **Brucker** stresses the importance of banking families taking over the papal banking monopoly and establishing themselves as tax collectors for the Holy See throughout Latin Christendom. Virtually tax-farmers.
- **Robert Hole** refers to Florence as “the banking capital of Europe”.
- Prosperity of Rome from its religious pre-eminence. Taxes to the papacy flooded into the city. Diplomats to the papacy brought wealth into the city.

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

- **Joanne Ferraro:** in *The Renaissance World* Ed. John Jeffries Martin argues that Venetians achieved Mediterranean dominance by 1381, and in the following century their trading networks stretched to the Black Sea, as well as the towns of Acre, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, and continued onwards to East Asia. Venetians amassed great wealth and established control of the spice market. Genoa also had extensive trade links with the Atlantic Coast, Antwerp, London and Sicily.
- **Denys Hay:** describes the wealth generated in the 15th century by the Italian companies ('societas'), managing and manipulating investments, trading in a wide range of goods from a wide set of locations. Credit was essential to the development of the Italian trade – credit obtained from the many merchant bankers of the peninsula.
- **Richard Goldthwaite:** *The Building of Florence: an economic and social history.*
- **Gene Brucker's:** *Renaissance Florence.* Brucker refers to the wool trade rising to "a position of pre-eminence" in Europe and Asiatic markets.
- **Lisa Jardine:** *Worldly Goods.*

Question 2

“Piety and prestige.” Which of these was the dominant motive for patronage of the arts in fifteenth century Florence?

The question requires candidates to decide which of the two motives was the more important reason for patronage of the arts in fifteenth-century Florence. The candidate will need to justify that decision by showing the importance of their chosen factor, as well as offer a general survey of the other factor, suggesting why it is of less importance.

Relevant areas for discussion might include

Evidence of piety as the dominant factor

- Giovanni Ruccellai’s summary of his motives include pleasure in spending, love of the city, love of himself and love of God.
- Cosimo de’ Medici had mixed motives too. He was genuinely pious. He reorganised San Marco and other churches.
- Vespasiano da Bisticci suggested that the conscience of his patron Cosimo was pricked by some wealth that had not been righteously gained – presumably by usury, so he spent 40,000 florins on rebuilding the monastery of San Marco and establishing a library there. So guilt as an expression of piety was the motivation of Cosimo.
- Felice Brancacci commissioned Masaccio’s workshop to paint his private chapel of the Carmini.
- Benozzo Gozzoli “Journey of the Magi” includes the figures of the Medici family on their way to worship the infant Christ.

Evidence of prestige

- Personal prestige of individual patrons.
- Prestige of the city includes:
 - The role of the guilds in Florence. For example the Banker’s Guild in commissioning Ghiberti to make statues for Orsanmichele. The Wool Guild’s attempt to emulate this. The Cloth Guild took special responsibility for the Baptistery of Florence Cathedral and in 1401 sponsored a competition for a huge pair of bronze doors.
- Cosimo paid for the extensive redecoration of the government palace as a form of publicity or propaganda, employing many of the finest artists.
- Campanilismo – love of one’s city as a motivational factor.

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

- **Andrew Graham-Dixon:** sees the cult of the Magi in Florentine art as a celebration of the Medici family, who belonged to the confraternity known as the Company of the Magi, a quasi-masonic group. So motive was self-flattery rather than genuinely religious.
- **Lauro Martines:** *Power and Imagination* argues that viewers of art were primed to find a religious meaning, and the subject matter of Italian art was overwhelmingly religious. It was propaganda – a profession of faith, propping up belief, to remind sinners of their obligations, or even as a voice in defence of the Church. “All Lorenzo’s artistic and architectural commissions served one end – the grandeur of his house and its power in the state.”
- **Peter Burke:** *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* argues that art was viewed by contemporaries primarily as a sacred object with magical, devotional and didactic functions.

Question 3

How fair is it to argue that the visual arts were transformed by the influence of humanism in the first half of the fifteenth century?

The question invites candidates to evaluate how strong the influence of humanism was on the visual arts in Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century and whether or not it transformed the visual arts. To make such a qualitative judgement candidates will need to argue whether or not there was continuity as well as change in the visual arts during this period.

Relevant areas for discussion might include

Evidence of the transforming influence of humanism on the visual arts

- Influence of Florentine humanist Alberti's *On Painting*.
- Classicism as an aspect of humanism. Classical revival in architecture, sculpture and painting, hence renewed use of perspective. Mantegna studied Trajan's column in Rome in order to paint his series "The Triumph of Caesar".
- Influence of neo-platonism on Botticelli as seen in "Primavera", with its representation of the three stages of Platonic Love, the Three Graces, sensual, spiritual and divine love. Also in "The Birth of Venus". Both are pagan, classical themes, taken up by contemporary humanists.
- Donatello's "St George" at Orsanmichele is the first life-size, free-standing, nude figure in bronze since classical times.
- Neo-platonist humanism to be seen in Raphael's "School of Athens", with Plato and Aristotle as central figures.

Evidence of continuity in the visual arts

- Religious themes continued to predominate, even if these themes were treated in a realistic and classical way.
- There was continuity with the middle ages in terms of iconography and symbolism. Christian scenes were still dominant, though the symbolism behind them shifted subtly. Images of David were nothing new in themselves but the new political ideas, born of humanism, led to depictions of David as a young man pitted against a brute giant. This was a republican stance against despotic rule. See also images of Judith and Holofernes in a similar vein.

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

- **Jocelyn Hunt:** *The Renaissance* sees continuity in theme in Renaissance art but a new approach and conception, resulting from the influence of humanism.
- **Gene A Brucker:** *Renaissance Florence*, who sees a revolution in political thought inspired by humanism paralleled by a revolution in the visual arts.
- **George Holmes:** shows the extensive influence of humanism on the visual arts, notably on the work of Brunelleschi, Donatello and Masaccio.

Question 4

How valid is the view that Cosimo de' Medici's involvement in Florentine politics was motivated by dynastic ambition?

The candidate is invited to assess the extent to which the involvement of Cosimo de' Medici (1389 – 1464) in Florentine politics was motivated by dynastic ambition. His dynastic ambitions will need to be defined, presumably as advancement of the status and influence of himself and his family.

Relevant areas for discussion might include

Evidence of dynastic ambition

- According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, Cosimo said to a critic that “It seems to me only just and honest that I should prefer the good name and honour of my house to you: that I should work for my own interest rather than for yours”.
- Cosimo's conspicuous consumption, for example sponsoring tournaments, raised the profile of the family and contributed to an image of power and influence.
- Cosimo manipulated the Florentine constitution to his own advantage. Medici loyalists scrutinised the lists of eligible voters and removed those of opponents. The men who ran Florence were linked to the Medici by ties of kinship, friendship and patronage. Even mercenary generals and foreign diplomats received personal favours from Cosimo behind the scene.
- Cosimo is described as a political manipulator by Pope Pius II. Political councils were held at his house; his nominations for the magistrates were elected. The use of emergency Balie and the Council of 100.

Evidence of other motives

- Cosimo was a merchant, banker and manufacturer and so could be relied upon to do what was in the interest of those other merchants, bankers and manufacturers who were the republic's leading citizens. In other words, what was good for the Medici was also good for other Florentine businesses.
- Cosimo is said to have given 600,000 florins for public purposes. He may have been motivated by a sense of 'campanilismo', civic loyalty.
- Cosimo may in part have been motivated by piety. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci his conscience was pricked by some money he had come by not quite cleanly. He was therefore encouraged by the pope to give money to the monastery of San Marco's in Florence.
- The façade of protecting republican government. Cosimo was posthumously given the title 'Pater Patriae', implying a devotion to the Florentine state rather than narrowly to his own dynasty.

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

- **Dale Kent:** *The rise of the Medici:* “The Medici ascendancy represented the almost complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest.”
- **John Hale:** *Florence under the Medici:* “In spite of the lip service still paid to the ideal of wide representation, the current had long been set in the direction of taut oligarchic control.” In general Hale emphasises the extent to which the Medici governed with the consent of the Ottimati.
- **Richard Mackenny:** argues that the private interests of the Medici were identified with the public good, and vice versa, the public good came to be identified with the interests of the Medici.

Question 5

How accurate is the view that women were confined to domesticity during the Italian Renaissance?

This question requires candidates to assess the role of women in the Italian Renaissance by considering the extent to which they were confined to a purely domestic role. Candidates will be expected to make judgements on the other roles of women, in politics and patronage of the arts in particular.

Relevant areas for discussion might include

Evidence of a purely domestic role

- Society in the Renaissance was patriarchal, organised by men for the benefit of men (Robert Hole). A woman did not expect to inherit a major or equal share of paternal wealth.
- Marriage was expected of women, much more so than of men. They were usually defined in terms of their relationship with men – sister, wife, mother, daughter.
- Women were expected to marry and look after the family – thus restricting their influence beyond the domestic. Childbirth was frequent and dangerous. It dominated the time and concerns of many women. Women were responsible for child rearing and education through to age seven. From this age the mother was no longer charged with the intellectual and moral formation of the young child. These tasks were now conferred upon men; fathers, tutors and school teachers. Women in middling and upper-level households were responsible for the storage of foodstuffs. In more modest households they would also cook and mend. In wealthier ones, they oversaw a staff of servants.
- Some humanist males stressed the traditional domestic role of women: Francesco Barbaro and Leon Battista Alberti. Others however, such as Leonardo Bruni and Lauro Quirini, recognised that women could be educated and possessed reason. Gradually however, attitudes towards the role of women developed. The age of feminism dawned before the age of the Renaissance closed.

Evidence of a role beyond the domestic

- Women as nuns. Often sent to nunneries by families unwilling or unable to pay the cost of a dowry.
- Women as saints. There was a remarkable surge in the number of women sanctified during the Renaissance. Many were engaged in charitable and educational activities. Catherine of Bologna 1413–63, abbess of Bologna, wrote *The Seven Spiritual Weapons*, one of the first books published in Bologna. Catherine of Genoa, 1447–1510, managed the main hospital in Genoa. Wrote *Dialogues of the Soul and Body* and *Treatise on Purgatory*.
- Women as prostitutes. Women or young girls who had had out-of-wedlock sexual experience, and were not dowried or married, would join the ranks of the prostitutes.
- Within a family, a wife or mother might exercise a degree of control.
- Women as patrons, for example Isabella D'Este.

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

- **Leon Battista Alberti:** *On the Family* claims that “women are almost all timid by nature, soft, slow and therefore more useful when they sit still and watch over our things. It is as though nature thus provided for our well-being, arranging for men to bring things home and women to guard them. The woman, as she remains locked up at home, should watch over things by staying at her post, by diligent care and watchfulness”.
- **Francesco Barbaro:** *On Wifely Duties*, who describes the duties of a wife as modesty in speech and demeanour, obedience to her husband, and the care of servants and children.
- **Margaret L King:** *The Renaissance in Europe*, who presents a balanced picture of the limits and possibilities facing women.
- **Samuel Cohn:** *Women in the Streets*, which examines women in a full range of contexts: city law courts, village communities, property crime, convents, dowries and death.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the values of Renaissance humanists before 1450?
(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** in understanding the values of Renaissance humanists before 1450 in terms of:

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

- Written by Florentine humanist Coluccio Salutati 1331–1406, Chancellor of Florence 1376–1406 in a letter to Peregrino Zambecari.
- A friend and correspondent of Petrarch. Valued classical literature and good Latin style.
- Persuaded the University of Florence to offer the post of Professor of Greek to Manuel Chrysoloras who had been sent to Italy by the Byzantine Emperor to seek help against the Turks.
- Owner of the largest library of ancient manuscripts in Italy.
- Teacher of humanist chancellors Leonardi Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini, and of the manuscript collector Niccolò Niccoli.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Makes the point that a man should be both active and contemplative.
- Contemplative life is more sublime because of its high level of thought, its self-sufficiency and its contemplation of the divine.
- However, the active life is to be followed as an exercise in virtue. It too can open up a path to heaven.

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

- Medieval concept of virtue was based on withdrawal from the secular world, from society, into monasteries where a man could contemplate and worship his maker. In doing so he was thought to promote his chances of entry to heaven.
- The debate about the relative value of the active and contemplative life was frequently aired by Neo-Platonists during the Renaissance. Salutati's conclusion that man should keep the two sides of his nature in balance was consistent with other Neo-Platonists.
- Neo-Platonists met in what has become known as Ficino's 'Platonic Academy' at the Medici villa at Careggi.
- Several leading humanists played important political roles in their city state, thus emphasising the importance of the active life. Leonardo Bruni and Salutati were Chancellors of Florence. They were to some extent propagandists for Medici rule. Hans Baron's theory of civic humanism stresses this need for humanists to involve themselves fully in defence of the state. He cites Salutati who saw a political purpose in history writing, observing that a knowledge of the past inspired princes and taught all men how to act in the present.
- Salutati was inconsistent in his praise of the active life. In some of his writing he clearly sides with scholasticism.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the source

- Renaissance humanism remained broadly based in Christianity, trying to reconcile the ideas of the ancient philosophers with those of Christian thinkers like Thomas Aquinas.
- Humanists also valued the revival of classical republican values and the imitation of classical Latin. Lorenzo Valla was a fine linguistic scholar who exposed the 'Donation of Constantine' as a forgery.
- Many leading humanists were collectors of books.
- Some humanists were writers of history. Leonardo Bruni wrote a *History of the Florentine People* in twelve volumes.

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

- **Richard Mackenney:** who emphasises the Renaissance struggle to reconcile ancient Greek ideas with Christian beliefs.
- **Gene Brucker:** *Renaissance Florence* has a useful critique of Hans Baron's civic humanism.
- **Hans Baron:** in *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* argues that a new cultural phenomenon, civic humanism, came into being in Florence after 1400, specifically as a response to the threat to the city's independence posed by Giangaleazzo Visconti. This ideology exalted the civic virtues of participation in public affairs, the concept of the 'active life' pursued by merchants and statesmen, as opposed to the contemplative life of ascetics and scholars. It also viewed the acquisition of wealth not as an impediment to knowledge and salvation, but instead as a resource to be used in the promotion of learning and morality.
- **Carol Everhart Quillen:** portrays Salutati as an agent of the Florentine state, a propagandist capable of manipulating an argument to justify Florentine action, for example against the papacy in 1375–8. "Humanist activity and Florentine civic life were uniquely intertwined".
- **John Hale:** famously wrote that "unless the word 'humanism' retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful for understanding the values of Renaissance humanists before 1450.

Question 2

How fully does Source B describe the status of artists in the Italian Renaissance?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source B** as an adequate explanation of the status of artists in the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Accurate comment on Peter Burke may be credited in historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Literature, humanism and science enjoyed higher status than the visual arts and music.
- There was social dissonance within Renaissance artists. Some achieved high status, some did not.
- Later artists were touchy about their status; In the early Renaissance many artists were seen as mere craftsmen, rather than artists.
- By the middle of the sixteenth century artists had some knowledge of the humanities. The dissonance was breaking down.

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

- In the early Renaissance art was seen as based on manual work and not on thought or writing and so was undervalued by some patrons.
- Their status gradually improved, with some artists gaining a privileged position, though others were always to be undervalued. There was a range of artists and work, from private commission through to 'off-the-peg art'. The status of the painter depended to some extent on what work was done. Some work was anonymous. On the other hand Michelangelo was able to inscribe his name on his Pieta for St Peter's.
- Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian are examples of artists whose work was much sought after by connoisseurs such as Isabella D'Este.

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

- Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* is an important source of information about the status of particular artists. He sees artists of the High Renaissance as mortal gods. Leonardo is described as dying in the arms of Francis I.
- The humanist rediscovery of Pliny's account of the status of artists in antiquity.
- Alberti's *On Painting* elevated the status of the artist.

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

- **E H Gombrich:** *The Story of Art* describes the liberation of the artist during the Renaissance. "At last the artist was free".
- **Evelyn Welch:** *Art in Renaissance Italy* highlights the variety of different experiences which make generalisation dangerous.
- **Michael Baxandall:** *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-century Italy* examines the interaction between artist and patron to produce what he describes as a "deposit of a social relationship".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the status of artists in the Italian Renaissance.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing views on the role of the Renaissance papacy from 1492 to 1527? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C** and **D** on the role of the Renaissance papacy from 1492 to 1527 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

Provenance:

- Guicciardini (1483–1540) served the Medici regime in Florence and the Medici papacy in Rome. For several years he was an administrator in the Papal States.
- Became a close friend of Machiavelli in the 1520s. Fell from favour during the republican government of 1527–30.
- Became very pessimistic about the future of his enfeebled and degraded country. Wrote his *History of Italy* following those tumultuous years.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Popes forgot about the salvation of their souls.
- They became like secular princes.
- They became obsessed by armies and military victories.
- They tried to obtain money by a variety of means.
- They used their spiritual powers to temporal ends.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Pope Alexander VI 1492–1503 was notoriously unconcerned with the ‘salvation of his soul’.
- His could not be described as a ‘holy life’. He sought to advance his own family in a ruthless manner, including his own children. His daughter Lucrezia was used to advance the family fortunes in unhappy dynastic marriages. A piece of the Papal States was carved off by Alexander to create a Borgia state for his son Cesare to rule as Duke of Romagna.
- Alexander scandalised contemporaries with his affair with the 20-year-old Giulia Farnese after he had been elected pope.
- The building of a new basilica in St Peter’s in Rome could be taken as ‘concentration on earthly greatness’. It certainly involved ‘new stratagems to draw in money from every side’, including the issuing of indulgences.
- Pope Julius II 1503–13 ‘became interested in armies, in wars against Christians’. He demonstrated his warrior’s prowess in re-establishing control over the Papal States.
- He accumulated treasures in the sense that he commissioned Michelangelo to paint the Sistine Chapel ceiling and Raphael to decorate the Vatican Palace. He commissioned a huge tomb for himself by Michelangelo.

Source D

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

Accurate comment on Lauro Martines may be credited in historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The Renaissance papacy was corrupt. Elections involved bribery.
- Many cardinals felt that such a worldly pope was exactly what was needed.
- Papacy needed to focus on worldly matters to rebuild its wealth and stand up to other princes.
- Meeting the spiritual needs of the people was not a priority for the papacy.
- Roderigo Borgia (Alexander VI 1492–1503) was a notable example of such a corrupt, worldly papacy.
- Source goes part way towards justifying the worldly approach of the Renaissance popes.
- The popes did not prioritise the attack of early Protestants, in Germany or England.

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

- At the end of the papal schism in 1417 (with the Council of Constance and the election of Pope Martin V) the papacy was at a low ebb. Many of its lands had been taken by neighbouring rulers. Its spiritual credentials were also damaged.
- Roderigo Borgia (Alexander VI) furthered his family’s interests through the marriages of daughter Lucrezia Borgia and the exploits of his son Cesare as captain of the papal armies. His ruthless occupation of the Romagna brought the region to obedience.
- Pope Julius II was a further example of a worldly pope. He sought to re-establish papal sovereignty in the Papal States. He drove Venice out of the north-eastern regions of the states he considered his. He then led papal armies during the invasions of Italy by French and imperial armies. To enhance papal prestige he commissioned Raphael to paint the papal apartments and Michelangelo to paint the Sistine Chapel.
- By the accession of Leo X in 1513 the expanded Papal States securely incorporated Perugia, Bologna and Ravenna, and reached from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- The challenge to the papacy represented by Savonarola and the handling of this crisis. Claiming to be a messenger from God, he denounced the church as mercenary, with the papacy of Alexander VI at the head. He called for a renewal of Christianity and a scourging of the vanities of the old church.
- The papacy mishandled the furore awakened by Savonarola; after an abortive trial by fire to shame and discredit him, his convent of San Marco was besieged, leading to his arrest, trial on trumped-up charges and his eventual martyrdom.
- By failing to respond effectively to the challenge of spiritual renewal laid down by Savonarola many historians argue that the papacy laid itself open to the stinging criticisms of Luther a generation later. There would be a “delayed price” to be paid, as Martines puts it, “in the shattering of the Christian world by Luther, Calvin and the Protestant Reformation.”
- Pope Adrian VI (died 1523) does not fit into the mould of self-seeking popes. The Dutchman was of humble origins and was better known for his austerity and rectitude. His however was a very brief pontificacy.

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

- **Lauro Martines:** *Scourge and Imagination* refers to Alexander VI as “corrupt in the unconcealed practices of simony and nepotism, no less than in sexual laxity, careerism and easy sale of indulgences for release or remission from sins”. Alexander was a “prince and a dynast, a superb diplomat, a manipulator of men, and a handsome charmer to boot.”
- **Andrew Graham-Dixon:** *Renaissance* details many of the artistic and archaeological works commissioned by the Renaissance popes.
- **J H Plumb’s:** chapter *Splendour and the Papacy* supports Martines’ suggestion that Renaissance popes had little choice but to become worldly princes. He sees an interdependence of the political and religious roles played by the papacy.
- **Peter Partner:** *Renaissance Rome* on the role of the papacy in establishing Rome as a political religious capital.
- **Christine Shaw:** says of Julius II that he lacked the spiritual qualities needed in a pope, describing him as a “plain-spoken, short-tempered, vigorous, impetuous, big-hearted man of action”, but concedes “he was really not cut out to be a pope”.
- **Michael Mallett:** sees the need for cardinals to recognise the “increasingly secular nature of the Papacy itself, and also the seriousness of the political situation of the time” and elect Alexander VI, a man more noted for his political acumen than his saintliness.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the role of the Renaissance papacy from 1492 to 1527.

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715–1800)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was religion a cause of the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the various causes of the 1715 and 1745 rebellions and arrive at a conclusion as to how important religious issues were as a cause.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Reasons for thinking that religion was an important cause

- The close contact between the exiled Stuarts and the pope.
- The fact that most Catholics in Scotland supported the Jacobites, mainly because the Stuarts were Catholic, whereas under the Protestant settlement Catholics were excluded by the Test Acts from some civil rights.
- The importance of Episcopalianism as a stimulus for Jacobitism. The Episcopalian Church preached divine right, so that some ministers refused to swear the oaths of allegiance. Moreover the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland caused all Episcopalian ministers to lose their parishes.
- As a result of this many dispossessed ministers found employment as tutors in great families, and educated a generation of lairds in the principles of divine right.
- The Episcopalian North East was particularly Jacobite in sympathy. Fifteen of the clans that supported the Jacobites were Episcopalian.
- The perception of most Protestant contemporaries that the Jacobites represented a Catholic threat to their religion.
- Belief in divine right, regardless of other considerations, (not all historians might regard this as a religious issue). Lockhart of Carnwath was a Jacobite, though Presbyterian, on these grounds. Many clan chiefs were strongly committed to the hereditary principle.
- Many of the Jacobite exiles, who played an important part in keeping the cause alive, became Catholic even if they had not been when exiled.

Other possible causes of the Jacobite rebellions that might be assessed

- The work of French agents. The 1745 was a campaign within the War of the Austrian Succession. The work of Murray of Broughton might be mentioned.
- The discontent of those who had lost power and patronage as a result of the Hanoverian succession. The Earl of Mar is the supreme example.
- Hostility to the Treaty of Union. This was made much of by the Earl of Mar's proclamation in 1715.
- Government weakness in Scotland made successful rebellion seem possible. In 1715 there were barely 2,000 government troops. In 1745 the government was at war on the continent. On the other hand in 1745 clans in the islands, who were very vulnerable to the Royal Navy, stayed at home.
- Clan rivalries and clan loyalties. It has been suggested that the Whiggery of the Duke of Argyll tended to make the neighbours and therefore rivals of the Campbells (Stewarts of Appin, Camerons of Lochiel, Macdonalds of Glencoe) into Jacobites.
- The inspiration of a few key individuals. Mar's hunting party was an effective rallying device in 1715. The Earl of Derwentwater's sincerity aroused sympathy. In 1745 Cameron of Lochiel's example persuaded others. Charles Edward Stuart's personal charisma is well documented.
- The idea that Jacobitism represented the protests of a dying way of life against the forces of Whig modernisation and 'progress' is now rather unfashionable, but might be discussed.
- By 1745 there was a whole Jacobite culture of pamphlets, relics, symbols and traditions. Those who were part of this world found it hard to avoid 'coming out' unless they could manufacture an excuse.

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

- **Lenman:** particularly emphasised the importance of Episcopalianism and of government neglect of Scottish affairs.
- **Sczechi:** has stressed the international dimension. His most recent book, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* tries to show how a complex interaction of social and ideological causes, exploited by the machinations of Mar, was necessary for the 1715 Rebellion to begin.
- **Devine:** "The union of 1707... had a transforming effect on the Stuart cause."
- **Duffy:** in *The '45* also reminds us of the men of desperate fortune, and the many losers from the Whig settlements of 1688/1714 who joined the '45 without any other very good reason. He also separates strict Non-juring Episcopalian (strongly Jacobite) from the more moderate variety.

Question 2

How great an impact did government policies have on the condition of the Highlands during the fifty years after Culloden?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to examine government policies towards the Highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century, and also to analyse the condition of the Highlands at the time, and assess the extent to which the one was responsible for the other.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Reasons for thinking that government policies had considerable impact on the condition of the Highlands

- The exemplary punishments immediately after Culloden and the exile of many clan chiefs.
- The Disarming Acts after the 1745 rebellion, and the banning of Highland dress and culture.
- The estates of thirteen of the most prominent Jacobites were inalienably annexed to the crown and managed by government commissioners till 1784.
- The Act Against Heritable Jurisdictions, which altered entirely the legal position of the chiefs.
- The recruitment of Highland regiments.
- The completion of the system of military roads and forts.
- Indirectly the wars against America and France had a profound effect on patterns of demand. Rise in prices benefited primary producers – notably the kelp industry.

Reasons for thinking that government policies were of limited impact on the condition of the Highlands

- The main causes of the condition of the Highlands were geographical. Poor soil, problems of transport and high rainfall were all influential. There was also the importance of the sea, for fishing and for kelp.
- The pressure of a growing population on limited agricultural resources was bound to create poverty and force change.
- The Highlands were changing substantially before 1745. For example the last clan battle had been 1688; this was no longer a warrior society.
- Chiefs were already applying a more commercial approach to estate management before 1745. This was very true of the Campbells of Argyll, but also applied to the Camerons, for example, and also to the Murrays of Atholl.
- The long-term effects of the Treaty of Union were leading more and more chiefs to attempt to live the lives of English gentry, when they could not in fact afford to. Some candidates might legitimately regard this as the indirect result of government policy.
- Many of the early clearances were the emigration by the clan elites – the tacksmen – and their families as a calculated search for better lives in North America.

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

- **Devine:** “The abolition of heritable jurisdiction had little effect. Government made the mistake of thinking that the power of the clan chiefs lay in these legal controls.”
He emphasises particularly the expansion of the British market in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which subjected the Highlands to irresistible commercial pressures.
- **Whitley:** reminds readers of the deliberate change of policy under Dundas, when repression stopped and efforts were made – by the British Fisheries Society for example – to provide more secure conditions.
- **Fry:** in *Wild Scots* is inclined to blame tenants for resistance to the modernising schemes of their chiefs (using the word “dodos” at one point to describe reactionary tenants near Inveraray.)
- This contrasts strongly with **Lenman**, who convicts the Highland elites of selfish greed.

Question 3

What factors best explain the development of industry in Scotland during the second half of the eighteenth century?

The aim of this essay is that candidates should assess the various factors that affected the development of industry in Scotland during the second half of the eighteenth century and prioritise their importance. It should be noted that 'affected the development' does not merely mean 'caused'. Factors that affected the particular way in which Scotland developed are as important as causes of the simple fact of development.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

- The long-term benefits of the Union, particularly the availability of markets in England and the British Empire.
- The free exchange of expertise and of capital between Scotland and England. Archibald Buchanan learned his trade in Derbyshire and Roebuck came from Birmingham.
- The very rapid expansion of Scottish industry created skilled labour shortages, but these could be met from England.
- The importance of geography:
 - the location of the coal fields in Ayrshire and Fife
 - the availability of timber for iron smelting at a time when England was running out
 - the plentiful supply of running water for mill wheels and the other industrial processes
 - the relative proximity of Strathclyde and Lanarkshire to navigable water and to the sea
 - the position of Glasgow on the Clyde; connections with plantations and slavery.
- The developing infrastructure before and after 1750
 - The Royal Bank of Scotland set up in 1727
 - The financial institutions set up in association with the tobacco lords in Glasgow
 - Monklands Canal (1790); Forth-Clyde Canal (1790)
- Capital was available from old money – there was no social stigma on investment in industry – and from new money (nabobs and tobacco lords).
- The introduction of new technology: spinning jennies, water frames and 'mules'.
- The explosion of the textile industry (Sir John Sinclair reckoned that in 1800 this employed 90% of all those Scots who were employed in manufacturing) stimulated the whole manufacturing sector. The St Rollox bleaching powder works in Glasgow (1799) boosted the Scottish chemical industry.
- Growing demand
 - War material during the American and French wars
 - Increasing domestic purchasing power
 - American demand before the American War of Independence and global demand after the War had made the search for new markets essential.
- Detail on the stories of particular industries – for example the Carron Iron Works – will be credited if used analytically.
- Industrialisation was **not** just a west central Scotland phenomenon; reference to other areas/ reasons for industrial development will receive due credit.

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

- **Smout's:** classic *History of the Scottish People* cheerfully says that "economic historians may argue about (the causes of the Industrial Revolution) to the end of time." He particularly mentions the Union, and the development during the earlier part of the century of an entrepreneurial class ready to exploit the very favourable conditions of the 1780s.
- **Devine:** "The central Lowlands were almost fashioned by nature for industrialisation."
- **Whatley's:** chapter on Scotland's first industrial revolution opens with a paragraph about English influence on the cotton industry. He also points out that the "entrepreneurial roots" of the cotton industry "lay primarily in the flax, linen and silk trades" – not in tobacco.
- **Cooke and Donnachie:** see resources (cheap labour as well as coal and water power) as the pre-eminent factor.

Question 4

How far were the changes that took place in the religious life of Scotland during the eighteenth century the result of the work of a few dominant individuals?

The aim of this essay is for candidates to examine the changes that took place in the religious life of Scotland and assess to what extent they were caused by the ideas and actions of particular individuals, and to what extent they were caused by more general social and cultural trends. A good essay could confine itself to the Church of Scotland, though clearly 'religious life' includes other denominations.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

The 'dominant individuals' who led changes, for example

- Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, whose teachings on an innate moral sense influenced the Moderates.
- Ebenezer Erskine, who led the first Secession.
- Thomas Gillespie, who set up the more liberal Relief Kirk.
- Hugh Blair, whose eloquence and self-assurance helped the Moderates to achieve domination.
- The ruling politicians (Walpole, Newcastle, Islay, Dundas) seem to have played the role of the 'dog in the night-time' in these disputes. That was in itself significant, since in any earlier century they would have seen it as a priority to enforce religious uniformity. They had a Whiggish tendency to favour the landowning classes, to tolerate any religion that did not threaten social stability, and to use patronage to advance Moderates.
- George Whitfield, a leading colleague of John Wesley, was one of the inspirational preachers at the 'Cambuslang Wark' of 1742 that contributed to a popular Evangelical revival.

Broader trends that seem not to be the work of particular individuals

- The fact that the burning of Janet Horne in Dornoch in 1727 for witchcraft was the last such execution partly reflects the influence of English law and attitudes.
- The evangelical revival of the mid-century, most famous as Methodism, also affected Scotland – for example in the 'Cambuslang Wark' of 1742.
- Ecclesiastical historians such as Fawcett will attribute the evangelical revival to the power of preaching. Social historians such as Landsman are more inclined to see its appeal to the growing class of urban artisans.
- The decline of Roman Catholicism was continued by the failure of the Jacobite rebellions and the energetic Presbyterian missionary effort in the Highlands that followed.
- A similar decline affected the Episcopalian communities of the north-east.
- The Patronage Act of 1712 shifted some power from the Kirk sessions to the boards of heritors. They often were detached from parish life, and ordinary parishioners became discontented with poor maintenance of buildings and the imposition of pew rents caused by absentee heritors.
- The growth of towns made impossible the enforcement of religious discipline on parishes. This seems to have happened with increasing rapidity in the 1770s and 80s.
- The influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment on the social elites. In Edinburgh the association between social, intellectual and religious leaders was more or less total.

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

- **Lenman:** points out the importance of the politicians (Walpole and Islay for example) who were “godless Erastians looking to keep the lid on the Church of Scotland”
- **Whatley:** reckons there were connections between secessions and the resentments of those who were suffering from social change, but he acknowledges that more research is needed.
- **Brown:** is clear that “the key issue to shape the divide in Presbyterianism was patronage.”
- **Fry:** describes how the intensity of religious feeling in the Highlands resisted the attempts of the SSPCK to associate Presbyterianism with English.
- **Herman:** points out the spread of secular “polite culture” which gradually pervaded society. “The real breakthrough came in 1737, when ministers-in-training were allowed to learn to dance.”

Question 5

“The universities were now committed to satisfying the new needs of society at a time of economic change.” How valid is this comment on the causes of university reform in the eighteenth century?

The aim of this essay is that candidates should analyse the various motives for university reform during the eighteenth century and come to a conclusion as to the extent to which the reforms were a response to the “new needs of society at a time of economic change”. There is, of course, room for considerable speculation as to whether cultural and intellectual changes are caused by economic developments or merely associated with them.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Reasons for thinking this is a valid comment

- New chairs founded in medicine, law, chemistry and botany.
- By 1800 there were more chairs in medicine than in theology at Edinburgh.
- Universities increasingly put on courses for townspeople who were not students: for example Robert Dick’s courses in astronomy.
- John Anderson’s emphasis on “useful learning”, which led to the founding of Anderson’s University in Glasgow.
- The *Wealth of Nations* – clearly relevant to a “climate of economic change” – began life as university lecture notes.
- The proportion of Glasgow university students who came from the city’s commercial classes rose from roughly a quarter to a half during the century.
- One aspect of economic change was to give greater affluence to a larger group at the top of society. This increased greatly the patronage available. The obvious example is Glassford’s sponsorship of the Glasgow School for the Art of Design.

Reasons for thinking there may have been other important motives

- The increase in discursive and speculative teaching styles, and the use of English rather than Latin reflected an intellectual shift away from authoritarian elitism. (One could argue that the implications of Cartesian doubt were at last filtering through to the universities).
- The decline in the grip of religion on academia meant that the universities were no longer seen primarily as schools of divinity.
- The effect of English influences after the Union and, perhaps, more important, Dutch influences as a generation of Presbyterian scholars returned from exile once the Kirk became established. In general, Scottish intellectual life was becoming more open to ideas from outside. Hume, for example, spent many years in France.
- The lack of any serious political crisis in the second half of the eighteenth century allowed great freedom of debate and enquiry. (Contrast with the Covenanted or the French revolutionary years.)

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

- **Herman:** writes mainly about individuals, and identifies one in particular, William Carstares, principal of Edinburgh University: "He dominated Scottish education with a Colossus-like presence."
- **Lenman:** lays more emphasis than some on the European context and on Dutch influence. He also reminds readers that Kings College, Aberdeen and St Andrews were largely passed over by the reforms.
- **Daiches:** has pointed out the importance of the foundations and trends established in the seventeenth century.
- **Broadie:** argues that the Scottish tradition of a broad, general education owes a lot to the teachings of Dugald Stewart, one of Edinburgh's most famous lecturers.
- **Lynch:** warns against picking out from the reforms only those which later generations see as significant. To contemporaries, religious and moral issues remained of great significance.
- **Devine:** in *Scotland's Empire* points out that, although Glasgow University gave no direct instruction in commerce, the mercantile community gave the University "energetic support". At least sixty eight of Glasgow's leading merchants were educated there before 1800.
- **Whatley:** describes Glasgow as "feeding off and in turn feeding the city's commercial buoyancy."

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715–1800)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A in explaining the failings of Charles Edward Stuart as a leader in the '45 Rebellion? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** in explaining the failings of Charles Edward Stuart as a leader in the '45 Rebellion in terms of:

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

- Written by a man who had been through the 1745 rebellion and fought at Culloden; he was a Jacobite by birth, upbringing and conviction; known as “gentle Lochiel” he had a reputation as an honourable leader.
- He had allowed himself to be persuaded to bring his clan into the rebellion against his better judgement. Charles Edward pressurised him with moral blackmail.
- He was also promised a commission in the French army if he joined and the rebellion failed, which promise was kept.
- His support was crucial at the start. It is agreed that his decision to come out was what persuaded other chiefs to join.
- In 1747 he was in exile, his estates confiscated and his home burned.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Charles would have found it easy to consolidate his hold on Scotland but missed the opportunity.
- He was “blinded by the ardour of his own courageous spirit”.
- He took bad advice from Sir Thomas Sheridan.
- He foolishly hoped that his mere presence would cause government troops and English nobility to change sides.
- He marched into England hastily, without taking the “necessary measures to consolidate his authority”.

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source

- It might not have been that easy to master Scotland. The South West, from Glasgow to Carlisle, was hostile. The Kirk was hostile. Some clans were loyal to the government.
- The ‘insignificant forts’ included the highly significant Edinburgh and Stirling Castles.
- There was considerable debate about whether to invade England in October 1745 or not.
- No English nobles nor government troops did in fact join the Jacobites in England. Only the Manchester Regiment (mainly Catholics) came forward.
- There was little consolidation in Scotland. Government supporters (eg Forbes of Culloden) soon began to organise local resistance to the Jacobites.
- The Prince did have an over-optimistic belief that his divine right would lead thousands to refuse to fight against him.
- Lochiel’s criticism of Sheridan was part of the wider criticism of the ‘Irish’ (especially O’Sullivan) by the Scots chiefs.

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

- Charles’ liability to be over-optimistic was also shown in his hope that there would be a French invasion in his support.
- His liability to take bad advice was made worse by his quarrel with Lord George Murray and the subsequent fatal decision to give battle on Drummoissie Moor, whose topography suited the government army.
- His neglect of important matters of planning and logistics.
- His petulance in the later stages of the rebellion when he was forced to retreat from Derby and things began to go wrong.
- He offered no leadership at all after Culloden, merely telling all his followers to seek their own safety.

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

- The traditional view of the charismatic Charlie, whose leadership was essential to the early successes, and who was not to blame for the decision to retreat from Derby, after which everything went wrong. This is hardly seen now outside children’s books and the tourist industry.
- The hostile view of most late twentieth century historians, who attribute all Charles’ successes to government errors and to Lord George Murray
 - **Lenman**: “Irresponsibility towards others was basic to his egotistical personality”
 - **Devine**: whole summary of the story is one of poor decisions
 - **Fry**: recent *Wild Scots* points up the contrast between the professional Murray and the amateur Charles
 - **Gibson**: calls Charles’ insistence on going straight to London “obsessional”.
- On the other hand there are historians currently writing who regard Charles as having some notable leadership qualities
 - **Duffy**: “He stands out as a young man who had thought deeply about war, who had a strong strain of that essential attribute of luck... and who knew what was needed to motivate the ordinary men.” He also has some critical things to say about Murray which, by implication, allows more credit to Charles.
 - **Black**: argues that there was a real chance of success at Derby if Charles’ proposal to continue had been followed.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful for explaining the failings of Charles Edward Stuart as a leader in the ’45 Rebellion.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the significance of the agricultural Improvers? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** and offers a structured evaluation of how much the two sources reveal about the differing views of the significance of the agricultural Improvers in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate commentary on J.D. Mackie will be credited as historiography. It might be noted that, in the context of recent scholarship, this is a relatively old account.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Improvement was a 'top down' movement, initiated by the nobility and gentry.
- The ideas of Improvement were spread through societies.
- The ideas were 'everywhere' adopted.
- The new ideas were English in origin.
- New technology ('the iron plough') made farming easier.
- Improvement made poor estates prosperous.
- The Improvement led to developments other than agriculture: local industry, craftsmen and education.
- In short the Improvers were very significant indeed.

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source

- Numerous examples of Improving landlords apart from Ormiston and Cockburn: Lord Kames and the Duke of Perth are two well known ones.
- 'English methods': these included, as well as the iron plough, drilling rather than broadcasting seed, crop rotation and the use of clover to add nitrogen to the soil.
- Cockburn may or may not have been a 'model improver' but he went bankrupt.
- The word 'everywhere' could well be picked up and developed with reference to regional variations: the fertile East Lothian soils, the marginal land that Burns struggled with, the adverse conditions in much of the Highlands. Grant and Cockburn were pioneers, not typical.
- The 'modern theories' about the Improvers are that their ideas were not necessarily suitable for Scottish conditions in the mid-eighteenth century and that there were good reasons for traditional Scottish methods.
- The practical skills of farming tenants were possibly as important as the new theories of the owners.
- Grant could be a harsh evictor and avaricious raiser of rents.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate commentary on T.C. Smout will be credited as historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The Improvers failed to make farming pay.
- They were not farming in order to make a profit.
- They were motivated by fashion, patriotism and admiration for English methods.
- Tenants were contemptuous of the Improvers.
- Other landowners also regarded the Improvers as 'hare-brained'.
- In short their significance has been over-rated.

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source

- The Improvers were pioneers. They took pride in the newness of their ideas, and their derivation from Holland and from England.
- Biographical detail to support or contextualise the points about their amateurism and their motives
 - The Duke of Argyll had massive resources with which to experiment
 - Kames was a law lord
 - Cockburn and Grant had been MPs at Westminster
 - Grant was an exception. He was trying to make a profit and ended up succeeding.
- In general the Improvers belonged to a society in which fashionable conspicuous consumption was necessary for a gentleman and they set about improving in that spirit.
- Also many of them lived in the world of debate and new ideas that flourished in the Edinburgh clubs, which stimulated their activities.
- The point about demand being slack is reinforced by the rapid transformation that took place once demand and prices increased in the 1780s.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Their ideas went beyond the ones mentioned in the sources, including tree planting, drainage and selective breeding.
- The ideas of the Improvers were spread by books and journals.
- Their limited success in the early part of the century does not mean that their ideas were not significant when the big expansion in output began in the last two decades.
- Yields in 1800 were two or three times greater than in 1700.
- 'Significance' does not necessarily imply change for the better. The transformation of rural society by clearance was one consequence of the ideas of the Improvers.

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

- The sources may lead candidates into the current historiographical debate about the Improvers.
- The traditional view: this took the Improvers' own writings at face value, condemning old practices and assuming that new methods were inevitably better. This is still found in more junior school textbooks.
- The critical view, in which this simplistic version of history was questioned: **Smout, Lenman** and **Devine** all point out the limitations of the Improvers' work, their tendency to arrogance, and the amount of hostile contemporary commentary from poorer farmers.
- The sympathetic view, in which readers are reminded that there was a real possibility of famine in the late seventeenth century, that the ideas were good, even if over-optimistically applied, and that time was on the side of modern methods. **Sher** inclines to this view.
- **Smith**: in *The Jacobite Estates of the Forty-Five* also supports the traditional view on the basis of the management of the forfeited estates.
- **Whyte** and **Whatley**: both take a balanced view, pointing out the regional variations and successes of unostentatious, gradual improvers such as George Dundas of Dundas. Both agree, though, that market forces were the factor of overwhelming significance.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the problems that Henry Dundas faced in trying to manage Scotland on behalf of the government? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers **Source D** and offers a structured evaluation of how fully it explains the problems that faced Henry Dundas in trying to manage Scotland on behalf of the government, in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate commentary on John Stuart Shaw will be credited as historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Dundas was opposed by the Whigs.
- Some of his opponents were motivated by traditional family hostility.
- There was the problem of the parliamentary reform movement.
- The reference to the Fox-North Coalition is a reminder of the problem that Dundas stood or fell with Pitt. He was vulnerable to political changes in London.
- There were genuine ideological objections to Dundas.

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source

- An explanation of 'Whig'. This is highly complex, since Pitt and Dundas called themselves Whigs and the word 'Tory' had Jacobite connotations; this was precisely the time of partisan re-alignment in British politics. However with hindsight it is legitimate to say 'Whig' for those who went on to be sympathetic to some aspects of the French Revolution, and desired parliamentary and burgh reform.
- Henry Erskine was the leading Whig of the old generation in Scotland who stayed with Fox when the Portland Whigs, alarmed by the French Revolution, crossed over to support Pitt. (See the reference to re-alignment above).
- The "group of politicians and lawyers" included the Societies of the Friends of the People, whose leaders included many of the aristocracy in the early days, and also the young lawyers who went on to found the 'Edinburgh Review'.
- Parliamentary reform in the late eighteenth century began with an agitation to get rid of 'faggot' votes (non-existent voters) and was then extended to burgh reform, which included the extension and rationalisation of the burgh franchise.
- The Fox-North coalition of 1783 can now be seen as a despairing and short-lived effort by Pitt's enemies to keep him and his friends out of office. Since Dundas was one of his 'friends' any repeat would be a serious set-back. Fox remained active in politics till after the end of the century, and the health of George III was always a potential problem for the ministry that needed his patronage.
- The biggest ideological opposition came from the publication of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* in 1792.
- The King's Birthday riots of 1792 included an attack on Dundas' house in Edinburgh and ended with soldiers firing on the crowd.
- 1797 Tranent militia riots.

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

- Problems of maintaining a network of patronage and friendship groups, especially as these had lapsed since the death of Islay Campbell (Argyll). There were 41 constituencies to cater for.
- The sheer quantity of work involved was a problem. He had the prodigious energy found also in Pitt, Napoleon, Thatcher and others. His daughter, for one, commented on his long hours.
- The problem of having enough patronage at his disposal. In the end as Keeper of the Signet, President of the Board of Control of the East India Company and Secretary for War (amongst other things) this was solved. But the way he solved it helps highlight the magnitude of the problem.
- The problem of having to be in London and manage Scotland from a distance. He relied on the extensive Arniston connections and his own client group.
- The problem of managing the Scots peerage – less susceptible to favours than the burgh voters. The gradual granting of British peerages, to enable supporters to sit in the Lords without having to be elected, was the solution.

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

- **Fry:** His book *The Dundas Despotism* is likely to be the main source used by candidates. He is inclined to belittle opponents: rioters were usually fuelled by drink; Whigs preferred law and order to reform; radicals were either scared by revolutionary violence or crackpots. He leaves readers in no doubt, however, of the massive effort and attention to detail required to be a successful political manager.
- **Lenman:** reminds us of a very eighteenth century problem: “He was not Dundas of that ilk, and senior branches of his own family held seats in defiance of a man they regarded as an impudent upstart.” Otherwise he gives the impression that managing Scotland was not all that difficult, given that there were only about 7,000 voters in Scotland and given the massive patronage at his disposal.
- **Lynch:** however, points out that using patronage was neither straightforward nor easy: “The building up of an interest rested ultimately on the ability of a politician to make *and keep* his friends.”
- **Devine:** warns against dismissing the reformers and radicals too lightly: “Scotland was by no means naturally submissive to established authority.”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the problems that Henry Dundas faced in trying to manage Scotland on behalf of the government.

“The House Divided”: USA (1850–1865)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How valid is the view that, all things considered, there was more uniting than dividing the North and the South in 1850?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to identify areas of similarity or difference between the two sections in 1850. These might include politics, law, culture, religion, the economy, transport and trade.

NB Candidates who only consider the 1850 Compromise are not answering the question in its entirety and should be marked accordingly.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Areas where it could be claimed there were uniting influences or common/shared aspects

- Politics, Federal government and law, eg Fugitive Slave Act, 1850 Compromise.
- Political self interest.
- Transport and trade, navigable rivers, spread of railways and movement of goods in both directions.
- Racism, attitudes to women and native peoples.
- Economy industrialising in both but more in North.

Areas where there were divisive aspects

- Manifest Destiny/westward expansion.
- Start of Free Soil Party in 1848 election and policies of Taylor.
- Mexican war deal and Wilmot Proviso, California state ratification and congressional problems.
- Compromise, accepted but divided country geographically.
- Slavery: attitudinal differences to its very existence.
- Large numbers of Southerners talk of seceding.
- Religion: second great awakening and anti-Catholicism in the South.
- Population: North more urbanized and rise immigrant led.
- Economy: South dependent on cotton as export, differing view on tariffs.

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

- **Potter:** Compromise more of an armistice.
- **Brock:** few prepared to defend Compromise against attacks from North and South.
- **Reid:** settlement glossed over deep seated disputes over territories acquired from Mexico.
- **Wilson:** manifest destiny and expansion of territory would bring a renewal of sectional controversy.
- **Miller:** railroad expansion in north and south.
- **Beard:** economic competition between a feudal south and industrial north.
- **Potter:** rejects Beard’s views, no gulf between north and south.
- **Craven:** south same level of economic enterprise as north.

Question 2

How important was nativism in the break up of the two-party system?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to identify the relative influence of the nativist movement within the political landscape of the 1850s that led to the demise of the Whig Party. Candidates could draw on issues outside of nativism but this should not be viewed as a 'rise of the Republican Party' essay per se.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

- 1850 Compromise problems for Whigs and Democrats.
- Failure of traditional parties and politicians to appreciate native born American concerns especially dramatic rise in immigration first half of the 1850s.
- Internal Democratic Party problems.
- Archbishop Hughes and decline of Protestantism fears in 1850.
- Rise of Temperance movement, eg Maine 1851, links to new Irish and German immigrant drunkenness. Democrats against and Whig indecision outraged many.
- Whig policy mistakes.
- 1852 Presidential Elections, Whigs' over-concentration on Catholic voters was a disaster.
- Bedini (papal nuncio) property disputes and rise of anti-Italian and Catholic feelings, 1853.
- American (Know-Nothing) Party development, supporters and cross-sectional support.
- American Party platform restricted level of support from growing slave power lobby.
- 1854 mid-term election results: Democrats left with 23/91 free state seats, Know-Nothings, not the Whigs, benefited.
- 1854 Kansas-Nebraska: Act support from Know-Nothings in the North, popular sovereignty.
- Republican Party growth enabled by Know-Nothings and many republicans from it eg Banks and Fremont.

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

- **Gienapp:** Know-Nothings ended previous party loyalties.
- **Donald:** electorate volatile; politicians responded without policies or principles.
- **Tulloch:** "party politicians must be mainly responsible for the breakdown".
- **McPherson:** "buffeted by the winds of anti-Nebraska, anti-liquor, anti-Catholic and anti-immigration, the two-party system in the North was ready to collapse by 1854".
- **Revisionists:** splits were the result of artificial tensions whipped up by politicians to win votes and further careers.
- **Randall:** Douglas one of the "blundering generation" of politicians.
- **Craven:** Douglas contributed to collapse by putting himself ahead of the nation.

Question 3

To what extent has the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation on the conduct of the war been exaggerated?

The aim of this essay is to allow a consideration of the arguments surrounding the effects of the Emancipation Proclamation on the conduct of the war. Candidates may list the possible effects chronologically or present arguments for and against exaggeration. Candidates should focus on whether the Proclamation changed the way in which the war was fought on both sides through black involvement.

This essay is not about the reasons for the introduction of the Proclamation and should be marked according.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Exaggerated:

- Emancipation Proclamation next logical step in a policy that was already operating.
- Navy. Black sailors from the start; 25% (**Aptheker**) to 8% (**Voluska**) of all Union sailors.
- First Confiscation Act 1861.
- Second Confiscation Act 1862; freed all Southern blacks who entered Union lines (c 600 000 over the course of the war.)
- Militia Act July 1862; use blacks for any military service as per Butler in Louisiana before Proclamation.

Not exaggerated:

- Timing; psychological and ideological boost for North/ blow for South.
- Foreign involvement; Proclamation meant war would stay domestic and now a war of attrition (Davis' initial attitude to black prisoners)
- Military necessity; white volunteers less willing so would make widescale use of blacks more acceptable. Lincoln "a resource if vigorously applied...will soon close the contest."
- Southern black workforce strength/application undermined.
- Total War. By 1864 100 000 whites did not reenlist. Spring/summer offensives would not have happened without 120 000 blacks. An eighth of Union troops around Petersburg were black.
- Fighting; Milliken's Bend etc. Grant suggested emancipation and enlistment were heaviest blow to South.
- Bravery; would blacks have been so willing to take risks without emancipation?

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

- **Glatthaar**: "through their behaviour slaves compelled Federal authorities to adapt their policies to match the increased magnitude of the war."
- **Fields**: Proclamation because of actions blacks had already undertaken.
- **Randall and Donald**: war took a new turn as a result of the Proclamation.
- **Rawley**: widened war's purpose.
- **Quarles**: blacks entered at a time of real shortage, swung in favour of Union.
- **McPherson**: Proclamation more important than Congressional Acts, black enlistment one of the most important acts of the war.
- **McPherson**: Turning Point theory; those of 1864/5 unachievable without blacks.

Question 4

How serious were the problems facing the North in 1864?

The aim of this essay is to assess the comparative depth of wartime difficulties facing the North in 1864. Candidates may choose to concentrate on the 1864 Presidential Election as a springboard for wider discussion or take a chronological approach. Both are acceptable but should be marked according to the complexity of their arguments.

Candidates must look outside of the politics of Washington. Essays that fail to do this should be marked accordingly.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Military issues

- Low level of success in Western and Eastern Theatres at the start of the year, eg Grant's Wilderness Campaign, North Anna, Sigel in Shenandoah, Sherman at Kennesaw Mountain.
- Casualty figures very high, 32 000 5-12 May 1864 – 'Butcher' Grant and apparent failure of Total War tactics.
- Eventually countered by siege and capture of Atlanta, later action at Petersburg, appointment of Sheridan in Shenandoah and capture of Mobile by Farragut reduced casualties and placed Union troops closer to success.
- Enlistment difficulties and use of 'green' black troops.
- Date: military success eventually reduced problems on the home front.

Northern domestic issues

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

Political issues

- Lincoln: support for Grant, military failures and casualties meant very unpopular. Lincoln thought he might not gain the Republican nomination to stand in November Presidential election.
- McClellan: Democrat candidate but did not follow Convention's peace platform.
- Fremont: Radical Democrats.
- Date: election fitted in with Mobile victory, fall of Atlanta and Sheridan success.
- Reconstruction policy: radical Republicans and 10% plan/Wade-Davis.

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

- **Glatthaar:** Northern regiments rarely filled by 1864.
- **McPherson:** domestic gloom in May changing to optimism.
- **McPherson:** chance elections in November rather than August.
- **Tulloch:** Northern public appalled and demoralised by casualty figures.
- **Archer Jones:** Grant's campaign was a "political liability" for Lincoln.
- **Reid Mitchell:** failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pro-war party defeat.

Question 5

How accurate is it to describe General US Grant as the greatest general of the Civil War?

The aim of this essay is to enable the candidate to evaluate the relative ability of Grant as a general within the Civil War period. Candidates may choose to define their assessment criteria which may cover areas such as victories, tactics, political acumen, personality, man management, resources and the strength of the opposition. Comparisons with other Civil War generals may also be drawn.

NB An essay that just describes battles which Grant fought in is not answering the question and should be marked accordingly.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

For Grant

- Early successes eg Vicksburg
- Exploitation of manpower and resources of the Union.
- Strategy aimed at destroying the South's will to continue the war.
- Development of idea of 'total war'.
- Refusal to retreat after reverses at Cold Harbour and the Wilderness.
- Respect for chain of command and Commander-in-Chief.
- Awareness of political implications of military events.
- Developed modern command structure.
- Greatness dependent on opposing generals.

Against Grant

- Shiloh: almost sunk the Union cause through sloppy defences.
- 'Butcher' Grant: human cost of his tactics too high.
- Personal frailties, alleged drunkenness.

Other generals

- Lee – **Gallagher** pushed his credentials, **Archer Jones and Catton** suggested over concentration on Eastern Theatre.
- J Johnston – admired as an opponent by Grant.
- Sherman – **Liddell Hart** sees as greatest strategy to minimize fighting; Burne suggests him as preparing ground for Grant.

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

- **McPherson**: capture of Vicksburg one of the most important strategically of whole war.
- **Liddell Hart**: use of surprise, rear offensive, out-flanking movements and alternative objectives by Grant.
- **Archer Jones**: Grant key exponent of offensive tactics and led the "total war" approach. Believes he is usually acknowledged as the "greatest soldier of the civil war".
- **Fuller**: superior generalship of Grant and North.
- **S-M Grant**: need for General-in-Chief to be subservient to Commander-in-Chief.
- **Tulloch**: Grant carefully husbanded resources as they were not unlimited; saw it was a war of rifles and trenches.
- **T H Williams**: Grant was a great battle captain but needed the likes of Lincoln and Sherman for ultimate success.

“The House Divided”: USA (1850–1865)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of attitudes towards the legal status of slavery in the ante-bellum period? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the value of **Source A** in providing an adequate explanation of the attitudes towards the legal status of slavery in the ante-bellum period in terms of:

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

- Taken from the decision written by R.B. Taney, Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, in an attempt to put an end to the political wrangling over slavery by a judicial review.
- Taney himself was a former slave-owner who had freed his slaves but was pro-Southern in his outlook.
- Seven of the nine justices were from Southern states and all had been appointed by Democratic presidents.
- Taken 11 years for case to reach Supreme Court.
- First test for Buchanan on sustaining Union over interfering with slavery.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Judgement denied that slaves were citizens of the US as defined by the Constitution and therefore cannot sue in a federal court.
- Congress had no jurisdiction to prohibit citizens from owning property without due process of law.
- It was unconstitutional for a citizen to be deprived of the right to own property.
- Neither Dred Scott nor any of his family were made free by their residence in a free state or a free territory.

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

- Reference to the 1820 Compromise which created the Missouri Compromise Line.
- Origins of the case in the 1830s.
- Scott supported by Northern abolitionist societies.
- Impact of admission of California in 1850 – since it straddled the Missouri Compromise Line.

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

- Issue is but an example of a Northern perceived slave power conspiracy.
- Impact of the Compromise of 1850.
- New Fugitive Slave Act and its repercussions.
- Doctrine of the popular sovereignty to surmount Congressional wrangling over slavery issue.
- The terms/impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
- Taney was anti-Douglas and was trying to damage the latter's political ambitions.
- Buchanan's adoption of the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton constitution.
- Attitude of white opponents of slavery expansion.
- Reaction of the Republican Party to decision.
- Rejection of court's ruling by abolitionists.

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

- **Peter Parish:** noted that Taney's 1857 decision had created a judicial minefield. It left popular sovereignty in ruins and created divisions within the Democratic Party.
- **Ulrich B Philips:** was the first pro-Southern historian to advocate that slavery was designed to "make men, not money" and that Northerners could not fully understand the complex relationships between master and slave.
- **Tulloch:** has argued that the 1857 decision merely re-affirmed the view that slaves were mere property.
- **Hermann von Holst:** was critical of Douglas and the doctrine of popular sovereignty which "was typical of the moral hollowness of that appeasing politician".
- **Fehrenbacher:** decision result of "error, inconsistency and misrepresentation".
- **McPherson:** 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.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful for understanding attitudes towards the legal status of slavery in the ante-bellum period.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views on the causes of secession?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** as interpretations of the causes of secession and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

Accurate comment on Susan-Mary Grant will receive credit under historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Southerners saw Declaration of Independence as guarantee of states' rights
- Including right to 'alter or abolish' a government which had lost their trust.
- In contradiction to Republican beliefs concerning 'life, liberty...' etc.
- Secession was a process which gathered momentum, not a one-off event.
- Disproportionate influence of fire-eaters.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Rival interpretations of the Founding Fathers' views on slavery and states' rights.
- Emergence of Republicans as a purely sectional party.
- Initial lack of enthusiasm for secession amongst the Southern public.
- Actions of South Carolina and fire-eaters in encouraging secession.
- Main stages of secession between December 1860 and April 1861.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include reference to:

Following John Brown's raid she started a long correspondence with the Governor of Virginia. She had abolitionist credentials and was editor of an Anti-slavery journal; but not considered a radical. Her views hardened in the years up to 1860.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Southern actions have weakened Northern attachment to the Union.
- Would be happy if the Southern states carried out their oft-repeated threat to leave the Union.
- Regards slavery as a vicious institution, inimical to republican democracy.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Southern actions could include – the demand for a new fugitive slave law as part of the Compromise of 1850.
- Southern insistence on repeal of the Missouri Compromise as part of the deal to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
- Pursuit of alleged runaways in the federal courts in the North.
- The role of Southern agitators in events in Kansas and attempts to influence the status of the proposed state.
- Southern rejoicing at the Dred Scott decision.
- States rights philosophy propounded by Henry Clay.
- The caning of Charles Sumner.

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

- Southern fears of becoming a minority within the federal union.
- Southern press hostile to all northern actions eg portrayal of Republicans as the party of the black, which would encourage social and racial chaos.
- Lincoln portrayed as a direct threat to the social/economic status of the South, and this justified immediate secession if he were to be elected.
- North regarded the South as 'un-American' and out of step with mid-19th century values.
- Impact of John Brown's raid – struck a sensitive nerve in the Southern psyche.
- Disputes over tariff legislation.
- Economic disagreements over funding of internal improvements.
- Splits within the Democratic Party that allowed for the election of Lincoln.
- Political disagreements over the future nature of the American republic.
- Issue of slavery and more importantly slavery expansion.
- Northern perception of a 'slave-power' conspiracy.
- Idea of an 'irrepressible conflict'.
- Concept of a 'blundering generation'.

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

- **Hugh Tulloch:** argued that the birth of the Republican Party came in the aftermath of the Kansas/Nebraska controversy. The new party attracted those who were opposed to Southern determination to maintain slavery.
- This view is extended by **James McPherson** who believed that Kansas/Nebraska was the final nail in the coffin of the Whig Party.
- **Charles and Mary Beard:** have argued that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.
- **Frank Owsley:** would agree, noting that a Northern long-term conspiracy aimed to undermine Southern agrarian values.
- **Brian Holden Reid:** commented that the Southern people were hated by the Northerners. The Southern approach was defensive and many saw secession as an alternative to war.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the causes of secession.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the reasons for Southern defeat?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an explanation for Southern defeat in the war in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. This may include reference to:

The eye witness has become a posthumous media celebrity due to being prominent in the Ken Burns film, portrayed as the typical Southern soldier.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The Southern people were divided over loyalty to the Union and support for secession.
- Generals squabbled over the issue of seniority.
- Hospitals were overcrowded but lacked medicines to tend to the wounded.
- Loss of value of Southern money.

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

- Rampant inflation in the South – confederate, state and local notes all in circulation.
- Failure of the Southern government to finance the war properly.
- Generals divided over strategy eg east v west; defence of the whole confederacy v tactical withdrawal.
- Northern blockade deprived the South of medical supplies as these were deemed contraband of war.
- Pockets of pro-Union sentiment existed in the South eg West Virginia.
- Only in South Carolina was secession unanimous – other 6 had pro-Union minorities.
- 8 states decided to await further developments – only 4 joined the Confederacy after Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call to arms – 4 Border Slave States remained in the Union.

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

- South outnumbered and outgunned.
- Issue of political leadership.
- Failure to gain foreign recognition.
- The adverse effect of the cotton embargo.
- Issue of states' rights.
- Failure to suppress disloyal elements during the war.
- Role of blacks in Northern victory.
- Leadership of Union during the war.

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

- **Richard Current:** would subscribe to the idea of 'God and the strongest battalions' as an explanation of Southern defeat.
- **T. Harry Williams:** would add the superiority of Northern military leadership towards the end of the conflict.
- **J.F.C. Fuller:** would stress the importance of the roles of Grant and Sherman in securing Northern success.
- **James McPherson:** on the other hand, would point to chance and circumstance as a partial explanation for Southern defeat.
- Political explanations for Southern defeat would include **Frank Hesseltine's** assertion that in the North a strong central government appeared that drove the Union war effort.
- **Eric McKittrick:** would point to the central role of the Republican Party in uniting the North.
- **David Donald:** has argued that the South was too democratic to prosecute the war.
- **Frank Owsley:** would attribute Southern defeat to the issue of states' rights.
- **Joseph Glatthaar:** has taken the view that the leadership on neither side saw the varied and dramatic contribution that black soldiers would make to Confederate defeat.
- **Peter Batty:** would agree with this pointing out that, although seldom spectacular, the black contribution was still notable and caused many Northern whites to revise their opinion of the blacks.

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

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

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How accurate is the view that traditional Japanese beliefs faced little threat from Christianity?

Candidates are expected to fully analyse the reasons why Christianity made little impact upon Japanese society, even after the Meiji Restoration. When discussing traditional beliefs they should be addressing what it is about these beliefs that made them incompatible with Christianity.

The candidate might use such evidence as

Christianity

- During Tokugawa times banned – association with colonisation.
- 1720 – ban on Western books lifted – except for the Bible.
- Initially Christians were executed immediately following the Restoration.
- Restrictions were relaxed under western pressure – but little prospect of large-scale conversion.
- Instead missionaries exerted influence through medical care and education activities.
- They established hospitals, treatment centres and hostels for the disabled.
- Christian schools were established from the 1860s.
- They became a major vehicle for education – especially for women.
- But these institutions were not a key for conversion.
- Christianity was an alien creed. It was identified as being un-Japanese.
- 1900 less than 1% professed to be Christians.
- Christianity did have some impact upon education, especially before the Imperial Rescript on Education, but little impact on and posed little threat to traditional beliefs.
- Traditional beliefs unique – 3 different sets of belief intertwined. Replacement with one religion very alien to Japanese experience.

Neo-Confucianism

- Lack of focus on a deity would result in tension with Christianity.
- However, it was possible for Neo-Confucianism to co-exist with other religions.
- Confucianism originated in China.
- During Tokugawa times this was promoted as main set of beliefs and moral code.
- Used as a form of social control to underpin their decentralized nature of control.
- Advocated filial piety and respect and loyalty.
- Underpinned Caste structure.
- Christianity a potential threat because rather than complete loyalty to Japanese state, Christians look to a different source of ultimate authority.

Shintoism

- Central tenet that emperor a living god would be potentially threatened by Christianity.
- Indigenous religion.
- Revivalism associated with growing criticism of Tokugawa Shogun.
- The indigenous spiritual beliefs of Shinto dates back to nature worship of pre-historic period.
- It was a loose collection of beliefs and practices associated with worship of Kami or 'spirit.'
- Shinto was used to support the claims of the imperial family to the throne.
- The emperor was the high priest – represented as living Kami by virtue of his descent from the sun goddess.

Buddhism

- Conflict between Christianity and many aspects of Buddhism, such as reincarnation.
- Buddhism formally entered Japan by the 6th century through the influx of Chinese scholarship.
- Japanese virtues multiplied.
- It provided rituals and practices for specific aspects of life and death.

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

- **Benson and Matsumara:** “Christianity is sometimes linked with Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism as one of Japan’s leading religions. This is seriously misleading.”
- **Beasley:** “The end of the Tokugawa ban... did not remove anti-Christian prejudice, of course, but in the wave of enthusiasm for all things western. Missionaries began to make headway.”
- **Benson and Matsumara:** “Christian missionaries and converts... played an important role in fostering female and secondary education.”
- **Totman:** “Proponents of state Shinto also had to contend with a revival of Christianity during the Meiji period.”
- **Peter Kornicki:** argues “it is more appropriate to see the pressures upon Japan as international in nature and stemming from the expansionist drive which was working itself out among the Great Powers.”

Question 2

How valid is the view that the caste structure was the most serious obstacle to the successful implementation of the Meiji reform project?

Candidates are being asked to evaluate the social and economic obstacles that had to be addressed within Japanese society to permit the Meiji leaders to embark upon their programme of unprecedented reform, and debate the importance of the caste system as a factor...

The candidate might use such evidence as:

The caste structure as obstacle

- Caste structure had been an important form of social control.
- Dictated individual's place within society – did not permit any movement between castes.
- Difficulty in adapting to the change from rice to money based economy.
- Lowly status of merchants hindering economic and entrepreneurial development.
- The military caste was no longer suitable for modern warfare. Necessary to abolish the privileges of samurai caste to introduce a national conscript army.
- Meiji wanted to establish a new civil service based (in theory) upon merit.
- Caste structure viewed as outdated and 'feudal' by the West – necessary to abolish in overarching quest to overturn the Unequal Treaties.
- Lack of potential for industrial working class.
- Abolition of caste structure combined with the other reforms to help establish a united nationalistic state – in particular the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) and the Peace Police law (1900).

Other obstacles

- **Decentralised nature of Tokugawa control** – difficulty in implementing reform – as illustrated by Tempo Reforms.
- **Lowly status of emperor** – need for imperial assent for new reforms to challenge any dissenting voices.
- **Attitude to West** – need to challenge view that adopting western ideas would not threaten distinctive Japanese identity.
- **Potential opposition** from Tokugawa supporters and disaffected samurai.
- **Lack of National Army**

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views.

These may include reference to:

- **Hane:** "The first step taken (towards the transformation of an agrarian economy) was the revision of the rigid landholding system."
- **McClain:** "To underscore its determination to wipe away the base customs of the past so that people could fulfil their aspirations and unite in promoting the economy and the welfare of the nation, the new Meiji Government dismantled the old Confucian-based social order."
- **Pyle:** "life was becoming increasingly complex and diverse in ways that made the Tokugawa system less viable and satisfying."
- **Beasley:** immediately after the Restoration "the Court had prestige without power: no lands and no officials outside the immediate area of the capital; no state revenue; no military force of its own."

Question 3

How far do the Zaibatsu deserve the credit they have been given for their role in Japan's industrialisation?

Candidates are being asked to evaluate the role played by Zaibatsu in helping Japan industrialise. It may be relevant to mention other factors but the Zaibatsu must be adequately discussed.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Role of Zaibatsu

- Government favouritism resulted in the development of huge monopolistic concerns.
- 1880s onwards Zaibatsu began to dominate manufacturing and commercial activities.
- Most had their own bank.
- Some concentrated on certain fields; others embraced a range of activities.
- By the early 20th century control was becoming a problem.
- These huge conglomerates were led by 4 giants – Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda.
- Mitsubishi conglomerate controlled 25% of shipping and ship building, 15% of coal and metals, 16% of bank loans, 50% of flour milling, 59% of sheet glass, 35% of sugar and 15% of cotton textiles.
- Developed networks of foreign contacts and gathered information in order to sell and purchase a wide variety of goods abroad.
- They became influential in politics – so powerful that they could not be ignored.

But development of Zaibatsu dependent upon support from government

- Japan's development a unique partnership between public and private partnership.
- There was selective and closely controlled use of western know-how – use of foreign experts.
- 1872 a government run western-style silk mill was started in Tomioka.
- Government built necessary infrastructure.
- 1882 – Bank of Japan established as central bank along British lines.
- Foreign loans were substantial – especially during war with China – resulted in substantial debt.

Other factors – Foundations laid during Tokugawa period

- The peasantry also produced craft items, initially for subsistence, later commercial purposes.
- Textiles, notably silk and cotton, but nothing approaching modern factory system.

WW1

- They supplied the belligerent allies with munitions and other goods in short supply.
- Japan gained a foothold in the export market and merchant shipping doubled.
- The ending of imports from the west also forced development within Japan.

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

- **Reischauer:** "The great wealth and broad base of the combines enabled them to finance promising new fields in the economy and thus increase their share in its fast-growing industrial sector."
- **Reischauer:** "Their concentration of private wealth proved unhealthy for the nation's social and political development."
- **Macpherson:** "In the private sector the more spectacular changes were promoted by the Zaibatsu group which had the size to achieve scale economies."
- **Macpherson:** "Two fundamental conditions for modern economic growth were the Tokugawa legacy and the role of the government."
- **Hunter:** "Part of Japan's strength has lain in her responsiveness to a changing economic environment and the adaptability of her industrial structure."
- **Macpherson:** "Modern economic growth and industrialisation owed much to the direct and indirect government intervention, coercion and encouragement."

Question 4

To what extent did the political system really change after the Meiji Restoration?

Candidates are being asked to analyse the extent to which Meiji reforms actually altered the political system. Implicit in the answer is a comparative reflection upon the nature of politics before and after 1868.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Ways in which the political system changed

- Shogun overthrown.
- Emperor restored as central authority figure within political system, all edicts issued in his name.
- From 1885 major government decisions were taken by cabinet.
- A democratic constitution was viewed important to secure western respect.
- The 1889 Constitution – western influence – close to the German model of monarchy.
- Starting point was the emperor – who had bestowed the constitution on the Japanese people.
- He was the head of the government, possessing on paper sweeping range of executive, legislative, administrative and military powers but position was ambiguous.
- 2 chambers established – House of Peers – members of the nobility and the imperial house and Diet- elected – highly restrictive franchise – little more than 1% could vote.
- Many of the committees, including armed forces, operated independently of each other.
- Leaders of the armed forces had direct access to the emperor.
- Cabinets were appointed by the emperor – not necessarily from the majority party in the Diet.
- Propaganda and education used to reinforce political changes – taught children loyalty and patriotism were supreme virtues.
- Establishment of political parties.
- Reference to Charter Oath.
- Rise of centralized government in Tokyo.
- Reference to civil liberties.

Ways in which the political system stayed the same

- Power still retained in the hands of a few of the leading clans.
- Aim was the retention of power in the hands of the existing ruling elites.
- Served to reinforce the influence of the more traditional elements in Japan's ruling class.
- Emperor arguably had no real power other than symbolic, but continued to be viewed as having divine descent.
- Franchise so limited – arguably little impact.
- Opposition to leaders not tolerated.
- System continued to be underpinned by Neo-Confucianist moral code.

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

- **Buruma:** "Constitution was a vaguely worded document that put sovereignty entirely into imperial hand"... "Japanese democracy was a sickly child from the beginning."
- **Pyle:** "The most noteworthy change in the political system was the growth in the power and influence of the parties."
- **Hane:** "The diet became an institution which provided the people with a voice in government."
- **Megarry:** "Effective political opposition by liberals let alone any party that genuinely attempted to represent the interests of the masses, was banned for most of this period."
- **Hunter:** the Meiji Constitution did not create "a unified nation under an absolute emperor, nor a parliamentary democracy, but a series of major groupings, each of which could utilise the imperial position to impose its policies on the rest of the population."

Question 5

To what extent has the backwardness of Japanese agriculture up to 1920 been exaggerated?

In this question candidates are being asked to analyse whether the perspective that Japanese agriculture continued to be backward throughout the Meiji and Taisho years is accurate. It is relevant to present evidence to support sides of the argument, as long as the question is being adequately addressed.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Factors which support view that the backwardness of agriculture has been exaggerated

- Agriculture colleges established at Sapporo and Komaba with the aim of disseminating knowledge of best practice.
- Advances made in irrigation methods, improved seeds, better planting, weeding and applying insecticides, natural and commercial fertilisers.
- Yield per hectare increased by 30%.
- Peasants showed themselves to be skilful and adaptable workers – had to observe the time honoured virtues of diligence and frugality.
- Agriculture contributed through the land tax, a substantial part of the government's income that built the infrastructure for industrialisation and also a portion of the capital that developed industries.
- Tea and silk production rose and contributed greatly to Japan's exports.
- 1870s – Tax burdens reduced, farmers benefited from an inflationary boom in prices.
- The agricultural sector managed to support Japan's expanding population.

Factors which support view that the backwardness of agriculture has not been exaggerated

- Arable land under cultivation increased by only 13%.
- Meiji Land Tax of 1873 replaced the old levy but was just as severe as it was fixed and agriculture prices varied from year to year.
- Agriculture, especially rice, remained labour intensive.
- Economic hardship – rioting in 1918 over the price of rice led to the expansion of cheap rice imports and had a depressive effect on domestic rice prices.
- As late as 1920 50% of population still dependent on agriculture.

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

- **Beasley:** "important to recognise changes did not amount to an agrarian revolution in the European sense."
- **Macpherson:** "Meiji inherited a highly developed agriculture."
- **Benson and Matsumara:** "farming was too slow to change."
- **Moore:** "Between Meiji Restoration and the First World War Japanese agriculture made what can be legitimately regarded as a successful adaptation to meet the economic requirements of a modern industrial society."
- **Smith:** "Rice culture also contributed to this result"... of a lack of progress in the countryside.
- **Hunter:** "difficult to see them (farmers) as beneficiaries of the government's development policy."

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

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the significance of educational reform during the Meiji Period?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** and the extent to which it explains the significance of educational reform during the Meiji Period in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate commentary on Richard Perren will be credited as historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Imperial Rescript on Education a tool for indoctrination – based upon the continuation of Confucianist principles.
- Educational reform aimed to promote view that the state was an unquestionable moral order.
- Educational reform also wanted to educate a populace to help transform Japan into a modern state.
- Provide recruits for the army, factory agriculture.
- Modernisation demanded new skills and a broader knowledge.

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

- Goal of educational reform was the provision of skills and patriotic morality among many to produce a literate and pliable workforce and the production of a skilled elite with highly sophisticated training.
- The basis of the pre-war education system was laid by Mori Arinori, Minister of Education 1885–9.
- Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) stressed the duties and loyalty to the Emperor.
- Strongly influenced by the Confucian view that the state is essentially a moral order.
- Propaganda and education taught children loyalty and patriotism were supreme virtues.
- Relationship between emperor and people compared to that of a father and his children.
- Japan was a family state – ruled in a patriarchal manner; people owed emperor total obedience, loyalty and love.
- The divine descent of the emperor was reinforced.
- Intensive drilling of Japanese children with lessons in patriotism.
- All children had 4 years of elementary education (in 1907 this was increased to 6 years). This was co-educational.
- Higher education consisted of 5 years of middle school. This was single sexed.
- A minute proportion went on to elite higher schools and then to university.
- 1886 – Tokyo became the Imperial University.
- 1897 – second university was established at Kyoto.
- These were closely supervised by the bureaucracy.
- The Imperial University trained most of the nation's leaders.

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

- Foundations laid by the Tokugawa – high literacy rates.
- During main period of Meiji reforms, attendance rates were low. Elementary school education not compulsory or free.
- 1885 only 46% of children of statutory school age were in school.
- Fees abolished in 1900.
- By 1905 this had risen to 95%.
- Rice Riots and existence of critics of regime evidence that educational reform not universally successful in achieving its aims.
- Percentage of children progressing beyond elementary education low.

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

- **Hane:** “The government needed literate soldiers, factory workers, business employees, and government employees to achieve its goal of enriching the nation and challenging the Unequal Treaties.”
- **Hunter:** “There is often a misleading image of compliance to the dictates of the state which conceals the true diversity of intellectual and religious life in the pre-1930s Japan and takes no account of popular sentiment.”
- **Buruma:** “The Imperial Rescript was profoundly Confucian. The idea that people are to be controlled through moral exhortation and enforced intellectual conformity is Chinese in origin.” After 1868 “the source of power remained the source of the truth.”
- **Hane:** “By the mid 1870s officials began to realise that an opportunity to promote a sense of identity among the younger generation was being missed. Thereafter, role models from Japan’s own past began to appear more frequently in the textbooks produced.”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the significance of educational reform during the Meiji Period.

Question 2

How useful is Source B as evidence of Japan's changing attitudes towards the west after the Meiji Restoration? (12 marks)

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

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider content 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 B** in understanding Japan's changing attitudes towards the west after the Meiji restoration.

Provenance

- Written by an important member of Meiji Government – helped draft Charter Oath.
- Koin later went on the Iwakura Mission in 1873.
- He was especially interested in foreign education systems and politics – became advocate of constitutional government.
- Written 3 years after Perry's return when Japan was forced to open up to the West and signed the Unequal Treaties.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Illustrates the degree to which Japan has moved away from policy of isolation.
- Koin plans to open a news office to publish news, from within and outwith Japan, to 'enlighten' the Japanese people.
- Appealing to Japanese delegate in Europe to report as much information as they can about the Franco-Prussian war.
- Has already received information from America.
- Asks for other Japanese delegates in America to send more information back to be published.

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

- Following the forced opening of Japan and the signing of the Unequal Treaties, Japan embarked on a process of learning from the west to modernise and eventually become 'equal' with the west.
- Marked a distinct change in policy from that of one of isolation implemented by the Tokugawa regime.
- Before 1868, Japan had attempted to prevent Japanese citizens from travelling abroad – prevented their return if they left the country.

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

- Information in the source marks beginning of learning from the West, although there had been some contact with the Dutch before 1868.
- Followed in 1873 by Iwakura Mission, when those involved initially thought they could overturn the Unequal Treaties.
- Reforms that were influenced by the West included education, constitutional, legal and military.
- Contact with West influenced fashion and social gatherings.
- Backlash in 1890s when Meiji reformers criticised for excessive westernisation.

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

- **Beasley:** “Many Japanese, following the lead they had been given by the Tokugawa Shogun in 1865, saw their country’s primary task as being to acquire the knowledge and skills by which ‘to use the barbarian to control the barbarian.’”
- **McClain:** “As they pondered the future, many Meiji leaders looked to the west for lessons about how to organise political institutions, create economic wealth and foster social harmony.”
- **Hunter:** “By 1919 Japan had secured for herself a formal position of one of the world’s most powerful nations. As such she became integral to international strategic thinking and power politics in subsequent years. It became apparent that Japan was not to be viewed merely within the context of East Asia.”
- **Hunter:** “Japan’s own perception of her relationship with the West remained one of insecurity.”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is useful as evidence of Japan’s changing attitudes towards the West after the Meiji Restoration.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about different interpretations of the consequences of Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C and D** on the consequences of Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

- Produced immediately after Treaty of Portsmouth by Japanese travelling to the West, and therefore very proud of his country's victory and who was keen to promote his country.
- Some vestiges of the Unequal Treaties still remained, and the author was keen to highlight how unjust this now is.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- A positive account of consequences of the war, written in its immediate aftermath.
- Views war as one of the world's greatest.
- Japan had always behaved in a civilised and heroic manner – in the cause of humanity.
- Japan deserved to be viewed as a civilised nation as a consequence of this victory.
- Believed this victory proved Japan now deserved to be viewed as an equal with the West.
- Did acknowledge some unhappiness at the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Victory over Russia was not expected and did open the eyes of many in the West to development of Japan.
- Britain had already signed a treaty with Japan in 1902.
- Japanese treatment of prisoners of war was highly commended.
- Some aspects of the Unequal Treaties were still in place.
- Surprise and astonishment expressed by many in the West, including American president.
- That America was involved in the treaty negotiations illustrates involvement and interest from West.
- Japan gained Russian recognition of her freedom of action in Korea, took over Russian lease of Liaotung and seized the concession of the southern half of Sakhalin.
- Disquiet at Treaty of Portsmouth.

Source D

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Accurate comment on Conrad Totman will be credited as historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Quite a negative account of the impact of war, seen as being very costly in men lost and expenses.
- Taxes were raised and prices put up to cover the cost of the war which caused great anger.
- Government propaganda and promises had whipped up nationalism and expectations of victory to a very high level.
- Subsequently, the Treaty of Portsmouth viewed as a humiliation.
- Unhappiness that indemnity had not been forced upon Russia.
- Public discontent spread after the Portsmouth Treaty, culminating in riots and anti-government demonstrations.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- High casualty rates – Mukden – 70,000 Japanese.
- Financially, there was a huge strain on economy, leading to increased taxation.
- Nationalism encouraged.
- Examples of government propaganda.
- Japan was feeling more confident following her treaty with Britain in 1902.
- Demonstrations and riots.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Debt which was a consequence of the war only eased by World War One.
- Victory helped ease humiliation of Tripartite Intervention.
- Victory fuelled authority and prestige of militarism – contributed to a growing military state.
- Japan viewed as a naval power following Battle of Tsushima.
- Victory contributed towards re-evaluation of Japan's status as a world power and helped contribute towards their involvement in Paris Peace Conference.
- But Unequal Treaties not completely overturned until 1911.
- Unexpected defeat of Russia fuelled discontent within Russia towards Tsar.

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

- **Totman:** "Tokyo's accomplishments were impressive: more territorial gains, an internationally accepted, hegemonial role in Korea, opportunity to develop Southern Manchuria, and victory over an imperialist rival that placed beyond doubt Japan's status as a 'Great Power'."
- **Hane:** "The war aroused fervour and nationalistic sentiments among the Japanese... In a way this conflict can be seen as an epochal event that aroused and fostered Japanese militarism and imperialism."
- **Buruma:** "The high point of Japanese militarism was the brutal war against Russia... The Japanese were still feeling bruised because Western powers forced them to hand over some of their victory spoils in 1895."
- **Hunter:** "Announcement of the terms in late summer of 1905 led to a wave of resentment among a public which had been constantly informed that Russia was on her knees."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in understanding different perspectives on the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

“Whatever chances democracy had of succeeding in Germany were destroyed by the Treaty of Versailles.” How justified is this judgement on the effects of the Treaty on Germany?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to analyse the effects of Versailles and in particular to discuss the way in which hostility towards, and opposition to, the Treaty undermined the credibility of democracy and the Republic. The candidates would be expected to weigh the impact of the Treaty on the way the Republic tried to introduce democratic processes, against other factors that undermined the Republic’s reputation and width of support, but only after they have discussed the impact of Versailles.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Points suggesting that Versailles destroyed the credibility of the republic and democracy

- The treaty created a deep and widespread resentment that came to be aimed at the republic and the democrats who had accepted it.
- Most Germans hated the treaty.
- SPD dominated government was divided over whether or not to accept it.
- There were strong objections to the territorial and military terms of the treaty.
- Clause 231, the ‘War Guilt’ clause, was regarded by Germans as humiliating.
- Reparations were viewed as little more than an attempt to destroy Germany.
- By accepting the treaty – even though it had no choice but to do so – the newly elected democratic government was blamed for Germany’s humiliation.
- The treaty became a focus for right wing nationalist opposition to the republic and to democracy; to the ‘November criminals’ who had ‘stabbed Germany in the back.’
- Resentment of the treaty enabled conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Nazis to argue that democracy was un-German and parliamentarianism weak and ineffectual.
- In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a nationalist coalition including Hugenberg and Hitler campaigned against the Young Plan and thereby galvanised conservative and nationalist opposition to the republic.
- Germany’s economic problems in 1923 and again in the period from 1929–32 were also blamed on the treaty and therefore on the republic and democracy.

Points suggesting other factors helped to undermine democracy, with or without association with Versailles

- Political violence and instability 1919–23 frightened people and made them uncertain about democracy’s ability to maintain law and order.
- Ebert’s use of the *Freikorps* to crush the Spartacists in January 1919 created a permanent alienation from democracy among Communists.
- KPD’s attacks on democracy frightened the middle and business classes; they feared democracy would not be able to hold back Communism.
- Hyperinflation crisis of 1923 caused widespread anger and frustration with the government. Collapse of confidence in the currency was very damaging for confidence in the democratic system.
- Continuous coalition government from 1919 on, and the fact that voters were not voting for constituency MPs but rather for people on a party list, helped to erode trust between the voters and the Reichstag.

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

- **Collier and Pedley:** Hatred of the treaty and the 'stab in the back myth' peddled by the anti-republican right undermined support for the republic and the parties who were involved in its creation.
- **Lee:** The Treaty "set in motion influences which were to prove more damaging to the republic than the treaty itself. Its impact was therefore indirect but real nevertheless."
- **Carr:** "The signature of the peace treaty cast a long shadow over the political life of the 1920s." Right wing denigration of the republican parties and party leaders for signing the Treaty confirmed for influential sections of the community, anti-democratic by instinct and tradition, that democracy was a disaster for Germany.
- **Henig:** Versailles meant that the parties of the moderate left and centre found themselves "increasingly on the defensive against nationalists and supporters of the former regime." The treaty was a significant factor in the recovery of right-wing political forces from 1919.
- **Richard J Evans:** Versailles was only one reason for the republic's weakness. The republic was "beset by insurmountable problems of political violence, assassination and irreconcilable conflicts about its right to exist. It was unloved and undefended by its servants in the army and bureaucracy... It had to face enormous economic problems..."
- **Burleigh:** Versailles was a stick which extremists on the right and on the left used to beat the Weimar Republic.
- **Geary:** Urges caution... "If Versailles was so important, why did the new republic not collapse earlier when defeat (1918) and the treaty were at their most immediate?"

Question 2

How far was continuity rather than change the chief characteristic of German political life from 1918–1923?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the nature of the new republic and in particular to assess the extent to which the new regime was different from the regime at the end of the war or followed directly from it. Candidates would be expected to comment on the nature of the German revolution and on whether or not there was a revolution at all, and on the nature of political, social and economic changes 1919–23. However, responses should not be confined to assessing the period 1918–19 but should consider changes across the period 1918–23.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Points suggesting continuity was more important than discontinuity

- The Constitution of the new republic was a compromise; it was based on the existing constitution modified by the reforms of October 1918 and then given a republican superstructure by Preuss.
- The democratic parties, notably the SPD and the *Zentrum*, did not have much adaptation to do because they had been the main constitutional opposition during the last decades of the *Kaiserreich* and now simply inherited the right to become the governing parties.
- There was no real structural change of the judiciary, the civil service or the army.
- Suppression of the Spartacists in January 1919 and then the suppression of further Communist uprisings (Ruhr in March 1920; Merseburg, Hamburg and the Ruhr in March 1921; Saxony in October 1923; Hamburg in October 1923).
- Failure to republicanise the army – the effect of the Ebert-Groener pact of 10 November 1918 – meant that the army continued to be a bastion of support for the old *Kaiserreich* and its values and became a powerful force of conservatism in the new republic.
- In foreign policy the immediate goal was revision of the Treaty of Versailles, but behind this goal was a reassertion of the desire for German great power status and international influence as pursued and achieved in the *Kaiserreich*.

Points suggesting discontinuity was more important than continuity (ie that there was radical change)

- Germany became a republic and was no longer a monarchy. Political authority now ‘emanated’ from the people.
- Although it built on the constitution of the *Kaiserreich*, the Weimar Constitution was far more democratic. It had proportional representation; the Reichstag was now the dominant institution in the new political structure and the people were granted what was, in effect, a Bill of Rights.
- The creation of ZAG (Central Workers’ Association) established the principle of workers’ committees, trade union negotiating rights with binding arbitration on disputes and an eight-hour day.
- Economic crisis (1923; 1929) was often a driving force in politics in a way that German politicians and citizens had not experienced before.
- In foreign policy there were some radically new departures such as seeking friendship with Russia (Treaty of Rapallo, 1922).

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

- **Lee:** Surprising degree of continuity within Germany's transition from Empire to Republic.
- **Peukert:** The revolution of 1918–19 failed in the long run to produce a genuine social revolution. The continued existence of elites with anti-republican attitudes, a dearth of republican commitment among growing numbers of the middle class and the existence of a democratic tradition in Germany and the complexity of Germany's industrial and social structure meant that any radical break with the past was impossible. During the revolution of 1918–19 and thereafter there was a constant trade off between continuity and reform.
- **Carr:** After 1919, the republic was accepted by Germans not as a superior form of government but as a convenient means of filling a void left by the collapse of the monarchy. It was widely believed that the alternative to a parliamentary regime was a Communist dictatorship. The structure of Germany was hardly affected by the revolution and the spirit of Imperial Germany lived on in the unreformed civil service, the judiciary and the army.
- **R J Evans:** The unreformed civil service and judiciary ensured that they remained more loyal to the old Reich than to the new.
- **Burleigh:** The SPD reasoned that people had more to lose than to gain from a Bolshevik-style revolution as had occurred in Russia in 1917 and were unwilling to jeopardise the advances made before, during and after the war by going in search of utopia. Germany's new leaders looked backwards as well as forwards.
- **Panayi:** There were important discontinuities between the *Kaiserreich* and the Weimar Republic. For instance, success rather than failure was the dominant characteristic of the economy of the *Kaiserreich*; the Weimar Republic was characterised by economic failure.

Question 3

To what extent was Stresemann's policy of fulfilment a disguise for his aims as a German nationalist?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to examine critically Stresemann's foreign policy aims, his methods and his integrity. Candidates would be expected to discuss the apparent discrepancies between Stresemann's publicly stated aims and his privately held views and the extent to which his methods echo that discrepancy. Candidates would be expected to discuss Stresemann's integrity in the context of the 'Good German/Good European' debate.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Points suggesting Stresemann's policy of fulfilment was a disguise for his aims as a German nationalist

- In a private letter to the Crown Prince Wilhelm Hohenzollern (the Kaiser's son) in September 1925 Stresemann said that the priorities for German foreign policy were to settle the reparations question in Germany's favour; to protect those Germans living under foreign rule; to readjust Germany's eastern frontiers.
- In the same letter he said that German policy "must be one of scheming" and that while he could say this in private he had to exercise "the utmost restraint in his public utterances".
- Stresemann pursued a policy of *erfüllungspolitik* (fulfilment) in which he complied with the terms of Versailles in order to deceive Britain and France about Germany's intentions and so encourage them to agree to revision of the treaty.
- He aimed to get revision of the reparations through the Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929) in order to allow Germany to build up her economic power.
- He aimed to end the Ruhr and Rhineland occupations in order to gain the support of nationalist and conservative opinion in Germany.
- In 1926 he managed to negotiate the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission that monitored Germany's compliance with the military terms of Versailles so he could begin the process of strengthening Germany's military.
- In the Locarno Pact (1925) he accepted that Germany's western borders should remain as agreed at Versailles but managed to have the question of Germany's eastern borders left open so that Germany could in the future pursue expansion in the east.
- He aimed to have Germany's great power status restored and achieved this by ensuring that Germany would only agree to rejoin the League of Nations if she had a permanent seat on the Council.

Points suggesting Stresemann's policy of fulfilment was not merely a disguise for his nationalism

- *Erfüllungspolitik* still meant accepting the humiliating 'diktat' of the allies.
- He did not pursue revision of reparations vigorously enough to satisfy the right and indeed by pursuing a policy of fulfilment at all he ensured that opposition to the republic continued unabated and that Versailles was a major focus of that opposition.
- He did not achieve full withdrawal of allied troops from German soil; that did not happen until after his death.
- As he well knew, Locarno did not allow Germany to revise the eastern borders; it only left the question of such revision open.
- Recognition of Germany's great power status with a permanent seat on the League of Nations Council had less to do with Stresemann's supposedly covert nationalism and more to do with the fact that he understood that the international system could not work effectively without Germany's involvement.
- Germany still could not rearm and was still not allowed to change the demilitarisation terms of Versailles and Stresemann did not press for these to be permitted.
- Stresemann did not try to ensure that Germany would have the military power to insist on revision of the territorial terms of Versailles.

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

- **Collier and Pedley:** Stresemann "...was a nationalist who wanted to see Germany recover from the depths of defeat in 1918."
- **S Marks:** "Stresemann was a superlative liar, dispensing total untruths..." He was not the 'Good European' he appeared to be but was in reality "a great German nationalist". Through his foreign policy, Germany became the pre-eminent member of the European family of nations – which is what he all along intended should happen.
- **Ruge:** Offers the Marxist view that Stresemann's long-term policy was one of preparing for warlike expansion.
- **Lee:** Stresemann was neither a covert nationalist nor a Good European but a pragmatist who adapted to changed times and circumstances and, where he could, created new opportunities.
- **Henig:** Stresemann was "realistic about Germany's diplomatic situation in Europe and the need to win the trust and respect of her former enemies" before revision of Versailles could be secured. But he was also "as much of a nationalist as his right-wing opponents, and shared many of their aspirations..."
- **Kolb:** Stresemann was a nationalist, but his "keen sense of reality" meant that he viewed Germany's restoration and European peace as interdependent.
- **Peukert:** Stresemann kept up traditional nationalist rhetoric and consequently he "became a prisoner of the expectations he himself had aroused."
- **Wright:** Stresemann "felt the tension between the constraints of a responsible foreign policy and the romantic nationalism of his early career." He hoped for a stable and peaceful international order because he understood Germany's dependence on its great power partners. From his pragmatism there developed a strong commitment to European peace.
- **Carr:** Stresemann's aim "was to make Germany a great power once more". He was "probably sincere... in his profound belief that it was in the interests of Europe as a whole to see Versailles revised as quickly as possible."

Question 4

How important were the Nazis' economic policies in enabling them to build and strengthen their hold on power after 1933?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to examine the contribution of economic policies in the building and strengthening of the Nazi hold on power from 1933 and to compare the importance of economic policies with other factors that helped the Nazis to build and strengthen their hold on power. Candidates should deal with the issue of economic policies before moving on to consider other factors and should attempt to engage in the historical debate about the success of Nazi economic policies in generating support for the regime.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Points suggesting that economic policies were important in the building and strengthening of Nazi power

- Hitler wanted to deal with the Depression and to restore Germany to full employment so that conditions for millions of Germans would be improved and a feeling of optimism created both of which would consolidate his regime politically.
- Recovery would also allow him to channel more resources towards rearmament and this would gain him the support of the nationalists and of the army.
- Hitler also wanted to improve the economic fortunes of the *Mittelstand* (especially small farmers). To win their support he promised to protect them from the threat of the working classes and big capitalists.
- In order to achieve these aims he reflatd the economy through government spending (public works; subsidies to private firms; rearmament orders).
- The 1934 New Plan controlled currency, pursued bilateral trade agreements and controlled wages and prices.
- From 1936 the Four Year Plan sought to achieve autarky (self-sufficiency) and to extend rearmament.
- The dramatic reduction in unemployment undoubtedly helped to win the support of the workers.
- Initially, Nazi economic policies appeared to benefit the *Mittelstand* although ultimately the *Mittelstand* did not make the gains they hoped for from the Nazis.
- The destruction of the trade unions and the government's expansion of the economy for rearmament persuaded industrialists to support the Nazi regime or at least to tolerate it and not to oppose it.
- Rearmament undoubtedly helped to win support for the Nazis from the army.

Points suggesting that other factors were important in the building and strengthening of Nazi power

- The Nazis capitalised on the popular mood of the country in 1933 and in particular on the massive disillusionment with the Weimar Republic.
- Radical policies during 1933–34 (eg destruction of political opposition and the trade unions) strengthened the Nazis' hold on power.
- The Concordat between the Nazi state and the Catholic Church (20 July 1933) helped to diminish the risk of opposition from the Catholic Church.
- The Nazi Party built on the *Fuhrerprinzip* and it was applied to the whole country.
- Violence and terror, crucial in Hitler's rise to power, continued to be generated throughout the time of the Nazi regime.
- The destruction of the SA in the 'Night of the Long Knives' in June 1934 warned people what they could expect if they stood against the new regime.
- The SS-Gestapo complex built up from 1933 onwards ensured that there was a pervasive atmosphere of fear that the Nazis used to control the people.
- The death of Hindenburg (2 August 1934) and the Oath of Allegiance secured Hitler's grip on power.
- Once in power the Nazis moved quickly to consolidate power not simply through acts of terror but also through 'coordinating' the whole of society.
- The traditional power structures remained in place but officials stayed in post content to carry out Nazi policies.
- There was consent from the German people, consent that was generated partly through propaganda.
- An effective propaganda machine built up Hitler's charismatic leadership and this was sustained by the powerful 'Hitler Myth'.
- Consent also resulted from the fact that people at all levels of society actually supported Hitler's policies because the Nazi regime from 1933–1939 was not a living hell for most people who lived under it. Most Germans were content to follow Hitler.
- Highly successful foreign policy ventures such as the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (March 1936) and the *Anschluss* (March 1938) boosted Hitler's popularity.

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

- **Hite and Hinton:** “In many ways Hitler’s economic policy was successful... This success helped make him arguably the most popular ever German leader.”
- **Tooze:** Hitler’s economic recovery programme was important for its propaganda value in creating a feeling of optimism.
- **W Benz:** The Four Year Plan and the drive for rearmament helped to ensure that wages did not keep pace with rising prices and resulted in cutbacks in consumer goods which created discontent among the people. The regime countered this discontent with propaganda and where this failed it resorted to terror.
- **Kirk:** Hitler’s economic policies ensured that, in spite of tensions, the relationship between big businesses and the new regime remained good. However, Nazi economic policies left the *Mittelstand* disappointed and caused resentment in the countryside. From 1935 there were complaints among workers about rising prices and poor wages, and the regime’s popularity was in decline.
- **Johnson:** The German people consented more than they were coerced, but terror was real and it helped the Nazis to build and strengthen their power.
- **Burleigh:** The actual operational capacities of, say, the Gestapo, may have been modest but that does not mean that terror was unimportant in strengthening the Nazis’ power.
- **Gellately:** After 1933 the great majority of Germans soon became devoted to Hitler and they supported him. Terror was not needed to force the majority or even a significant minority into line. Coercion and terror were highly selective and did not rain down universally on the heads of the German people and whatever coercion there was, was not as important as consent.

Question 5

To what extent is it an exaggeration to claim that Hitler was a strong dictator?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to discuss the nature of Hitler's power. In particular responses should examine Hitler's relationship with the German people, the importance of the 'Hitler Myth', decision-making and the operation of government in Nazi Germany. They should also attempt to engage in the historical debate about whether Hitler was an all-powerful (ie 'strong') dictator or whether in fact he was not much involved in running the country and let others do that for him (a 'weak' dictator) or whether he was crucial to the regime but did not need to send out lots of direct commands because his subordinates competed with one another to 'work towards the Fuhrer' (ie he was 'a strong leader in a polycratic state').

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Points suggesting that Hitler was indeed a strong dictator

- In the first 18 months of his rule, Hitler established a dictatorial one-party state ruthlessly. Not only did he oversee the passing of the Enabling Act (March 1933) but he also then moved to destroy his political opponents.
- He subordinated the SA in the 'Night of the Long Knives' (June 1934) and on the death of Hindenburg (August 1934), fused the roles of president and chancellor and secured the loyalty of the army.
- Hitler had no qualms about using terror to underpin his rule.
- Exclusion of Jews and political opponents from professional organisations, enforced sterilization of people with supposedly hereditary diseases and the suppression of independent organisations and civil rights all reinforce the view of Hitler as a strong dictator. However, the implementation of these policies may also be indicative of others 'working towards the Fuhrer'.
- In foreign policy, Hitler showed boldness and cleverness when others were more cautious; he successfully remilitarised the Rhineland (March 1936) and then achieved the *Anschluss* of Austria (March 1938), the destruction of Czechoslovakia (September 1939) before invading Poland.
- Although Hitler's style of leadership created fierce rivalry among his underlings, this was a calculated policy of divide and rule. People were dependent on Hitler's approval and so his intentions were decisive.
- Without Hitler's backing policies such as those on women and youth would have been far less successful than they were.

Points suggesting that Hitler was a weak dictator

- The view of Hitler as a strong dictator was the result of successful propaganda; it was part of the 'Hitler Myth'. So, for example, influential figures in a number of key European democracies, especially Britain, spoke up in favour of Hitler and praised his successes. Lloyd George for instance, regarded Hitler as a great man, a born leader and a statesman who had united the whole German people behind him.
- In reality, Hitler was not interested in the details of policy or the processes of government and allowed others to make key decisions because he was unwilling to make decisions himself.
- Hitler was lazy and preferred to spend time in his mountain retreat rather than get involved with the routine business of government. These habits caused confusion and resulted in contradictory policies and chaotic government.
- What appeared to be a divide and rule policy towards his underlings disguised the fact that Hitler relied on them, not they on him. People such as Goering or Himmler were able to build up personal power bases. They were engaged in a constant struggle for influence and position, and Hitler's tendency to wait to see who came out on top and then to support the winner resulted in him rubber stamping others' decisions rather than initiating policy by himself.

Points suggesting that Hitler's leadership is best understood as reflecting his own personal power and the complexities of the structures within which he operated

- His charismatic leadership was in fact enhanced by the chaotic structures of power that resulted from his inaction.
- The competing and overlapping centres of power within the regime meant that he was the final arbiter in disputes between his subordinates and thus the final authority.
- Hitler was so conscious about his image that he distanced himself from day-to-day decision making so that he could maintain his popularity upon which the notion of his 'strong leadership' rested.
- The decision making and policy initiatives that sprang from the process of 'working towards the Fuhrer' indicates that Hitler had enormous personal authority and a hold over his subordinates which stimulated them to act without the need for his specific orders.
- Hitler's prejudices set the tone and the aims of the regime, and his method of working meant that he could operate as the supreme authority at the centre of a polycratic state that was chaotic.

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

- **Mommsen:** Hitler was personally insecure and he was unwilling to make decisions. He was so concerned with his own popularity that he tended to agree with the last person he talked to.
- **Brozsat:** The Hitler state was chaotic and polycratic and he had to operate against a background of changing structure and institutional circumstances.
- **Fulbrook:** The complexity of the regime that resulted from Hitler's leadership meant that his 'will' alone was the only decisive factor. For the most part Hitler was able to have his own way on ultimate goals such as racial and foreign policy.
- **Kershaw:** Hitler's was charismatic rule and though his personality should not be overrated it should not be ignored either. He was undoubtedly powerful, but his leadership also meant that government was unstable because it caused chaos and depended on continued successes and the avoidance of the usual routines of governing and government.
- **Kirk:** Unlike Stalin, Hitler was not an obsessive workaholic but rather projected himself as "a heroic persona transcending the rules of bureaucratic political institutions".

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the concerns of those who prepared a democratic constitution for Weimar Germany? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the motives of those who drew up the Weimar Constitution in terms of:

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

- Comment on Hugo Preuss (a left-Liberal lawyer)
- Comment on the significance of the fact that the Constitution was drawn up during the period from January 1919.
(Though both Preuss and the timing of the Constitution could be discussed in the immediate and wider contextualisation too.)

Points from source which show candidates are able, through consideration of the source (Article 48), to interpret the issues which concerned the writers of the Constitution. Points could include:

- The writers of the Constitution wanted law and order.
- The writers of the Constitution expected the *Reichspräsident* to be a guardian of democracy and only to use the emergency powers permitted under Art. 48 for the restoration of the rule of law.
- The writers of the Constitution believed in fundamental human rights (such as personal liberty, freedom of opinion, freedom of assembly) and that these should only ever be suspended temporarily until any state of emergency was over.
- The writers of the Constitution wanted to have the best possible democratic system and so created a series of checks and balances in the Constitution to avoid an elected dictatorship (too much power for the Reichstag) or authoritarian presidencies (too much power for the President).

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

- The writers of the Constitution drew on a variety of models (the constitutions of France, USA and Britain) when framing their document.
- The German Constitution of 1919 has often been described as one of the most democratic in the world.
- The writers of the Constitution wanted to have a careful balance of political forces and so they opted for a parliamentary democracy with ministers chosen from elected representatives to form a government based on party strength.
- Parliamentary power had to be checked and so there was to be a President of the Republic, elected for seven years.
- Presidents had wide-ranging powers including the power to dissolve the Reichstag and the power to use Article 48 to suspend constitutional guarantees.
- Proportional Representation addressed concerns that first past the post systems could result in ‘an elected dictatorship’. The writers of the Constitution wanted to ensure that each voter’s vote counted so democracy would be popular.
- Part II of the Constitution dealt with the writers’ concerns about a lack of legal rights under the old authoritarian *Kaiserreich*.
- The writers of the Constitution wanted to ensure that everyone had rights, knew what these rights were and could appeal to the courts if their rights were breached or denied.
- Article 48 was used by Ebert to assist him in dealing with the Communist threat. He used it for its intended purpose (ie to protect democracy).
- From 1930–1933 Article 48 was used as a method of governing: Presidential government, which helped to bring about the end of democracy in Germany.
- The fundamental rights of Part II were intended to ensure that every citizen enjoyed a better standard of living and personal liberty, but rights also proved to be problematic.
- The concerns of the writers of the Constitution were rooted in their Liberal beliefs. Preuss was a lawyer and leading member of the DDP steeped in the traditions of German Liberalism, which went back to the 1848 revolution. He wanted to prevent and stop Bolshevism and, equally, right wing authoritarianism.
- The writers of the Constitution wanted to act quickly and decisively in the atmosphere of chaos and confusion at the end of WW1 and so did not always understand the implications of the constitutional guarantees that they came up with.
- Welfare provisions in the Constitution caused much bitterness among tax-payers in the 1920s when as a result of economic downturn the amount of money available in the national coffers was reduced but welfare benefits still had to be paid out and paid for.
- The Presidency proved to be no substitute for the Kaiser.
- In times of trouble to come many people came to view democracy as an imposition on Germany by the allies.

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

- **Lee:** The Constitution was regarded by those who framed it as the most advanced in existence at the time.
- **A J Nicholls:** The Constitution was a brave statement of liberal and democratic principles.
- **R J Evans:** the power to rule by decree (Article 48) was only intended for exceptional emergencies.
- **Henig:** The Constitution was intended to build a viable political structure and to establish new social and economic rights for the people.
- **Burleigh:** The Liberal drafters of the Constitution were wary of overweening parliamentary powers and so the Constitution combined an elected presidency, which was granted emergency powers, with an elected parliament.
- **Peukert:** The writers of the Constitution were wanted to accommodate mutually antagonistic social pressures, organised pressure groups and competing political ideologies and sets of values.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the concerns of those who prepared the democratic Constitution for Weimar Germany.

Question 2

How far do Sources B and C illustrate differing views on Hitler's appointment as Chancellor on 30th January 1933? (16 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on differing views on why Hitler became Chancellor and should offer a structured evaluation of the extent to which the sources illustrate these differing views in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Appropriate comment on Norman Stone may be credited in historiography.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Hitler was appointed because of the political intrigue of the elite and Papen was a key figure in this intrigue.
- Leading industrialists were instrumental in pursuing intrigue in the interests of Hitler because they feared a left wing government supported by the army.
- Hindenburg was lobbied by the industrialists because he had the final say in the appointment of a new Chancellor.
- Hitler refused to change the terms under which he was prepared to accept office and Papen accepted these terms. Papen wanted to harness nationalist support under himself and Hugenberg and so was prepared to enter a coalition with the Nazis.
- Papen agreed to be Hitler's vice-chancellor.

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

- Hindenburg from the outset of his presidency pledged to uphold the Constitution but he yearned for authoritarian government and did not like democracy.
- Hindenburg's use of Article 48 and the presidential system used to govern from the fall of the Muller administration until the appointment of Hitler was fundamental in ending democracy well before Hindenburg appointed Hitler in January 1933.
- Papen was sure that because by the end of 1932 the Nazis were running out of money and their support at the polls had fallen he could control Hitler and the Nazis as vice-Chancellor with Hitler as Chancellor.
- Papen was instrumental in getting Hitler appointed. Hindenburg had always disliked Hitler intensely ('the Bohemian corporal') and earlier on had point blank refused to appoint him as Chancellor.
- In late January 1933 Hindenburg allowed himself to be persuaded to make Hitler chancellor (or was perhaps approaching senility and no longer cared?).
- Hitler's refusal to compromise made him seem stronger than he actually was. He called the elite's bluff by refusing to accept any office apart from the chancellorship.
- Hindenburg was astute enough to recognise that appointing Hitler could be a serious error, but he went ahead and did it anyway.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Comment on who Goering was (he had become a Reichstag deputy in 1932 and in Hitler's first cabinet in January 1933 he was minister without portfolio and Prussian minister of the Interior, which gave him control of Germany's largest police force) and why this is significant in any discussion of the views given in his broadcast.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted Goering's view(s) such as

- Hitler was appointed to the Chancellorship by acclamation: that is what "hundreds of thousands" of people wanted. In other words, according to Goering, Hitler had massive popular appeal and support.
- Hitler was appointed because the people wanted a saviour and Hitler was that saviour.
- Hitler was appointed because he was young and had the ability to lead Germany to a new and better era.
- Hitler was accepted even by Hindenburg, "the renowned Field Marshall of the First World War".
- Hitler was appointed because he inspired a new faith and he would bring "bread and work" and "freedom and glory for the nation".
- Hitler was appointed because he would "sweep aside all the anguish and pain and shame of the last fourteen years".

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

- Although the Nazis' vote fell from 37% in July 1932 (230 deputies in the Reichstag) to 34% of the vote in November 1932 (196 deputies in the Reichstag) they still had massive popular support.
- The Nazis' success was due in part to the brilliance of their campaigning techniques which made them seem vigorous and youthful in comparison with the other parties.
- The irony is that it is because the Nazis' support was falling and because the Nazi party was split over whether or not to enter negotiations with the Chancellor, General von Schleicher, that it seemed to von Papen that they could be brought into government but controlled.
- As well as popular support, Hitler was also lucky. For instance, he benefited from the Depression.
- The Nazis never gained a *majority* of the votes and in that sense were less popular than they appeared to be and than their propaganda suggested.
- Goering also omits to mention the fact that people were voting for the Nazis not necessarily because they liked the Nazis' message but because they were so disillusioned with the other parties.

Points from recall which offer wider and more critical contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Economic elites were also on the whole not in favour of democracy. Many businessmen were anti-socialist and anti-trade union and most wanted some form of authoritarian government.
- The conditions of the Depression and the success of the Nazis in elections and the fact that the elites had run out of strategies meant that Hindenburg turned to Hitler.
- The Nazis benefited from the economic and political crisis sparked by the Great Depression. It made their message of national restoration and Hitler's charismatic leadership and fierce opposition to the republic seem all the more attractive.
- The Depression gave the Nazis real credibility.
- The Nazis' vote rose as unemployment rose (6 million unemployed in 1932). Although all the unemployed did not vote for Hitler, the Nazis drew support from across the social and class spectrum and from women and from young and old.
- The Nazis had strong support among agrarian and small town lower middle classes especially in the mainly Protestant areas of northern and eastern Germany. At its peak, Nazi support also came from the working class especially from those who worked in small businesses and were not organised in unions.
- Goering's account is significant for what it leaves out; namely, factors such as the political intrigue at the heart of government, the divided opposition and the fact that the majority of voters had not voted for the Nazis.

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

- **Lee:** "Hitler came to power largely through a conspiracy."
- **Fullbrook:** By late January 1933 "the elites were not prepared to uphold democracy at any cost; most wanted some form of authoritarian government". The NSDAP no longer seemed dangerous and in these circumstances Hindenburg was persuaded, by a small group including his son and von Papen, to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.
- **Broszat:** It was "during the Papen era, between June and November 1932, that the presidential system was tilted towards the extreme Right... This was the phase when advance concessions were made that created the conditions of an assumption of power by the Nazis".
- **C Fischer:** "The translation of Nazi popularity into power...owed much to the disastrous miscalculation of the elites."
- **Lee:** The Nazis' success depended on the vulnerability of the republic caused by the economic crisis from 1929. Hitler succeeded in collecting much of the electorate that had become disillusioned with the republic.
- **Henig:** In spite of setbacks and a lack of money, the Nazi party at the end of 1932 remained popular; 11.7 million voters supported it.
- **C Fischer:** It is true that millions of middle class Germans sought deliverance by the Nazi movement from Marxism, but the presence also of millions of working class Germans was unmistakable. Although the Nazis benefited from the Weimar Republic's recurrent crises this is not to say that their success was either straightforward or inevitable.
- **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."

Candidates are therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** illustrates differing views on Hitler's appointment as Chancellor on 30th January 1933.

Question 3

How useful is Source D in explaining the importance of race in Hitler's political beliefs?

(12 marks)

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

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

Candidates offer a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** in providing an adequate explanation of the importance of race in Hitler's political beliefs in terms of:

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

- **Source D** is part of a conversation between Hitler and Gregor Strasser.
- Strasser was a leading Nazi thinker and one of the acknowledged leaders of the party until he became a victim of the 'Night of the Long Knives' in June 1934. In 1930 Gregor Strasser organised the party for the Reichstag elections.
- This conversation took place in 1930 and so was well before Hitler became Chancellor but long after he had first expressed these views in *Mein Kampf*. In other words, the views given in this conversation with Strasser were neither new nor secret and were consistent with the views Hitler had expressed from the beginning of his political career.
- That consistency is indicative of the key importance that Hitler attached to race in his political beliefs.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

Hitler is saying that:

- the new master class are defined by their racial superiority (*Herrenvolk*: Master Race)
- the new master class need to be ruthless in their subordination of inferior races and must not be moved by sympathy or compassion for those who are racially inferior
- those who rule (chosen from among the new master class) have the right to rule because they are racially superior to other human beings
- the racially superior rulers must maintain their dominant position and consolidate it ruthlessly
- the only kind of revolution is not political or social but racial and this has always been the case ("All revolutions have been racial") and always will be
- life is a struggle between the inferior races against the superior races, who are the rulers
- this is a law (of nature) and if those who are racially superior forget that law they will be lost.

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

Source D is a clear expression of Hitler's crude Social Darwinist racism.

- He is arguing as he had done as consistently since *Mein Kampf*, that one of the mechanisms of natural selection is the subjugation of those who are racially inferior by those who are racially superior.
- In other words, Hitler believes that it is race that animates the struggle for existence and that therefore race must be at the heart of political thinking and action. To ignore this is, in Hitler's mind, to ignore the laws of nature on which political beliefs and actions ought to be based.
- Hitler had never made any secret of his belief that race was central in his thinking and his politics. He had made it very clear in *Mein Kampf* (published in two parts in 1925 and 1926) in his *Second Book* (published in 1928) and in his speeches and broadcasts thereafter.
- In *Mein Kampf* Hitler gave expression to his view that the world is divided between the strong and the weak races, and the strong are naturally inclined to conquer the weak. As **Neil Gregor** notes, the opening lines of *Mein Kampf*, "contain many of the central tenets of Hitler's ideological world view. Firstly there is the fixation with race. Foreign policy be driven by racial necessities, not by economics; membership of the nation, or race, is conferred by ties of blood; the boundaries of the state should embrace all members of the race."
- Hitler's view were shared by a broad spectrum of the radical Right in Germany and elsewhere during this period and indeed by many who were not right wing. As **Neil Gregor** notes, "The fixation with race (in *Mein Kampf*) places Hitler within an unappealing intellectual and philosophical lineage" that was formulated during the nineteenth century.

Points from recall which provide wider and more critical contextualisation of the views in the source

Policies that were at the heart of the Nazi project, and their aims and objectives, provide ample evidence of the centrality of race in Hitler's political beliefs. In their discussion of the wider context, candidates could be expected to discuss one or more examples. For instance:

- The attempt to create a *volksgemeinschaft* and within that framework, policies such as sterilisation of those who deemed to be 'hereditarily defective', euthanasia, policies on youth, policies on women.
- The quest for *Lebensraum*.
- The pursuit of war against Russia.
- Above all, the persecution of Jews, Roma and Sinti, Homosexuals.

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

- **Hite and Hinton:** "*Volksgemeinschaft* meant a new, unified community based on blood and race."
- **Lee:** The Nazi regime was totally committed to the pursuit of a racial policy.
- **Fulbrook:** "To ignore the sheer extent of Nazi racism is to miss what was arguably the most fundamental aspect of any conceivable Nazi social revolution."
- **Gregor:** Hitler was fixated on issues of race.
- **Kershaw:** A belief in history as racial struggle was at the heart of Hitler's world-view.
- **R J Evans:** From 1924 at the latest, Hitler considered that Germany and the Germans "could only become strong again if the state applied to German society the basic principles of 'racial hygiene' and 'racial engineering.'"
- **Tooze:** Hitler had an abiding fear of the world Jewish conspiracy plotting Germany's enslavement.

Candidates are therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as evidence of the importance of race in Hitler's political beliefs.

South Africa (1910–1984)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

“The lifeblood of the Union.” How justified is this view of the contribution of the mining industry to the South African economy 1910–1984?

The aim of this essay is to give candidates an opportunity to examine the changing contribution that the mining industry made to economic developments in South Africa and to evaluate its relative importance to the economy.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

The contribution of mining to the economy of SA

- Gold was much more significant than diamonds in the 20th Century.
- The contribution of gold mining to GDP.
- Gold mining employed over 400,000 in 1940.
- Gold mines stimulated the growth of a range of other industries and transport.
- Gold mining earned vital foreign exchange needed by other sectors for growth.
- In the 1930s gold exports constituted over 70% of total exports.
- After 1933 taxes on mining enabled the government to subsidise other sectors, including farmers, relief works and loans.
- Mining attracted foreign investment.
- After WW2 the mining houses diversified their investments by providing funds and expertise for other industries.
- Anglo American opened profitable new mines, with new technology, in the OFS in the 1950s.
- By the late 1970s Anglo-linked companies covered almost every sphere of economic activity in SA.
- Hugely profitable uranium mines opened in the 1950s.
- Diamond mining also flourished in the 1950s and 1960s.
- Other post WW2 mines included copper, asbestos, chrome, ore, tin etc.
- Low wages paid to Africans were crucial to the success of the mining industry.
- ‘The alliance of gold and corn’ influenced government policies.

The contribution of other sectors

- The importance of agriculture.
- Manufacturing industry grew rapidly from the 1930s.
- Value of manufacturing output exceeded that of mining by the 1940s.
- After WW2 agriculture, manufacturing, commerce and finance all expanded rapidly.
- By early 1965 manufacturing industry’s contribution to the GDP exceeded that of gold and agriculture combined.
- By 1970s manufacturing was taking over from gold as the driving force behind the economy.
- The significant contribution of state owned monopolies in the post war world.
- Armscor was the most significant arms industry in the southern hemisphere by 1982.

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

- **Stanley Trapido:** and others identified an alliance of gold and maize which dominated successive SA governments, ensuring the introduction of policies which benefited mining and farming.
- **Leonard Thompson:** Gold was “the backbone of the South African economy... on the eve of World War 2 the industry was producing one fifth of the country’s net income, contributing more than two-fifths of the revenue, accounting for three-quarters of the exports and providing the nucleus for a rapid growth of manufacturing industry”.
- **Beinart:** points out that when manufacturing growth faltered in the 1970s, “mining provided some economic ballast and remained a critical source of foreign exchange”. After 1973 gold prices offset the increase in the price of oil.
- **T Moll:** SA’s economic growth in the period c 1950–1984 was not as spectacular as it seemed if compared not with the developed countries but with that occurring in other developing countries.
- **Charles Feinstein:** refers to the unique and indispensable role of gold (and to a lesser extent, diamonds) in promoting the economic development of South Africa.
- **Davenport:** states that “At least until the second World War, the gold-mining industry was the strongest pressure group in the South African state”, and cites **Yudelman**, who claimed that the Chamber of Mines and the South African State made common cause 1910–1939.
- **Marxist interpretations:** generally claimed the South African state was an instrument in the hands of class interests (ie capital, including the most important capitalist sector – mining). This gives a very different gloss to the term ‘lifeblood’!

Question 2

“The differences between the South Africa Party and Hertzog’s National Party prior to Fusion have been exaggerated.” How valid is this view?

This essay invites candidates to consider the extent of the differences between the SAP on the one hand and Hertzog’s NP on the other, from the formation of the Union of South Africa to the eve of the creation of the United Party in 1934. Candidates should reach a conclusion about the extent to which these alleged differences have been exaggerated.

Alleged area of policy disagreement	Policies of SAP	Policies of Herzog	Common ground?
Policies regarding White South Africa	Policy of conciliation between the two communities and ‘one stream approach’	Advocacy of Afrikaner interests and culture; emphasis on ‘South Africa first’; ‘two-stream approach’	Hertzog’s advocacy of Afrikaner interests and culture led to his break with the SAP
Relations between South Africa and the British Empire	Smuts’s support for the British Empire and South Africa’s role within the Empire	Hertzog’s hostility to the British Empire. The issue of the National flag	Hertzog accepted the Balfour Declaration (1926) and the Statute of Westminster; thereafter he accepted membership of the Empire although he may have interpreted SA’s dominion status very differently from Smuts
Relations with industry	Botha-Smuts favoured the mine owners and employers, evident in the handling of the 1922 strikes by white workers	Hertzog, in alliance with the Labour Party attacked Hoggenheimer and capitalist interests; encouraged white labour and national capital ie farming; Hertzog favoured white labour evident in the civilised labour policy	Recent views stress that Hertzog did relatively little for white miners, who had been largely broken by the effects of the strike of 1923. Hertzog could not afford to ignore the mining industry
Native policy and segregation	Botha and Smuts laid the foundations of segregation ie Mines and Works Act (1911), Native Land Act (1913), Native Affairs Act (1920); The SAP established the Stallord Commission, which led to the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.	Hertzog extended segregation and sought to end the Cape Franchise for blacks. Hertzog came into conflict with Smuts over the suggested terms of his Native Bills (1926–7), In the 1929 election Hertzog accused Smuts of advocating a ‘black kaffir state’	Smuts opposed Hertzog’s Native Bills and ‘saved’ the Cape franchise for the time being but neither party challenged the principle of segregation. Hertzog was more overtly racist than Smuts
The crisis of 1933	Smuts, under pressure from the Chamber of mines to enter coalition, now advocated non-racial inclusive (white!) South African nationalism	The passing of Statute of Westminster had reassured Hertzog	Smuts and Hertzog were able to agree seven points of agreement prior to the formation of a coalition. (1933)

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

- **Marxist historians:** analysed the 1924 election from a class perspective and saw the two parties as representing different aspects of capitalism. They associated the SAP with international capital (ie mining) and the Pact government, dominated by the NP, with national capital (ie agriculture and the manufacturing sector).
- **R. H. Davies:** challenged the view that Hertzog's government favoured white workers. He concluded that white workers received relatively few benefits from Pact policies after 1924 and that in fact government policies neutralised the potential threat from the white labour movement.
- **David Yudelman:** also challenged the view that the formation of the Pact government led to policies which favoured organised labour, claiming that the power of white mineworkers had been broken in 1922 and never recovered. Yudelman refuted the widely accepted view that the assumption of power by the Pact marked a turning point in modern South African history, claiming that Hertzog's government did little for white miners.
- **Omer-Cooper:** argues that by 1921 (and the merger with the Union Party) the SAP "had become very much the expression of English and capitalist interests", whereas the NP, in power after 1924, followed "a policy of increasing employment opportunities for whites" and introduced a programme of African segregation.
- More recently (in 2004), **RW Johnson** has argued that, despite the posturing, there were few differences between the NP and the SAP at the time of the Black Peril election in 1929. "The two parties did not really differ much; both stood for racial segregation in all spheres of life, but the NP made a virtue of ignoring the interests of the black population completely and outspokenly."
- **Barber:** "(Over the issue of the relationship with Britain after the Balfour Declaration) in many ways Hertzog's position was closer to Smuts' than his militant NP colleagues." The crisis of 1933 underlined the common ground between Smuts and Hertzog. "Past disputes appeared to be of emphasis rather than direction, of means rather than ends."

Question 3

What were the most significant difficulties facing the ANC between 1910 and 1948?

The aim of the essay is to invite candidates to consider the various difficulties facing the ANC between 1910 and 1948 and evaluate which of these difficulties were the most significant.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Constitutional machinery available to Congress was totally inadequate

- The legal and political status of Africans as defined by the 1910 constitution.
- The further restriction of constitutional rights after 1910.
- Government officials preferred to negotiate with chiefs and headmen.
- Methods of protest which remained open to the ANC.
- The systematic discouragement of African Trade Unions by the state.

The weaknesses of Congress organisation

- Limited membership.
- Weak leadership.
- Lack of full-time officials.
- Financial weaknesses.
- Failure to expand into rural areas.
- Failure to recognise the significance of other resistance movements such as the ICU.
- Failure to attract a mass following.
- Congress divided into different cliques in the 1930s.

Ideological weaknesses

- Leadership was overwhelmingly drawn from educated urban middle class.
- Gumede's brief flirtation with communism and a 'black republic'.
- Thereafter ANC values were generally those of the white liberal middle class.
- Xuma's efforts to modernise the ANC but his alienation from the Youth League.
- Tensions which led to the formation of the Youth league.
- The Youth League started to tackle many of these problems.

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

- **Gail Gerhart:** The founders of the ANC did not seek to create a state based on their prospective nation. "They sought to win rights for Africans within the white state, along the lines promised – but left forever unfulfilled – by the proponents of trusteeship and liberalism."
- **Beinart:** argues that in the 1920s the ANC found it difficult "to steer a path between liberalism, rural traditionalism and urban radicalism"; he goes on to argue that the ANC was undermined by the fact that regional organisations within the ANC went their own way.
- **A M Grundligh:** "In the mid 1930s the ANC was almost moribund. Internal disputes and organisational as well as financial problems all added to the woes of the organisation..." Crucial to an understanding of the revival of the ANC in the forties is the changing socio-economic and political environment in which the organisation had to operate. The leadership was forced to recognise that it had to align itself more closely "with the outbursts of popular militancy and working class organisations".
- **Saul Dubow:** In the 1930s, under Pixley Seme, who represented 'the ANC's moderate old guard', the senior ANC establishment was suspicious of the influence of the Communist Party, resentful of militant attacks on Christian beliefs, and defensive about its restrained and orderly conduct in opposing segregation.
- Even the ANC historian **Meli** recognises that Seme's weak leadership "caused the ANC to be ineffective." He sees the split between the ANC and the CP as damaging to the ANC's cause.
- **RW Johnson:** describes the ANC of this period as "a legalistic, middleclass organisation, presenting (hopeless) petitions and propaganda".
- In *The rise of African nationalism in South Africa* **Peter Walshe** argues that until 1940 Congress ideology "remained under powerful moderating influences which encouraged the non-racial ideal and constitutional protests. In the course of the 1940s, however, that ideology was to move away from the earlier willingness to compromise. What then emerged was a new determination to pursue the full logic of racial equality to the point where the influence of the African majority was explicitly recognised."

Question 4

How important were the Christian Churches in prompting white opposition to apartheid?

The question invites candidates to evaluate the various religious, ideological and cultural factors which prompted white South Africans to go 'against the tide' and oppose apartheid.

Candidates should reach a conclusion about the relative importance of the Christian churches in the stand against apartheid, while recognising that the motives of many individuals and groups were complex and embraced a range of different reasons.

The white Christian churches

- The activities of the Anglican Church, and of key individuals within that church.
- The Church's stand on education.
- The role of Trevor Huddleston in Sophiatown.
- Father Cosmos Desmond exposed the horrors of resettlement in 'the discarded people'.
- The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.
- In 1968 the South African council of Churches labelled apartheid 'a pseudo-science in conflict with Christian principles'.
- In 1962 C F Beyres Naude – a former moderator of the DRC – founded the Christian Institute which brought black and white Christians together.
- 1978: a group of Afrikaner clergy produced a radical critique of apartheid.
- By early 1980s black and white churchmen were working together in the liberation struggle.

Radical ideologies

- The ideology of those associated with the SACP.
- The role of individuals such as Bram Fischer, Ruth First and Joe Slovo.
- The activities of ARM (the African Resistance Movement) between 1962 and 1964.
- The SACP's commitment to the armed struggle.

Political liberalism

- Alan Paton's Liberal Party (disbanded 1968).
- The progressives led by Helen Suzman.
- Suzman maintained a relentless criticism of government policies.

Human rights activists

- The activities of the middle class, all-female Black Sash campaigned against passes, influx control and forced removals.
- Black Sash provided legal advice for black Africans who fell foul of apartheid laws.
- South Africa Institute for Race Relations.
- The English speaking universities, esp Cape Town and Witwatersrand were foci of opposition.
- The activities of the NUSAS in the 1970s (1973)
- Lawyers such as Bram Fischer.
- Activists such as Helen Joseph.

Writers

- Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Andre Brink, JM Coetzee.

The role of the media

- English language papers, and in particular *the Rand Daily Mail*, retained a remarkable degree of freedom.

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

- **Leonard Thompson:** There were always some members of the enfranchised population of South Africa who sought to arouse the conscience of their fellows against apartheid. Thompson points out that “many clergy came into conflict with the government” but also highlights the role of other groups such as universities, the Black Sash and literary figures. However, Thompson goes on to point out that until the late 1970s no powerful economic interest was fundamentally opposed to apartheid.
- Writing in 1990 in *The Mind of South Africa*, **Alistair Sparks** acknowledged the role of various white opponents of apartheid, including members of the Christian churches. “(White liberals and radicals) have spoken out against the mainstream of white prejudice. They have done so in far greater numbers, with greater courage, greater constituency, and over a much longer period of time than any other group of whites elsewhere in Africa... Not least has been the influence of the South African Communist Party.”
- **Hermann Giliomee:** concedes that the English speaking communities were more liberal than the Afrikaners: “English newspaper editors and English clergy, more than their Afrikaner counterparts, together with the main liberal organisation, the South Africa Institute of Race Relations, used the considerable freedom they enjoyed to point out injustices frequently and persistently.”
- **Frank Welsh:** Among those liberals who resisted apartheid “the churches played an active part – at least the English speaking Churches”.
- In *Whites against the Tide*, **Joshua Lazerson** acknowledges “the many divisions, ideological and organisational, that separated COD members from Liberal Party members, that kept socialists apart from communists and that kept some communists out of the Congress Alliance” but points out that there was a common denominator among the ‘white democrats’ that transcended real differences. It was based on a commitment to a non-racial society, a belief in ‘the essential equality of man’ and the abhorrence of racial division manifested in apartheid.

Question 5

What factors best explain the developing crisis facing the South African government by the early 1980s?

The aim of this essay is to evaluate the issues involved in the developing crisis which brought considerable pressure to bear on the SA government in the early 1980s and for the candidate to identify a range of factors, and to evaluate which are the most significant.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Internal factors

- Economic problems such as the falling price of gold, the rising price of oil, the balance of payments crisis and rising inflation.
- Changes within the SA economy leading to demands for a more stable urbanised workforce.
- The rapid growth of the African urban population and of squatter camps.
- Unrest in the townships: Soweto.
- The growth of powerful Trade Unions.
- The impact of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commission reports.
- The boycotts and strikes of 1980.
- Hostility to the Black Local Authorities Act and the Tri-Cameral Constitution (1984)
- The formation of the National Forum (NF) and the UDF in 1983.
- The split within the NP, leading to the formation of Treunicht's Conservative Party.
- Introduction of National Service.
- Implications of lack of immigrants.
- Bantustans.

External factors

- Black majority rule in front line states meant SA faced 'total onslaught' from neighbouring African states.
- Communist support for front-line states – the role of Angola and Mozambique.
- The role of the ANC in exile.
- MK organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s.
- Public opinion in the West was increasingly critical ie the anti-apartheid movement, although this was limited by the supportive stand of right-wing western governments.
- Significance of sanctions.

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

- **Nigel Worden:** argues that 'total strategy' intensified the very problems which it sought to diffuse and emphasises the role of African TUs.
- **E Webster:** (1988) – cited in **Worden** – argues that the Wiehahn reforms politicised the Labour movement, rather than taming it.
- In *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid* **Adrian Guelke** provides a balanced evaluation, claiming that changes in the region of Southern Africa, and the end of the Portuguese empire in Africa, had weakened the position of the SA government. These developments outside SA stirred revolt within SA and as a result substantial reform of apartheid was undertaken within the framework of maintaining white supremacy. However "reform did not stabilise the situation. On the contrary the changes that the government introduced had the effect of strengthening the opponents of white minority rule..."
- **Clark and Worger:** emphasise the significance of the constitutional reforms of 1983: "(They) galvanised black opposition in the form of a new and potent organisation, The United Democratic Front, which was established by a handful of community groups in 1983 as an umbrella for organisations which opposed the constitutional reforms."
- **James Barber:** cites **Tom Lodge** in arguing that the ANC in exile did not have the resources to undermine the SA economy, nor did they have the capability to challenge the security forces directly. Having recognised this by the late 1970s, the ANC aimed at 'armed propaganda' to inspire confidence among the dominated population rather than terror in the white community.

South Africa (1910 – 1984)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views on the reasons for the introduction of apartheid after 1948? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A and B** on the reasons for the introduction of apartheid after 1948 and offers a structured evaluation of the two views in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate comment on the Liberal Africanist historian Leonard Thompson will be credited as historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Apartheid was based on assumptions about race.
- White South Africans would have absolute control of the state.
- The state could legitimately make unequal provision for different racial groups.
- Apartheid recognised the two white ethnic groups – Afrikaans and English speaking – as a single racial group while Africans were regarded as belonging to a number of different racial groups.

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

- Malan's successor, JG Strijdom, was closely associated with *baaskap* (white domination) apartheid.
- Apartheid ideas were incorporated in legislation such as the Population Registration Act (1950).
- The Group Areas Act (1950).
- The Bantu Education Act (1953).
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.
- The division of Africans into different racial groups undermined notions of 'the black majority'.

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate comment on William Beinart and Saul Dubow will be credited as historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The continuation of migrant labour was central to apartheid.
- The government aimed to extend the benefits of migrant labour to manufacturing industry.
- Economic problems in the reserves meant that they were no longer able to provide for the majority of the African population.
- Tighter restriction on those permitted to leave the reserves and move to the towns were an essential part of apartheid.
- Decentralised industries would be established to provide access to labour without increasing the African urban population.
- The labour needs of white farmers would also be met by apartheid.

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

- Migrant labour had been used in the mining industry for over 75 years.
- Manufacturing industry was growing rapidly.
- The reserves totalled only 14% of South African territory, usually situated in the least fertile areas.
- Rapid urbanisation and the relaxation of existing pass laws during the war had revived 'black peril' fears among whites.
- Transvaal and Free State farmers had criticised Smuts because urbanisation reduced their source of cheap labour.

Points which offer a more critical contextualisation of the views in the source.

- Much apartheid legislation had its roots in the legislation of the segregation era.
- In origin the reserves dated back to the 1913 Land Act.
- Residential segregation was based on the recommendations of the Stallard Commission, which influenced the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.
- The problem of the reserves was recognised by the proposals of the Tomlinson Commission (1955) but rejected by the NP.
- In 1948 the NP did not have a sufficient majority to implement apartheid without taking into consideration the impact on the electorate.
- In the 1950s influx control was not straightforward, with many businesses demanding greater flexibility, leading to what **Posel** has called 'flexible apartheid'.

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

- **J D Omer-Cooper:** Sees early apartheid as primarily an attempt to halt and reverse the erosion of segregation which had taken place under the previous government. Instead, segregation was to be systemised as never before and applied rigidly and dogmatically.
- **Harold Wolpe:** Exponent of the classic Marxist (or revisionist) view that apartheid was designed to meet the changing economic needs of white South Africa. In arguing this, he puts forward the classic class-based interpretation of apartheid.
- **Dan O'Meara:** In *Volkskapitalisme*, O'Meara posits the existence of a single hegemonic 'apartheid idea' ie an agreed blueprint for apartheid.
- **Deborah Posel:** There was no apartheid blueprint; the 'practical apartheid' of the 1950s embraced a series of compromises to adjust to differing demands and tensions. **Merle Lipton**, another liberal historian, agrees that apartheid was an attempt to return to Stallardism.
- **Giliomee:** Sees apartheid as primarily driven by ethnic, not class, interests. Apartheid was first and foremost a vehicle for nurturing the unity of the *volk*. In *The Afrikaners* he also acknowledges the existence of the apartheid visionaries: "Apartheid... attracted both those wanting to keep down all those who were not white and those who wanted to rehabilitate them and recognise their dignity." The latter... (believed that) whites had to reduce their dependence on black labour and a dramatic development programme had to be launched for the reserves to justify the denial of black rights in the common area.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the reasons for the introduction of apartheid after 1948.

Question 2

How useful is Source C as evidence of African aspirations in the 1950s?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source C** in achieving an understanding of African aspirations in the 1950s in terms of:

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

- The Freedom Charter was adopted by the almost 3000 strong Congress of the People.
- The idea originated with Z K Matthews, who had contributed to the ANC's 1942 Bill of Rights.
- Activists from the ANC, the SAIC, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats all participated in drawing up the Charter.
- In theory the demands represented the grievances of people all over the country.
- Others claimed it was largely drafted by white communists.
- After two days the police broke up the Congress of the People.
- The ANC officially ratified the Freedom Charter the following year.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white" represents a crucial acceptance of a multi-racial SA.
- Every adult should have the right to vote and participate in government, regardless of their race, ethnicity or sex.
- All people should have equal status government, in law and in education, despite differences in language, culture and customs.
- The people shall share the wealth of the country.
- The mining industries, the banks and other large monopolies should be nationalised.

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

- The multi-racial involvement in the Congress of the People.
- The contemporary significance of the demand that all races should be able to vote and participate in government.
- The contemporary significance of the demand for equality in the eyes of law and in education.
- The deliberate ambiguity of the statements about the redistribution of wealth.

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

- The Freedom Charter rejected the Africanist views of Lembede and his followers, which argued that SA was the rightful property of its indigenous people.
- Africanists saw the Freedom Charter as an abandonment of the principles incorporated in the Programme of Action and opposed the Charterists.
- White Communists (especially Lionel ‘Rusty’ Bernstein) had a much bigger input than was acknowledged at the time.
- Liberals – including Ngubane – rejected the socialist statements in the document and resented the involvement of the communists active in the COD.
- Luthuli preferred the term non-racial to multi-racial.

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

- **Gail Gerhart:** writing in *Black Power in South Africa* (1978) saw the Freedom Charter as being in the tradition established by earlier ANC leaders; “underlying all these objectives (as defined in the Freedom Charter) was the complete rejection of race as a criterion of worth, and the acceptance of liberal democratic institutions as the ideal form of government”. ANC policy – as stated publicly – never acknowledged the revolutionary implication of the demand for ‘full democratic rights’.
- **Karis and Carter:** “The Charter envisaged a bourgeois democracy based on natural rights, liberalism, and formal equality of opportunity for individuals.”
- **Dubow:** identifies as ‘studiedly ambiguous’ two aspects of the Freedom Charter: the commitment to multi-racialism and the question of economic nationalism.
- **Leonard Thompson:** “The basic rights in the Freedom Charter derived from ideas current in liberal circles in Britain, in continental Europe, and the US”... The Freedom Charter also included some socialist ideas...critics noted the inconsistencies in the document.
- **Worden:** points out that the Freedom Charter’s commitment to meaningful social and economic transformation was not clear “It fell short of a clear commitment to socialism, leaving many dissatisfied”.
- **R W Johnson:** acknowledges that the Freedom Charter was drawn up by Communists but that “the charter’s communist authorship was seldom visible except in the demand for nationalisation”.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is helpful as evidence of African aspirations in the 1950s.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, 1959? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the consequences of the promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act in terms of:

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

- Luthuli was the ANC President when he wrote *Let my People Go*.
- He was one of the most effective campaigners in the anti-apartheid movement and was well-known outside Africa.
- He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The homelands are destined to become reservoirs of cheap labour for white-owned South African industries.
- Disease will be rife as a result of overcrowding and poverty.
- The homelands will be used as dumping grounds for all those who are not wanted in South Africa's white areas, including the socially undesirable. The homelands policy will ensure that Africans have no political voice in white South Africa.
- The Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act will only serve the interests of the white man.

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

- 'Displaced urbanisation' occurred as border industries were developed close to the homelands.
- The disparity in standard of living and healthcare between Africans living in the homelands and urban blacks was increasingly evident.
- Homelands contained a high proportion of the elderly and those not able to contribute to the African economy of South Africa's cities.
- Indirect representation in the white SA Parliament ended.
- All black South Africans were assigned an alleged 'ethnic' identity and a homeland.
- The forced relocation of millions of Africans took place without adequate provision for their removal.
- Four of the ten homelands were granted 'independence'.
- So-called 'traditional leaders' were appointed to rule the homelands.
- The homelands policy accorded considerable power to local black politicians and bureaucrats, many of whom were Pretoria's puppets.
- 'Black spot' removal amounted to ethnic cleansing.

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

- The growing impoverishment of the homelands as a result of overpopulation and resultant environmental degradation.
- The collapse of the homeland economies meant that even food had to be imported.
- The failure of betterment schemes.
- Increasing numbers of homeland inhabitants drifted to the cities illegally and squatter communities such as 'Crossroads' developed.
- In 1983 the disposable income of non-urban Blacks was 6% that of white South Africans.
- The gap between the standard of living of urban and non-urban Africans was increasing.
- In Kwa-Zulu Buthelezi used his position to create difficulties for the SA government.
- When Transkei was granted the right to self-government (1963) Pretoria was able to ensure its favoured Presidential candidate – Kaiser Matanzima – despite the fact that a majority of deputies supported his opponents.

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

- **Robert Ross:** emphasises the long-term social, economic and environmental damage which resulted from the homelands policy.
- **Nigel Worden:** identifies three main results of the homelands policy: the scale of forced removals, the entrenching of ethnic divisions and the creation of a new black bourgeoisie collaborating class.
- **R W Johnson:** "The whole homeland structure was completely artificial, depending entirely on the back-up and subsidies of the South African State – but it incorporated a tiny elite of homeland leaders and their cronies, and gave them an interest in maintaining the homeland myth"
- **Clark and Woger:** point out that with the implementation of the homelands policy, government spending on Africans fell as there was to be very little spending on amenities in white South Africa. Like **Worden** and **Johnson**, they also highlight the corruption of the homeland governments, describing them as "regimes in which state power was exercised without even a veneer of respect for the law".
- **Heather Deegan:** writing in *The Politics of the new South Africa* is more positive. She claims that the homelands policy "created a brand of African politicians who upheld their tribal identities and became increasingly aware of their political roles".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which **Source D** is helpful in offering an adequate explanation of the consequences of the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act.

Soviet Union (1917–1953)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was the collapse of Tsarist autocracy by February 1917 due to social and economic, rather than military, factors?

The aim is to allow the candidate to give an account and analysis of the events leading up to and causing the collapse of the Romanovs. It invites the candidate to classify the information and ideas they have into cases for the social and economic breakdown of the regime, against the case that can be made for military influence on the regime either through the role of the generals/Duma, or groups such as the Petrograd Garrison or the lower troops. This might involve weighing up the longer term factors against the more immediate significance of the events of February 1917.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Social and economic factors

- February was evidence of the failure of autocracy and *this* autocrat – the nature of Tsarism by 1917 and actions of this Tsar, his strengths and weaknesses, including his role in the War, the effect of the Tsarina's rule and influence of Rasputin.
- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, 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.
- February initiated by workers and the reserve troops in the capital alone shows motivation of different sectors and for more than short term reason.
- 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.

Military factors – the impact of WW1

- 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.
- Impact on Nicholas' position as Tsar, loyalty to the autocracy, as commander in chief and mistakes, plus wife at home and Rasputin.
- The role of the Army joining the rioters from 25 February onwards – the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty and longer term discontent.
- Role of Guchkov and Generals Krymov and Alexeev – ready to desert the Tsar, autocracy and their power being saved by his abdication.
- War highlighting the fight for power between the Army elites and the civilian elites.

Possible political factors

- Justifying the limited political drive, candidates may discuss the notion of the leaderless revolt, the lack of Bolshevik or any other direction at that time but might discuss Lenin and Trotsky – their writings and influence and noting that although the major leaders were abroad, no political party organised the revolution, political influence was part of the failure of many to support Tsarism.
- The role of various working groups in pushing for revolution. Detail on workers groups that were getting organised – Schliapnikov and the Petrograd Bureau, Mezraionka, shop stewards, influence of Vyborg workers.
- The changes which occurred under the Provisional Government may be cited as evidence of significant discontent with the previous regime.
- The sudden nature of the unrest, (the move eventually to the political and popular revolution) noting the immediate events of the 25th February and International Women’s Day as evidence of discontent – economic and perhaps political at that time.

Candidates may evaluate the relative merits of each and their importance in causing the revolution in February.

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

- **Pipes:** “Rebellions happen, revolutions are made”.
- **Peter 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 B McKean:** “the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight”.
- **Trotsky:** “Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only a giant empire, but also a revolution”.
- **James White:** revelations about the presence of Bolshevik ‘revolutionaries’, perhaps ‘disappeared’ to allow for the greatness of October.
- **Abraham Ascher:** provides the analogy of the volcano.
- **Rex Wade:** “the long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations...”
- **Corin and Fiehn:** “The main push came from the workers in the cities”.

Question 2

How far were Bolshevik ideals sacrificed in the pursuit of power by 1921?

Candidates might evaluate the extent to which Bolshevik power had become a dictatorship without justification, by considering the promises made before and during October 1917, (as highlighted in slogans such as '*Peace, bread and land*') and measure the extent to which promises had been delivered and compromises had been made in order to secure the new regime.

Candidates might begin with a consideration of what was meant by the ideology of Bolshevism... sweeping away the old order 'pillars of Tsarism', rejecting the liberal democracy as represented by the Provisional Government and would-be Constituent Assembly in favour of proletarian democracy via soviets and the leadership of the Party, establishing the basis of a new system from which communism would develop. The debate between this and circumstance should be obvious in the answer.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Political consolidation

- Banning opposition press.
- Banning parties – Kadets, November 1917 and all right-wing, left SRs joined Sovnarkom in December 1917, June 1918; right and centre SRs and Mensheviks expelled from central and local soviets.
- The compromise from the beginning ie the idea of 'all power to the Soviet' was denied by setting up the Sovnarkom and the intention was to place power in the hands of the Bolsheviks alone.
- Secret Police – Cheka – one of first acts of all twentieth century revolutionary governments. To persecute counter-revolutionaries, establish Revolutionary Tribunals, but largely independent of the centre.
- The Red Terror, Autumn 1918, after attempted assassination of Lenin.
- Creating the one-party state justified ideologically to avoid the counter-revolution, the Party being the vanguard of the revolution; hence development of bureaucracy and the use of Terror. To promote the development of socialism harsh measures and strong leadership were required before the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- The Constituent Assembly moment of democracy lost: removal of freedoms granted by the Provisional Government because it was the instrument of the bourgeoisie or this is dictatorship.

Peace not war

- Politically the Bolsheviks were justified in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk – not a duty to fight for the capitalist imperialists and could claim the ending of WW1 as symbolic of the working class revolution. But the reality was Bolshevik support needed to be extended beyond the cities, the army was not fit to fight, but territory lost would be regained in the international proletarian revolution.
- Red Army Left Communists may be against a standing army – favouring the idea of a revolutionary volunteer militia, electing officers, democratic decision-making etc. Trotsky imposed traditional discipline and employed 'military experts' (former tsarist officers).

Land

- Economics – even from the start the 1917 Land Decree – abolishing private ownership but also simply recognising what was.
- The Civil War – link here the change from workers' councils to War Communism – is both ideological and circumstantial. It's nationalisation and, perhaps more importantly, responding to production needs during the Civil War... and worker power had not been too effective (Supreme Council of National Economy).

Industrial democracy

- Lenin reverts to type – strict hierarchy, discipline and even re-imposition of piece rates (detested by workers). Workers' Control Decree November 1917, '*kontrol*' means supervision not control. Lenin brought back rudiments of capitalism 'state capitalism' – one man management, labour discipline, bourgeois specialists '*spetsy*'. 'Accounting and control' became the new slogan.
- Socially with the role of women, but the laws were to bring them into the workplace, no high ranking women in the Party.

Church and State

- Religion reduced in power but softer approach after 1921 showing a compromise in ideology, but 'civic duty' came first.

Democratic centralism

- Debate here about ad hoc policies showing more had been destroyed than they had created with even some Bolsheviks becoming disillusioned and against democratic centralism as the source of Bolshevik discipline, with the pyramid of power – Politburo at the top, to eliminate opposition in order to maintain the revolution.
- The Party Programme 1919 demonstrated the achievements of RCP – democratic in nature, limited bureaucracy, condemning religion, stressing role of TUs and bourgeois 'specialists'.
- ABC of Communism evidence of theories still being promoted in this 'manual of communism for the masses'.
- 9th Party Congress saw the movement for party reform at peak, but lacked focus and the drive became TU issues.
- The development of bureaucratic centralism where the tight knit group in Moscow made the decisions and the rest of the country had to agree.
- State control over economy, communication, large-scale use of terror, ousting by the population of 'enemies', imposition of a single ideology and the adulation of a single leader.

Practical considerations – overall candidates might consider the precarious situation of the Bolsheviks – war with Germany, breakdown of all apparatus of government, failure of world revolutions to materialise, foreign intervention. The best answers might mention the fears expressed by Lenin himself in his Testament about the mirroring of the French Revolution and that the path was laid for a Stalin rather than the state withering away, and will debate ideology versus circumstances throughout.

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

- **Buldakov/Shiskin:** see the Bolsheviks as 'destructive demagogues'.
- **Igritskii:** restructuring mobilising a self-seeking careerist '*lumpenproletariat*' which ultimately created an evil totalitarianism even more terroristic than its Nazi counterpart.
- **Kowalski:** points to the undeniable fact that "a democratic form of socialism was unlikely to emerge". He further states that there was "an even greater centralisation of power in the hands of the Sovnarkom and its spawning bureaucracy at the expense of the power of the local soviets" and "they lost whatever legitimacy they had in October and clung to power by dictatorial means", "by 1921... the foundations of what we now term Stalinism appear to have been firmly laid" – **Cohen** disputes this.
- **Figs:** War Communism was a political response to the urban crisis of 1918.
- **Fitzpatrick:** wonders how far it was a radical measure to cope with a desperate situation.

Question 3

How important was the issue of leadership in determining the outcome of the Civil War, 1917–1921?

Candidates might discuss the outcome of the Civil War by looking at the range of factors and influences and the phases involved. It is possible to consider the nature of the Civil War itself; the political, social and economic aspects. Indeed the local dimension is worthy of note, and whether power in itself was the outcome, rather than an ideological fight.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Leadership – flawed and divided – the traditional military view would cover the Reds, Whites and Greens with reference to points such as

- The main forces of the Whites – a mix of liberals, nationalists, former tsarists, nationalists separatists, SRs and moderates.
- At first Kornilov was inspiring, part of the Don Cossack army and as **Figes** states the growth of the Volunteer army “was largely due to the charismatic presence of General Kornilov” but killed, April 1918.
- At the beginning the Volunteer Army (3,000) was largely an officers’ army, and much better organised eg Denikin’s defeat of the Red Army in the Don region.
- But too often White leaders were at odds to the extent that it had an impact eg Alexeev and Kornilov had to communicate by messenger (even though offices next to each other).
- Denikin had no time for separatism and so lost support of Southern Volunteer Army, Ukraine and the Caucasus. This leader condoned the ‘ethnic cleansing’ practices of Cossacks and he helped landowners recover their estates, alienating the peasants.
- Yudenich was successful and did reach Petrograd by October 1919, but was then beaten by larger Bolshevik forces.
- Kolchak in the east was defeated because of internal fighting and apathy; SR power struggles weakened the army (Czechs); he had hundreds of SR activists killed which meant little control. SRs revolted and undermined his campaign.
- In Omsk there was indiscipline and corruption eg uniforms and munitions given by foreign interventionist governments sold on black market and “officers lived in brothels in a haze of cocaine and vodka”.
- Denikin and Wrangel had initial successes but Trotsky’s counter-attack forced retreat. Wrangel held out but evacuation by 1920.
- They were split geographically and politically, did not communicate or see value in propaganda, particularly Denikin.
- But the Reds had Trotsky, Commissar of War, who formed the Red Army, used oratory, propaganda machine, the train, to invoke unity and organisation and centralised communications. His inspirational leadership, tough management of the army, attaching political commissars to each unit, introducing death penalty, military specialists, forming labour battalions and recruiting ex-Tsarist officers showed the decisive and strong leadership needed. Lenin’s support of Trotsky against the likes of Stalin and Zinoviev, his leadership, although he was more risk averse than Trotsky – eg in routing Petrograd of the Whites. **E Mawdsley** argues that the Reds did have advantages but that the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky should not be overstated.

Political – what they were fighting for

- The main cause of conflict when Bolshevik actions alienated the other groups, SRs, Mensheviks, liberals and conservatives. But Whites associated with old system of government was considered worse.
- The land issue and Bolshevik promises, made earlier than Whites, peasant support vital result of this – they would fight for either side – land not politics the issue for them.
- Whites were unsure if fighting for monarchism, republicanism or a Constituent Assembly.
- The levels of political culture illustrated through the chronological phases of the War – 1918 to Kolchak’s coup, the end then of right v. left, the end of WW1 and the peace impact on white Generals and Allies, the Polish War.
- The spectrum of political cultures as represented among the factions. The simple resistance – with the Greens, peasants, soldiers. The more sophisticated – with the Allied powers each having their own agenda about what should be done with Russia and what should emerge; the Komuch and the possibility of a third democratic phase with the Czechs as natural allies.
- Nationalities – White leaders aimed to restore pre-1917 borders. Ukrainians and Georgians wanted autonomy.

Geographical

- Reds had heartland: Sovdepiia, Petrograd, Moscow.
- Railways, armaments factories and larger population conscripted and worked for the war effort.
- War Communism helped their cause.

Economic and social ‘fight for hearts and minds’

- Evidence of the institutions of Bolshevism were seen in the Red Army and how it was created (breaking local groups) and managed (health care, care of dependants) hence coped with resistance to grain requisitioning.
- Other institutions might be mentioned (Party, Cheka) allowed talent to flourish, won allegiance and many wanted not to return to the old order.
- The Whites had too many officers already to allow others to rise and the Greens were reactive to the situation, not permanent in their allegiance.

Other groups

- The cause of the Czech Legion hostilities.
- The motivation of the Greens and Makhno’s Insurgent Army. **G Swain** described ‘the unknown civil war’ and notes that their influence and potential success is greater than previously thought. And this peasant army was prepared to tolerate the Reds because of the issue of land.
- The issue of Allied Intervention, aid to Whites tended to be ineffectual.

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

- **G Swain:** “the Civil War became a war between Red Bolsheviks and the White Generals.”
- **Evan Mawdsley:** “foreign intervention was often half-hearted and militarily ineffective.”
- **W Bruce Lincoln:** “Kolchak drew his main support from the British, the armourers and the financiers of his government... Here at last was a commander who spoke of legality, order, freedom and firm democratic foundations and did not consign capitalists to the purgatory of world revolution.”
- **Evan Mawdsley:** cites the advantage of the “Aladdin’s cave” regarding the territory.
- **Robert Service:** cites Trotsky’s brilliance.
- **Richard Pipes:** sees the objective factors (like the territory the Reds controlled) as the cause of victory, rather than leadership or motivation.
- **Orlando Figes:** suggests the crucial advantage the Reds had, (encouraging more volunteers to be part of the fighting force), was the claim that they were defending “the Revolution”.
- **Figes:** also states that the root of White failure was one of politics.
- **Bruce Lincoln:** also highlights this in Wrangel’s attempt in 1920 to offer land to the peasants as well.

Question 4

How effective was the policy of collectivisation in achieving its aims?

Candidates would be expected to consider the 'effectiveness' in terms of intentions politically, economically and socially; to create sovkhozes and kolkhozes which would be the socialist solution for agriculture. It would make the country socialist, putting peasants in 'agrotowns'. It would increase production and unite the USSR. The methods used to determine 'effectiveness' may be in themselves a measure of that success in looking at the stresses imposed on communities and how this was resolved.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Ideological intentions justified because

- Peasants mostly thought of as petit bourgeois – kulaks influential leaders, therefore enemies; too often holding the country to ransom.
- Socialist solution not to have private holdings (NEP), but 'socialist agrotowns'.
- The administrative weakness in the countryside contradicts the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- Strengthening control of Central Party apparatus over provinces.
- Sorting out Party cliques at local level.
- Needed to prepare for potential war and to support industrial expansion.
- To compete with USA as a superpower.

Therefore

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

Economic intentions justified because

- 1917–18 agrarian revolution seen as a step backwards economically.
- Many crops suited better to larger farms – small farms meant poor use of labour, unable to benefit from mechanisation. Too much consumed by the farm, not enough going to market.
- Larger units of land meant efficiency via mechanisation – tractors and machinery supplied through MTS.
- Fewer peasants needed to work land – releasing labour for industry.
- Easier for state to take grain for cities and export – controlled by Communist supporters.
- Grain procurement crisis 1928–9 – peasants were resisting government policies and not sending goods to market; bread and meat therefore rationed in the cities.
- Building a social and economic system to make USSR a great power.

Therefore

- By end of February 1930 claimed 50% collectivisation but;
- Agriculture was a disaster: significant numbers of animals slaughtered, enterprising peasants had left the country, fled to city to seize opportunity of upward mobility.
- Those left were in no mood to begin work, and passive resistance was the order of the day – referred to this as second serfdom.
- Statistics in 1930s distorted to show alleged success.
- ‘Dizzy with success’ speech (2 March 1930) meant pace slowed down and return to voluntary principle indicates limitations of policy.
- Life was the same for most, same wooden huts.
- Tractors were largely imaginary – 2,500 MTS in first three years, but this was a proletarian bastion in the countryside, staffed by workers and OGPU.
- Famine 1932–34 because high targets at time of huge drop in grain production due to collectivisation, OGPU were vicious. 1.73 million tons exported and 7 million died from a man-made famine.
- Estimated 70% peasants households collectivised by 1934 and 90% by 1936; 120 million people, 600,000 villages, 25 million holdings consolidated into 240,000 state-controlled collective farms.
- But peasants had private plots, condoned because of desperation for food.

Candidates may find that in the short term it eliminated the peasant threat as an independent force and there was a regular supply of food to the towns. Indeed agriculture recovered when peasants were allowed to trade surplus, but in the long term the failure was the human cost and agriculture had low yields with peasants keener to work on own plots.

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

- **E Mawdsley:** Stalinist Russia did face real external threats but this led to a ‘continuation’ of the industrial and military build up that that already begun.
- **Cold War historians:** may say a ‘cause’ was necessary; today it is more likely to say the ‘cause’ was economic modernisation itself and to that end it was effective... for them.
- **Moshe Lewin:** creating a ‘quicksand society’ where the state was in control of everyone and all were ‘equal’.
- **R Conquest:** states that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasant resistance.
- **S Cohen:** states that the peasantry was seen as “a vast inert and yet somehow threatening mass of people, barring Russia’s path to industrialisation, modernity, socialism: a kingdom of darkness that must be conquered before the Soviet Union could become the Promised Land”.
- **R Conquest:** states that the human toll was “higher than the total deaths for all countries in WW1”.

Question 5

To what extent was the mobilisation of economic resources the key factor leading to Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War?

Candidates here would be expected to debate the key factors which allowed Russia to prevail in WWII. The heroism of individuals, the strength of leadership and the weaknesses of the enemy are the key points in the traditional viewpoint of the outcome of conflict. In this essay the readiness of the USSR economically is vital and the pace endured during the war itself. The dedication of the population and the reasons for their tenacity also plays a part.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Industry

- The readiness for war – that after 1937 major industrial works were completed and economic growth resumes by 1941 which meant survival at the beginning of the war.
- The relocation of industries to beyond the Urals (evacuation of approx 10 million people).
- The scorched earth policy.
- The economic system was already suited to war because of established central planning, unlike Germany which did not have total war economy until 1942.
- Russian strengths might include the economic stability attained allowing the supply of the military with adequate material; the constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support; Kursk-evidence of Russian military development enough to beat the Germans in tank battles.
- Victor Kravchenko criticised the view of relocation. He states that a minor part was moved, that Stalin had actually supplied Hitler during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and that the retreat after the invasion left Hitler rich resources and abandoned millions.

Geo-strategic issues

- The Russian traditional strategy of trading space for time and taking the Germans deeper into a Russian Winter, when the Germans were far from prepared for a long war, the size of the country, climate etc, made it difficult for the Wehrmacht.
- Stalingrad may be discussed in terms of the type of fighting required; suiting the Russians: the use of snipers; manipulating the war zone. Stalingrad is seen at this level as ‘a matter of prestige between Hitler and Stalin’, which alongside the ‘dogged, rugged, Siberian obstinacy’ and ‘the stamina of Soviet soldiers was incredible’ shows the determination involved.
- Considering enemy weaknesses (dealing with Russian climate, land mass meaning Germans over-stretched and could apply same tactics as in France), and so errors occurred – altered the focus of the offensive and delayed the attack on Moscow.
- Effects of Allied bombing of Germany; Allied invasion in the West.
- Answers may take a longer perspective to explain victory.

Propaganda and Stalin's leadership

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

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

- **Richard Overy:** notes the strengths and the weaknesses of the Soviet forces as reasons for the outcome. He also highlights the "uneasy symbiosis" of the "efforts of the people in defiance of the system they inhabited" and the role of the state and the leader.
- **Roy Medvedev:** criticises the Generalissimo as being "short sighted and cruel, careless of losses".
- **Chris Ward:** notes the economic, military and the political, but also points out the importance of the social factors – the people's war. He also notes Hitler's blunders.
- **Richard Sakwa:** notes that Stalin "appeal(ed) to Russian pride rather than Marxism or Leninism as inspiration for resistance".
- **Peter Kenez:** notes that Nazi policy gave the people no option, they were fighting against Nazism, not for Stalinist Russia.
- **John Laver:** highlights the establishment of a command economy and authoritarian rule and the appeal to patriotism in order to galvanise support for 'Mother Russia'.
- **Richard Sakwa:** notes that there were two wars being fought simultaneously, "against the Nazi aggressor and the continuing war of the Stalinist regime to stay in power".
- **John Laver:** notes the suitability of Russia economically to the demands of total war.
- **Geoffrey Hosking:** stresses that productivity was impressive in terms of military output.
- Reconciliation with the Church and religions is highlighted by many historians including **J N Westwood, Richard Overy and Geoffrey Hosking.**
- **Roy Medvedev:** notes the special "united front".

Soviet Union (1917–1953)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government between February and October 1917? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government in terms of:

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

- The source written in June, published July, just before the 'July Days', when this regiment would play a key role in the mass demonstrations.
- A soldier who had played his part in February.
- Published in *Soldatskaya Pravda*, it spread the word.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Soldier is critical of what seems to be happening to Russia under the Prov. Government.
- Highlights the Dual Power split, giving soldier's Soviet view.
- Reference to the rich and educated wanting to keep the war going 'until total victory', but sacrificing his life to do it.
- That the liberties gained in the February revolution have been taken from them... not letting 'us' speak and risk of being 'arrested.'
- He is probably a socialist but resents that any criticism he makes ends up with him being tarred as one of 'Lenin's lot.'
- Language of class war does coincide with the Bolshevik view.

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

- Problems resulting from Milyukov's policy (resigning April) and disastrous offensive on 18th June (supported by Mensheviks and SRs), fraternization of Russian and German troops, the desertions from the army, July Days a catalyst for more.
- Trying to maintain the popularity of the Provisional Government was difficult because of its inherent weaknesses shown in its 'bourgeois' nature with Prince L'vov typical of that.
- Lack of power – unity and cohesion damaged by the divided government (Order No 1 – Dual Power and Petrograd Soviet) the composition of each.
- Positive in the 'honeymoon period' of the first month, but soon internal splits, conflicting demands eg national minorities.
- The problem of leadership consideration of the right (Kornilov) and the role of Kerensky.
- Failing to keep its promise of Constituent Assembly.
- It had to contend with growing popularity of Bolsheviks. Growing radicalism and Lenin's return and impact of April Theses.

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

- Reforms initially welcomed – formation of soldiers’ committees, removal of unpopular officers.
- Land question – ownership alongside food shortage – dealt with by a grain monopoly, but did not work on the whole.
- The newly created organisations – suburban, city, regional soviets, TUs, factory committees – a positive move but refuse to defer to Provisional Government.
- Economic problems – shortages of fuel, raw materials and food, deterioration of railways and disruption of trade, meant factories cut labour forces.
- Radicalism not that strong as July Days reflected limited Bolshevik commitment to revolution.

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

- **E Acton:** “nowhere was hostility greater than among soldiers in the capital.”
- **Robert Service:** view that “for most of the year the Provisional Government survived on guile and rhetoric”.
- **M Howard:** contends that it collapsed “under the immense stress imposed by an industrialised war”.
- **Rabinowitch:** states that the long term causes of unrest made “the desire for an end to the coalition government very nearly universal”.
- **Kowalski:** noted that the system was also victim to “a number of unpredictable accidents and improbable coincidences... such as, for instance, the attempted coup by General Kornilov”.
- **Robert Service:** noted that “the timing of the collapse of the Provisional Government was more of his (Lenin) work than the consequence of the socio-political environment, or of the actions of the Soviets”.
- **Richard Pipes:** states that “it was only a question of time before Kerensky would be overthrown by someone able to provide firm leadership”.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the difficulties facing the Provisional Government.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing viewpoints as to why Stalin became the leader of the Soviet Union? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B and C** on the rise to power of Stalin and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

- One of a number of western intellectuals who visited the Soviet Union in the 1930s and were enthusiastic about what they saw.
- Barbusse, a French Communist in Moscow to celebrate the life and achievements of writer Maxim Gorky.
- Written at the time of establishing the cult of Stalin, this book is uncritical in the extreme.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Very complimentary view on Stalin's talents, shown by observations on Stalin.
- Highlights his intelligence and knowledge and whole range of mental and administrative skills. 'Orderly and precise', quick to make decisions etc.
- He notes that Stalin seems to be the heir to Lenin and his views "He is the Lenin of today".
- He implies that Stalin has good political judgement, knows the pace and moment to act.
- Good support base due to his "constant care to choose the right men".

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

- Pedigree as a 'bandit' revolutionary, rather an émigré revolutionary as Trotsky was seen.
- Willing to take on any post, seen as the 'jolly Georgian'.
- Patron – as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment.
- Control of Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- As administrator (Commissar for Nationalities).
- The creator of the mass Party by 1925.
- Cult of the personality, immediately introduced by Stalin after Lenin's death and associating himself with this.
- His policies became 'Leninist'.

Source C

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

- Moshe Lewin writing in 2005 with greater access to material after Perestroika.
- One of the best-known critical historians of Russia and the Soviet Union.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Stalin concealed his goals and had the ability to out-manoeuvre his opponents.
- Even Lenin was initially fooled about what Stalin was like and what he stood for, but realised too late to be able to change things.
- Lenin's illness and Stalin's position as General Secretary gave an opportunity to be exploited.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Lenin's views revealed in his Testament which is hinted at in last lines of source.
- He befriended the Right and then the Left in a spirit of 'divide and conquer'.
- The contenders for power in the 1920s including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and Bukharin.
- Stalin's use of contenders eg Zinoviev (sidelining Comintern) and Kamenev, plus the roles of other key figures including Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.
- The qualities and deficiencies of each both in terms of their practical and ideological appeal, constituencies of support as well as the ideological differences.
- Manipulating situations to his own benefit (eg during the 'war scare' of 1927).
- 1924 November – Stalin's speech 'Leninism or Trotskyism' result – Trotsky seen as anti-Leninist.

Points which offer a more critical contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Trotsky the intellectual who lacked any real power base and should highlight this for example by considering his action/inaction over the Georgian issue.
- Trotsky's idea of 'Permanent Revolution' compared to 'Socialism in One Country'.
- Trotsky's background – Menshevik and Jewish.
- 'Permanent revolution' was losing its popularity to a generation who had been at war from 1914–21.
- Factionalism and infighting; use of Ban on Factions to help Stalin keep opponents quiet.
- That he had luck on his side, examples of this (Sverdlov and Dzerzhinsky dying).

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

- **Deutscher:** that Stalin always followed the majority viewpoint.
- **Ward:** "socialism in one country" appealed to most people.
- **Conquest:** Stalin simply outmanoeuvred his colleagues.
- **G Hosking:** "Comrade Card Index".
- **McCauley:** Stalin had luck on his side. Dzerzhinsky's death allowed him to infiltrate his supporters into the political police.
- **R Pipes:** "Stalin was in an unrivalled position that assured his future career for some time before Lenin's death."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the success of industrialisation during the Stalinist period.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the Purges?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** in explaining why the Purges happened, in terms of:

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

- Commentary which shows an awareness of Bukharin's role and his influence in the Party.
- Written after the initial phase following the murder of Kirov.
- Written at the moment when the Show Trials dominated – as a means to 'legitimise' the Purges.
- An individual response of the Party favourite; as Bukharin found himself pleading for his life, but in tone suggests that he accepts his sacrifice for the greater good of the Party.
- Recognition of the similarity of this letter to other 'confessions'; the formula that Bolsheviks went through in accepting guilt.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Victims of the purges only seemed interested in confessing; as in his opening sentences.
- Victims seemed happy to support the idea of the purges; it was for the greater good.
- Purges were seen as a logical thing; Bukharin got his revenge on Radek, now he was the next to go.
- Bukharin's plea shows the level of loyalty to the Party and fear of Stalin.

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

- Bukharin was pleading for his life, by presenting theoretical, historical and literary references. His plea rested on his almost blameless past and his potential usefulness in the future. He was naïve in that he volunteered to go abroad.
- The lies that were told to get rid of others, candidates may mention Kirov (Dec. 1934) the popular alternative to Stalin at the XVII Party Congress, and the Show Trials.
- Detail on what happened to Kamenev and Zinoviev, as they were linked to Kirov's assassin, tried and imprisoned as part of the Left Opposition and accused of being Trotsky's agents. They confessed to crimes which they could not have carried out, not the least of which was conspiracy to murder Kirov.
- Bukharin was implicated by Zinoviev and Kamenev along with Tomsy and Rykov, as leaders of the Right Opposition, accused of forming a 'rightist bloc' – did they confess? There is no evidence of a plot, but Bukharin did criticise Stalin's economic policies in *Notes of an Economist*.
- All was justified to safeguard Stalin and the purge of the Party followed by Church and Army.
- The problems of division and factionalism had to be controlled and these methods were not new in Russia.
- The mood of the old Party workers and the Purging of them: officials like Radek and Pyatakov accused of working for Trotsky and foreign governments.
- The move then to the Army leadership: 1937–8, 3 of 5 marshals, 14 of 16 commanders, 37,000 officers shot or imprisoned, Navy lost all admirals... to control the peasant rank and file.

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

- 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’.
- The extent to which others were responsible – from Yagoda to Ezhov to Beria and the ‘target mentality’ of the NVKD.
- The appointment of Beria to stop the over zealous Ezhov and the coining of the period as ‘Ezhovschina’.
- 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.
- Role of Vishinski.
- Stalin’s megalomania and paranoia.
- Denunciations and the spread to the ordinary people... and the Terror... for everyone.
- 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).

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

- **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.”
- **Piers Brendon:** “Stalin was personally responsible for initiating the regime in the Soviet Union.”
- **Richard 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.
- **J Arch Getty:** asserts that Stalin did not initiate everything, the regime was dictatorial not totalitarian.
- **S Fitzpatrick:** Terror was less traumatic for peasants than the earlier famines, and workers and peasants suffered relatively much less than those in high status groups.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful as an explanation of the Purges.

The Spanish Civil War (1931–1939)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How significant was the fall of Primo de Rivera in bringing about an end to the Monarchy?

The candidate is expected to evaluate the role the fall of the dictator played in the decline and fall of Alfonso. They will be expected to discuss the complicity of the monarch in the establishment of the regime and the nature of their relationship during it. Some attention may also be given to the role played by the monarch after the death of the regime, mistakes made and other possible strategies. Since the question clearly asks how significant this factor was, the candidate is entitled to compare this factor to others they believe are more or less significant.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Primo	Alfonso	Other
Was Primo de Rivera protecting the crown? Was he a reformer or simply a reactionary? Did Primo keep the monarchy going? Had the dictatorship made too many enemies? How had Alfonso so upset the Army that they would not support him?	Alfonso's support of the Dictatorship had caused unpopularity. Had these groups who had come to dislike the Dictator also come to dislike the king? Incompetence of the King.	Agrarian problem. Relationship with the church. Relationship with the army. Regional differences. Political structure – Turno Pacifico. Historical precedent for removing monarchs. Growth of anarchism. Attention should be paid to the rise of opposition forces. Incompetence of Primo's successors. Pact of San Sebastian. Industrialisation in Catalonia/Basque Region.

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

- Carr:** "The Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch... The Socialists considered (it) reactionary... The anarchists rejected it in toto. To the regionalists it strangled local interests: the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform."
 "The destruction of the historic provinces and their replacement by 'artificial entities' was at the root of the regionalist movements." "(It was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy)."
 "The conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy." The aristocracy, which had never forgiven Alfonso for his cooperation with the dictator and his middle-class technicians, watched the fall of the monarchy as they might have watched a bad film.
- Brenan:** "Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another," with "...the corruption of all the upper layers of society."
 "The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too." "Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign." "The Army had become increasingly sensitive to any criticisms."

- **Callachan:** “(The church) was weakest in the great latifundia lands where a rural proletariat lived in desperate circumstances.”
- **Malefakis:** “The large domains were managed without initiative or imagination.”
- **Esenwein and Shubert:** “Where rapid industrialisation and massive immigration (took place) traditional culture and identity were seen as seriously threatened.”
- **Fraser:** “A state within a state, (the Army) came to see itself as the incarnation of national will.”
- **Preston:** “(The monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power.”
“resentment of the King’s cavalier abandonment of the constitution had taken (its) toll.”
- **Brenan:** “The whole country had turned against the Dictadura and the king”
- **Knight:** “political and social change had not kept pace with economic change” and Alfonso failed to remedy this.
- **Ben Ami:** that the king had “lost the support of the army”.
- **Preston:** “sacrifice of the king to ease reform”.
- **Thomas:** (Primo) left behind him no basis for a regime.
- Many army officers thought that the king had behaved dishonorably in accepting the dictator’s resignation.

Question 2

How justified are criticisms of Azaña's programme of agrarian reform?

The candidate should evaluate the effectiveness of the Government in dealing with Agrarian issues between 1931 and 1933. This answer should focus on Agrarian issues and only directly related reforms in other areas would be worthy of credit. The candidate may wish to evaluate the criticisms with a view to issues such as the scale of the problem, the opposition throughout Spain and the financial difficulties faced by Azaña.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

General issues

- Problems of Latifundias although aristocracy only owned (best) 6% of land.
- Conservatives believed reform impossible and would be angered at any attempts.
- Leftists believed collectivisation held solution and would be unhappy with less.
- Middle-class Republicans believed in reform but balked at potential sacrifices.
- Bad weather 30–31.

The Agrarian Reform Law, September 1932

- Accepted principle of ownership: non-revolutionary.
- Recompensed all but 'Grande'.
- However, a huge amount of (potentially pro-Republican) smallholders involved.
- Some argue it was complicated, ineffective and expensive.
- Reforms' limited nature gained no new 'friends' on left but alienated Centre and Right.
- Caballero – "An aspirin to cure appendicitis".

Some specific issues

Agrarian Issues	Reforms	Effect
Security of tenure	Made eviction almost impossible and blocked rent rises.	At a local level, landlords simply ignored the new legislation and employed armed retainers.
Security of occupation	Prevented the hiring of outside labour.	
Working conditions	Introduced eight-hour day. Obligatory cultivation.	Latifundias remained: many were recompensed for land; Mini Fundias and other smallholders also suffered, despite many being pro-Republic. Many reforms. Prieto's reforms on irrigation and railroads hampered by fiscal restrictions.
Inefficient land use	Preparations for agrarian reform. Confiscation of land.	

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

- **Payne:** Caballero's 8 laws gave better pay, power, conditions and respect and "constituted an impressive achievement". However Caballero stated it would be unreasonable to go "beyond the limits established in the most advanced countries of Western Europe". Republican reforms tended to reflect fragmentation rather than provide the means to overcome it.
- **Malfekis:** "The nature of the rural oligarchy and its operation of the large estates may have made land reform economically justifiable; they did not thereby make it especially practicable in economic or political terms."
- **Preston:** "The response of big landowners had been rapid. Their press networks spouted prophecies of doom." "The law of obligatory cultivation was effectively ignored" and "it did nothing to help the smallholders of the north".
- **Thomas:** "The law of *Términos municipales* adversely affected migrant workers. Its effect was to prevent a further drift of labour to the cities." "If it had been carried out fairly, it might have had a startling effect. But the reform was not properly introduced at all" "The only real solution to the agrarian problem was to find a way to reduce the population on the land by encouraging industry."

Question 3

“The behaviour of the Left and Right between 1934 and 1936 means that they should share equal responsibility for the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.” How justified is this view?

The candidate is expected to compare and contrast the behaviour of the Right-Wing administration and their supporters and the Left-Wing opposition. In both cases there is the opportunity to discuss a disparate group of individuals and organisations arguably united only in their opposition to the ‘enemy’. Major factors which occurred between ’34 and ’36, which are argued to have led to the outbreak of war should also be discussed. The candidate should show a strong awareness of the Bienio Negro and the extent of the problems which the administration had to overcome. The candidate will also draw conclusions on the extent to which the administration, through legislation and brutal suppression, was responsible for the increased tensions and polarisation within Spain. The Asturias Rising and the culpability of the Left will also be discussed to give balance. In addition to ‘official opposition’, the radical behaviour of Trade Unions and Anarchist groups are also significant. A conclusion, or conclusions, relating to culpability, based on cited evidence, should be made.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Behaviour of Right	Behaviour of Left	Other
<p>The regressive nature of Robles’ anti-reform legislation.</p> <p>The failure of Jimenez (the ‘White Bolshevik’) to secure reasonable reform.</p> <p>The dangerous rhetoric of Robles.</p> <p>Reactions to FNTT strikes – banning on grounds of harvest being ‘sacred’.</p> <p>Suspension of <i>El Obrero de la Tierra</i>.</p> <p>Suspension of strike meetings.</p> <p>The brutal reaction to the Asturias Rising.</p> <p>Azaña, Companys, Caballero imprisoned (with others).</p> <p>Government of Catalonia disbanded.</p> <p>Statute of autonomy suspended.</p> <p>Martial law.</p> <p>Hundreds of municipal governments unseated.</p> <p>however</p> <p>Cortes not disbanded; no right-wing coup.</p> <p>Socialist Party and TUs not proscribed.</p> <p>Field inspectors were ordered to prevent discrimination in hiring.</p> <p>Government urged arbitration boards to quickly agree favourable contracts for workers.</p> <p>Government strengthened legislation forcing landowners to hire local labour.</p> <p>Wages established as high as Azaña era.</p>	<p>Short term devastation increased hatred of right.</p> <p>Creation of common enemy rather than democratic principle.</p> <p>Declaration of Catalan State on announcement of CEDA delegates – undemocratic.</p> <p>Asturias rising inspired by legal democratic inclusion of elected members.</p> <p>Brutality of Casas Viejas.</p> <p>Insurrectionary behaviour of CNT, UGT, FAI.</p>	<p>Long term problems were arguably impossible to solve.</p> <p>Society polarised and arguably both sides were now ‘catastrophists’.</p> <p>Willingness of extreme Left to cooperate in Popular Front should have strengthened democracy.</p> <p>Economic difficulties.</p> <p>Divisions within the Right now meant that ‘accidentalism’ had failed them. More drastic solutions were now advocated.</p>

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

- **Thomas:** “Political feelings were ...worsened beyond cure (during Bienio Negro)” “Where lay the difference between Dollfuss and Gil Robles? Gil Robles did nothing to make it clear.”
- **Preston:** “Little doubt that the Catalan crisis was manipulated by Robles to provoke the Left.” “CEDA (under Robles) were driving the Socialists to play with the idea of a revolutionary rising.” “The Left and Centre-Left closed ranks on the basis of a programme of amnesty for prisoners, basic social and educational reform and trade union freedom.”
- **Brenan:** Asturias “first battle of the Civil War” (Left united against CEDA)
- **Carr:** “Robles had declared... that socialism must be defeated at all costs.” “When it (the Asturias rising) was over the nation was morally divided between those who favoured repression and those who did not.”
- **Payne:** “The stance and rhetoric of the CEDA were often provocative and threatening.” “Some degree of electoral reform would have moderated electoral polarization.”
- **Preston:** Increasing mimicking of Fascist tactics – “A crowd of 20,000 gathered and shouted “¡jefe! ¡jefe! ¡jefe!” and “Our Leaders never make mistakes!”
- **Thomas:** left also at fault – (After Right's victory) *El Socialista* regularly argued that the Republic was as bad as the monarchy had been.
- **Largo:** “Reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of preparing a proletarian rising.”
- **Thomas:** describes this as “a fatal error of judgement”.

Question 4

“...it would sometimes have been difficult to realise that the Basque Country was at war (in 1937).” To what extent were the Basques committed to the defence of the Republic?

The candidate is expected to evaluate the commitment of those in the Basque Region as to the defence of the Republic. The candidate may refer to statistical evidence of the contribution by the people and industries of the area, anecdotal accounts of the attitude of the Basques and similar evidence of the performance of the Basques in the military defence of their homeland and the Republic in general.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

For commitment	Against	Other
<p>Chose to ally with anti-Nationalists.</p> <p>Basque Ministers active in government.</p> <p>Aguirre’s strong dispute with Cardinal Primate re nature of war.</p> <p>Basque priests, civilians victims of Franco in Durango, Guernica, etc – attacked by Britain, France, USA.</p> <p>Heroic defence of Guipúzcoa ‘fighting to last man’.</p> <p>Defence of Santander ’in 1937.</p>	<p>Support of ‘lay-Republic’ conditional on autonomy.</p> <p>Catholic and Conservative – in common with Nationalists.</p> <p>Poor production figures from arms factories.</p> <p>Exclusive and often anti-Spain and anti-liberal.</p> <p>Chose ‘side’ based solely on Autonomy issue.</p> <p>Suspected by proletarian Republicans.</p> <p>Militia groups refused to fight with Basques on ‘political grounds.’</p> <p>San Sebastián surrendered without a fight – shooting anarchists who disagreed.</p> <p>Some negotiations for a ‘separate’ surrender via Italy.</p>	<p>Individuals – Ibarrruri, Aguirre; desertion of Goicoechea</p> <p>Basque opposition to Anarchists not necessarily anti-Republican.</p> <p>Ferocity of Nationalist attack shows their belief that Basques were a Republican force.</p>

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

- **Thomas:** The Basques fought better for Santander than the Santanderinos fought for Bilbao (of the Basques in Guipúzcoa campaign) fought with complete disregard for personal safety. There was no unity at all amongst the Basques, Asturians and the Santanderinos, nor even the pretence of it.
- **Preston:** Dogged defence (of Vizcaya)... exacted a high price from the attacking forces.
- **Carr:** The Nationalists never forgave the ‘treason’ of the Catholic Basques. The Catholic, conservative nationalism (and) ambition to expand autonomy on to ‘Dominion’ status made (their) loyalty suspect.

Question 5

How significant was the United Kingdom's role in determining the outcome of the Spanish Civil War?

The candidate is expected to evaluate the role of the United Kingdom in the course of the war, both politically and militarily. Discussion may include the forced need for Soviet support due to Non-intervention, Britain's influence on France as a possible ally of the Republic, role in NYON. Debate over whether UK was pro-Nationalist or truly neutral.

Candidates may interpret this question as an isolated factor question, in a question on why did the Nationalists win?

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Pro-Nationalist	Neutral	Other
<p>'Appeasement' regarded by Nehru as: 'The supreme farce of our time'.</p> <p>Chamberlain's decision to send Hodgson to be the British government's link with the Nationalist government in 1937.</p> <p>Chamberlain's role in Blum's demise.</p> <p>Claims that British secret service involved in the military rebellion in Madrid by Segismundo Casado.</p> <p>Soon afterwards, on 27th February 1939, the British government recognised General Francisco Franco as the new ruler of Spain.</p>	<p>Chamberlain discouraging Blum from helping Republic.</p> <p>Motives of individuals such as Chamberlain, Eden, Halifax.</p> <p>Nyon and Non-Intervention.</p> <p>Extent to which Britain was aware of Fascist intervention.</p> <p>Antipathy to Soviet Union.</p> <p>Economic state.</p> <p>Military unreadiness meant assistance could have been futile.</p> <p>Naval Patrol.</p> <p>International Brigades (NB question does not merely refer to British Government)</p> <p>The Labour Party originally supported the government's non-intervention policy.</p> <p>However, when it became clear that Hitler and Mussolini were determined to help the Nationalists win the war, Labour leaders began to call for Britain to supply the Popular Front with military aid. Some members of the party joined the International Brigades and fought for the Republicans in Spain.</p>	<p>With UK support initially, Civil War could have been averted.</p> <p>Stronger reaction in '36 could have averted Axis powers.</p> <p>Without NI, Axis support could have been greater.</p> <p>No guarantee of that.</p>

Other major reasons for Nationalist victory which can be compared to the role of the UK

- Divisions in Left/unity of Right.
- Nationalist/Republican leadership.
- Experience of Officers on Nationalist side.
- Army of Africa over Peninsular Army.
- Control of raw materials.
- Quality/quantity of foreign intervention.

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

- **Brenan:** "...as many at that time foresaw, the war would be won and lost in London"
- **Jackson:** "The Munich Pact was a death blow to the diplomatic hopes of the Spanish Republic."
- **Little:** Madrid's ability to defeat Franco's rebels hinged more and more on... London. The Spanish Republic died an agonising death... starved by malevolent neutrality.
- **Preston:** "Both sides denied aid though the Republic had a legal right." "a quiet glee that they may turn Hitler and Mussolini against the European Left." "Inclined by their considerable commercial interests to be... anything but sympathetic to the Republic."
- **Thomas:** (Eden) "British interests would be best served by a stalemate." "Negrin talked... to Eden who said British public opinion did not want Franco to win."
- **Alpert:** "Britain was an insular society for whom abroad was very far away."
- **Carr:** "The British stationed at Gibraltar were Nationalist sympathisers to a man." Republican politicians would have welcomed the independence arms deliveries from the west would have brought. Munich... "crushed beyond repair" the diplomatic hopes of the Republic.
- **Esenwein:** ...ambiguity of its mandate... caused critics to denounce the NIC as having been conceived, "as it was, to tie the hands of the League."

The Spanish Civil War (1931–1939)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views on the reasons behind Azaña's plans to reform the Army between 1931 and 1933? (16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers **Sources A and B** about differing views on Azaña's Army Reforms between 1931 and 1933, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Points from Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Accurate comment on Hugh Thomas will receive credit under historiography.

Points from source which show that candidate has interpreted significant view(s)

- This source is about how the Spanish officer corps saw themselves; and therefore why they were ripe for being reformed.
- They thought they were above politics: having 'a certain idea of a timeless, supremely Castilian Spain without politics'.
- They stood out against many of the things in Spain that they judged as un-Spanish because they didn't like them: (by which they understood separatism, socialism, freemasonry, communism and anarchism).
- They thought they had a better judgement of what was good for Spain than the government: 'their oath, as officers took precedence over their oath of loyalty to the Republic'.
- They were difficult to control and bring into line since: 'Spanish officer was... dissatisfied, irritable and right-wing'.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Officer corps was class-biased, centralist and anti-liberal.
- A history of pronunciamientos gave them the belief and confidence to intervene at will.
- They disliked professional politicians and blamed them for the loss of Empire.
- Many had only acquiesced to save themselves.

Points from Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: Accurate comment on Raymond Carr will receive credit under historiography.

Points from source which show that candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Officers came from a certain class and seemed determined to only support the views of that class: ‘hostility of the officer corps reflected the class it represented’ and ‘officers were monarchical and Catholic’.
- The officer corps was becoming modernised but friction was caused by the rise of ‘a new class of Republican officer’.
- Azaña had good reason for his reforms; many recognised that ‘The reforms themselves could be defended as... necessary – long advocated by professional soldiers’.
- ‘Azaña had no desire to destroy the Army.’
- It wasn’t the reforms that Mola criticised but the intention behind them: Mola alleging Azaña’s ‘vindictive spirit’.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Army was top heavy and inefficient.
- Army designed for overseas Empire which no longer existed.
- Many changes made the army more meritocratic.
- Officers ‘retired’ on full pay – generous circumstances.
- But some malice did exist – ‘No-one now speaks for the Army’ (Azaña).

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

- The long-term background meant that Azaña had good reason to fear an Army which had overthrown Monarchs and Republic alike in the past.
- Close links to Latifundia and Church as major anti-liberal organisations.
- 40% of Spain’s budget went to Army – 70% of which went to officers’ wages.

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

- **Esenwein and Shubert:** “The retirement law was undoubtedly a success.” “All the governments of the Republic... used the military to retain public order.” (law enforcement not ‘civilianised’). “Military men continued to dominate police posts.” “The Army was in the forefront of internal and civil disputes.”
- **Thomas:** “Azaña’s reforms did not succeed... in cutting the military budget, training was not improved, and preparation for combat neglected”
- **Carr:** “...his reforms failed in their main purpose: the depoliticization of the army.” “(Army Generals) resented reforms... because of the vindictive spirit with which they perceived those reforms to be inspired.”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the reasons behind Azaña’s plans to reform the army between 1931 and 1933.

Question 2

How fully does Source C explain the difficulties faced by those who organised the coup in 1936? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source C** in providing an adequate explanation of difficulties faced by the organisers of the Coup in 1936 in terms of:

Points from Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: accurate comment on Esenwein will receive credit under historiography.

Points from source which show that candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Plans for achieving complete control of Spain had failed.
- Forced to conduct a war against the legitimate Republican government.
- Republicans controlled the major urban and industrial zones in the north, centre, north-east.
- Republic held Spain's considerable gold reserves.
- 'Nationalists' rather than rebels, held approximately one-third of the peninsula, including vast stretches of sparsely populated territory and farmland in the central, southern and north-western sections of the country.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Many delayed before committing (Franco, Fal Conde, de Llano).
- Army of Africa were stranded.
- Nationalists had lost Sanjurjo and Sotelo.
- No air transport.
- No reliable naval force.
- Faced considerable resistance from population.
- Several swift defeats (eg Barcelona).

But

- Did have best trained officers.
- Were supported by British and Axis policies which did not treat Republic as legitimate government.
- Held resources and minerals needed by industrial areas.
- Army of Africa superior to Peninsular Army.
- Some notable early victories.

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

- **Thomas:** "The system of communications with Mola was bad and their morale was low" "Mola... failed to coordinate (in Madrid) the diverse elements... there was doubt whether... Mola was or was not with the rebels."
But "...much of the forces of law and order... were with the rebels." "(In Barcelona)... the loyalty of the security forces was not unquestionable."
- **Preston:** "The plotters had not foreseen that their rising would turn into a long and bloody civil war." "...they had not counted on the strength of working-class resistance." "Even those areas which had been won by the rebels had produced sufficient popular hostility to suggest... a major war of conquest." "In rural districts... supporters of the Republic were usually able to overpower small Civil Guard garrisons."
But "In the Catholic heartlands... the rising had enjoyed instant success..."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the difficulties faced by those who organised the coup in 1936.

Question 3

How useful is Source D in illustrating the motives of those who fought for the Republic between 1936 and 1939? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** in providing an adequate understanding of the motives of those who fought for the Republic between 1936 and 1939 in terms of:

Points from Source D

Provenance:

- Primary source from interview with prominent Anarchist leader, Durruti.
- Only typical of the extreme Anarchist left. No love for the 'bourgeois' Republic.
- Recognition of what anarchists stood for and where their views originated, in order to put Durruti's in context.
- Aim is to publicise his view and the Anarchist cause to gain support.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Eventual aim would be the destruction of the state. He fought for the revolution; it was "a question of crushing fascism once and for all", because he didn't think the Republican government would do it.
- He despised the government: claiming "The liberal government in Spain compromised and dallied" and "this government want(s) to go easy with the rebels".
- He is worried the government might yet do a deal with Franco... "the present government might yet need these rebellious forces to crush the workers' movement."
- He is a utopian idealist: "We carry a new world, here in our hearts."

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

- Many from Spain and abroad saw the cause in Spain as the front line in the fight against fascism.
- The Republic was slow to arm the workers which, some argue, prevented the immediate crushing of the rebels.
- Many in the government would have sought a negotiated peace.
- The reaction against the militias would be brutal (although communist led, not bourgeois).
- The Anarchists dreamt of revolution rather than bourgeois democracy.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source

- The Anarchists were by no means in the majority.
- Many Spaniards fought to defend their homeland against another military dictatorship.
- Catalans and Basques sometimes had their own motives.
- Communists often saw it as a part of the international struggle but accepted the need for a gradualist approach.
- Other groups of socialists/trade unionists had their own reasons.
- Some were not entirely sure why they fought but, like Orwell, recognised it as a state of affairs worth fighting for.
- Attitudes of members of International brigades.

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

- **Heywood:** The Republic's key problem was re-establishing order which had effectively passed on to revolutionary groups with their own agenda (Barcelona – CNT, Madrid – UGT) “Revolutionary experiments” (spontaneous and forced collectivisation) had drastically undermined the government's authority.
- **Preston:** “A civil war within a civil war.” (Due to the variety of motives.) Personal enmity existed between senior protagonists (Caballero and Prieto can both be argued to be self-serving to an extent). Political ideologies of Anarchists and Communists were entirely incompatible. Influence from outside Spain (Soviet influence over Communists).
- **Thomas:** “The political parties (of the Left) all held back such a proportion of their arms as they could for possible use against their friends.”

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the motives of those who fought for the Republic between 1936 and 1939.

Britain at War and Peace (1939–1951)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How justified is the view that, in 1939, Britain's economy was better prepared for war than her armed forces?

The objective of this question is to get the candidate to discuss the arguments relating to Britain's preparedness for war in military and economic terms. The main areas of debate centre round the degree to which Chamberlain's adoption of the 'long game strategy' and forceful pursuit of appeasement as a policy designed to placate German anger over perceived injustices was responsible for hampering the rearmament programme in the late 30s and resulted in strategic confusion over precisely what the armed forces might be expected to do if war broke out. Equally, the candidate should consider the ideological standpoint of Chamberlain with regard to the management of the economy for total war and how this hampered effective preparations for the conflict.

The candidate will assess the justification of the criticism in terms of evidence such as:

Arguments on the state of the economy

- A discussion of what he meant by playing the long game and how that impinged on policy making especially in relation to economic policy.
- The extent to which ideological opposition to government intervention in the economy led to failings in economic planning.
- Chamberlain's unwillingness to consult with the trade unions over mobilisation of labour and production targets.
- One and a quarter million were still unemployed by Jan 1940.

Arguments on the military state

- A review of Chamberlain's attitude to war and his reluctance to actively pursue policies likely to provoke German aggression.
- The debate over Churchill's assertion that Britain could have been instrumental in creating a Grand Alliance against Germany in the late 30s and whether such a thing was ever possible.
- Chamberlain's extreme reluctance to engage in any meaningful negotiations with the Russians over a possible alliance against Hitler and his deep distrust of the French as allies.
- 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.
- The degree to which the Norway campaign and subsequent Dunkirk fiasco showed up exactly how unprepared the armed forces were.
- An analysis of the extent to which the ARP scheme provided effective protection for civilians and of how the emergency services coped with the Blitz.

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

- There is little debate over the degree to which the armed services were prepared with **CL Mowatt** and **Michael Howard** stressing different aspects of the topic but there is real disagreement amongst historians as to the degree to which the civil defence wing of the military was effective.
- **Paul Addison** is scathing about Chamberlain's economic complacency and his deep seated desire not to let the trade unions have any say in manpower distribution or production targets nor to upset the normal workings of market forces in the economy.
- Whilst **Andrew Roberts** maintains it was as effective as it could have been under the circumstances, others such as **Calder, Tiratsoo** and **Ponting** are much more critical of the lack of deep shelters (particularly in the East End of London). **R Mackay** is prepared to take a middle ground stance on this one and questions the degree to which any democracy can effectively prepare for total war.

Question 2

“Hostility from the Labour Party was the main reason for Chamberlain’s resignation as Prime Minister in May 1940.” How valid is this view?

An essay to be treated as an isolated factor question, balancing the weight given to hostility from the Labour Party with other factors such as Chamberlain’s failed policy of appeasement, his conduct of the Phoney war and the debate over his merits as a wartime PM.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Arguments that hostility from Labour was the reason

- The main theme to be developed of opposition from Labour is of how they saw Chamberlain as a class enemy who ‘treated us like dirt’.
- A man who was seen as responsible for the hated means test and who presided over mass unemployment in his spell as Chancellor prior to becoming PM.
- Labour’s indication that in a period of national crisis, they would be willing to join a coalition government as long as it was not headed up by Chamberlain.

Arguments that other factors had a part to play

- Chamberlain’s failure to forcefully prosecute the war in the hope that Germany would succumb to economic strangulation before a full military confrontation was necessary.
- The perception amongst the public that Chamberlain was not cut out to be a war PM and that he was open to suggestions of a negotiated peace with Germany long after the policy of appeasement had been discredited.
- The extent to which the Norway fiasco showed up the incompetence within the armed forces leadership and that of the politicians responsible and the subsequent ‘Guilty Men’ assertions.
- The growing unease within the Conservative Party over the prosecution of the war and the development of interest groups led by men like Boothby and Macmillan whose intentions were to topple Chamberlain.
- The naked ambition of Churchill in the aftermath of the Commons debate on the Norway campaign and an analysis of why so many Tories either abstained or voted against Chamberlain in this confidence vote.

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

- **Paul Addison:** would argue strongly for the case that Chamberlain was neither cut out personally nor ideologically to be a Prime Minister in a war which demanded massive government intervention in the free market and complete state direction of the country’s resources.
- Others like **Kevin Jeffreys** would concur, citing disaffection amongst the Tory ranks as a major contributory factor to his downfall.
- The main proponent of the isolated factor is **Tony Corfield** in his article *Why Chamberlain really Fell* in which he cites the implacable opposition of the Labour rank and file to any participation in a Coalition Govt which had Chamberlain as PM.

Question 3

“Strategically vital but morally questionable.” How accurate is this assessment of the Allied area bombing campaign of Germany 1940–1945?

This question requires the candidate to provide both an analysis of the strategic value of the area bombing campaign against Germany compared to the resources devoted to it as well as an analysis of the moral dimension of carpet bombing cities with dense civilian populations. A successful answer will not only provide specific information relating to the impact of the area bombing on Germany’s morale and war effort but will also enter into a discussion of whether indeed we can project backwards on historical events a moral dimension which others may not have had the luxury of affording at the time, or whether the case can be made for identifying such indiscriminate bombing as avoidable and unnecessary and morally wrong.

The candidate will assess the strategic and moral justification of area bombing using evidence such as:

Strategic issues

- Bombing 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.
- Area bombing diverted vital German resources away from the Eastern Front hence relieving the pressure on the Russians.
- Germany was forced to cut back on its production of bomber aircraft and produce more fighter aircraft instead to defend herself.
- The German economy was severely disrupted by the bombing campaign and this hampered her war effort.
- Over two million Germans had to be deployed to man air defences or carry out structural repairs thus weakening her fighting and productive capacity.
- It drained the battle fronts of scarce German resources and undermined the morale and reliability of the German workforce.

On the other hand the argument is put that

- Strategic bombing was ineffective and random.
- German war production was never seriously disrupted.
- The resources used by the Allies could have been deployed more effectively in other theatres of war.
- German morale may even have been strengthened rather than damaged.
- Its cost in human and material resources far outweighed any strategic value gained.

Moral issues

- Bombing innocent civilians was morally repugnant.
- Many targeted towns or cities had little in the way of military or strategic value and bombing them was an act of terror.
- Dresden was a city deliberately targeted because of its high refugee population and as warning to Germany against prolonging the war.

However the counter-argument is often put that

- War has a different moral framework from peacetime. It is debatable whether one can project backwards onto those fighting at the time, a moral concept which is anachronistic.
- Germany had forfeited any right to moral consideration by its treatment of occupied nations and of the Jews.
- Many more Allied lives may have been saved by bringing Germany to her knees through bombing.

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

- **Max Hastings:** whilst commending the bravery of the air crews questions the strategic value of the raids.
- **Detlef Siebert:** is equally sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production as is **Martin Kitchen.**
- **Richard Overy:** is convinced that area bombing was a valid and effective strategy and that it hastened the end of the war through paving the way for an effective Allied invasion of Normandy.
- **P Addison and Jeremy Crang:** in their book *Firestorm* take issue with those who seek to gloss over the moral issues of bombing a city with little military value and the modern philosopher **A C Grayling** in his 2007 book *Among the Dead Cities* poses some very searching questions about considering civilians as frontline combatants and therefore worthy of destruction.

Question 4

How significant was the impact of evacuation on society as a cause of post-war social reform?

The objective of the essay is for the candidate to treat evacuation as an isolated factor in the range of causes of post-war social reform. As such, the candidate will be expected to devote some time to an analysis of evacuation's impact on promoting social reform before moving on to discussing other issues. The traditional view of the role of evacuation as first posited by Titmuss is that it helped bring about a profound change in public values. Evacuation made the privileged aware of the condition of the poor, thus promoting a desire to construct a better post-war society. More modern historians are sceptical about accepting this notion wholeheartedly.

The candidate will assess the importance of evacuation as a cause of social reform using evidence such as:

- The mass movement of families from urban industrial areas to reception areas afforded many the opportunity first-hand of witnessing the extent and severity of inner city deprivation.
- Rural newspapers were full of stories of poorly clothed, verminous children who had little appreciation of the 'proper' way to behave.
- Proponents of this theory of a stirred middle-class conscience cite the immediate introduction in 1940 of free school milk and meals along with orange juice and other vitamins for nursing mothers.
- Even Chamberlain himself was moved to admit that he never knew such conditions existed.
- That evacuation prompted educational reform in 1944 which raised the school leaving age and afforded able youngsters the opportunity of a university education.

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

- Modern historians such as **Macnicol** suggest that far from pricking middle-class conscience and promoting social welfare reform, evacuation served only to reinforce existing class prejudice about feckless mothers and poor parenting and that what was required to solve the problems of verminous children was better parental education not a welfare system. Echoes of this argument certainly resounded round Whitehall.
- **Macnicol** suggests that more attention should be paid to pre-war proposals for social welfare reform which he argues were the root cause of the 1940 reforms. Even the education reforms can be seen as reinforcing a socially divisive tripartite system where the working class would be consigned to junior secondary schools.
- Other commentators such as **H L Smith** would place more emphasis on the importance of the Beveridge Report as an agent of change and raised expectations, whilst **Calder** would look more to the impact of big government on people's lives, instilling the notion that what worked in wartime could certainly work in peace time. A large emphasis should be placed on the notion that the civilian/military participation ratio (as defined by Andreski) blurred the distinction between the war front and the home front and that as civilians became increasingly subject to the terrors of war, so did their demands for a better society not only as an ideal worth fighting for but as a tangible reward for the communal hardship endured.
- Others such as **Hennessey**, see the communal suffering and forced egalitarianism of rationing, conscription and the blackout as important factors in forging a desire to create a fairer society and that the swing to the left of British politics in the war years was simply a facet of that egalitarianism.

Question 5

To what extent has Britain's post-war decline as a world power by 1951 been exaggerated?

That Britain had lost its pre-war position as a world superpower is not in dispute. What the candidate has to consider is whether the extent of this decline in world power status has been overplayed or whether Britain's continued belief that it had a huge part to play in shaping world affairs was merely a delusion. In answering this question, the candidate would be expected to make reference to Britain's post-war economic, military and imperial decline as well as balancing that out with reference to more positive aspects such as relations with Dominions and creation of the Commonwealth, membership of NATO and the UN and the possession of an independent nuclear deterrent.

Arguments for Britain's decline being exaggerated might include

- Despite the independence of India in 1947, Britain still retained control over substantial parts of Africa as well as the Caribbean, Hong Kong and interest in the Suez Canal.
- 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.
- 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 formation of NATO and the securing of US membership was a considerable feather in the cap of Britain's Foreign Secretary, Bevin and strengthened Britain's position as a key element in a Western European security system.
- 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.

Arguments against the idea that Britain's decline had been exaggerated

- 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.
- Faced with financial ruin, Britain was forced to reduce some of her overseas commitments, resulting in military withdrawal from Greece, Turkey and Palestine.
- The loss of India was a staggering blow to Britain's military and political presence east of Suez as was the passage of Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.
- After the financial crises of 1947, 1949 and 1951, Britain's economic capacity to remain a world power, even with US aid was severely challenged by the fragility of her trading and financial position.
- 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.
- 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.

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

- Historiographically, there is some debate on the extent to which great power status had been diminished.
- **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.
- **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 debacle which finally did dispel any notions of world power status whilst more left leaning historians like **Fielding** bemoan Britain's subservient position between the two superpowers and focus on the degree to which Britain slavishly followed US foreign policy.

Britain at War and Peace (1939–1951)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about the differing views on the importance of RAF Fighter Command in preventing an invasion of Britain in 1940?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

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

Contextual and historical interpretation (maximum 10 marks)

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

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

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A and B** on the importance of RAF Fighter Command in preventing an invasion of Britain in 1940, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: accurate comment on John Keegan and his traditional view will receive credit under historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Comment on the considerable loss of life to Fighter Command in the summer of 1940.
- That most damage to Germany's air force capability was in the destruction of 600 of their bombing aircraft.
- States that had the Nazi leadership known precisely how depleted Britain's supply of fighter pilots was in August then they would have pressed home their attacks with much greater vigour.
- Keegan pays tribute to the sacrifice and courage of Fighter Command and stresses how they inflicted the first defeat of the war on Nazi Germany.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Candidates would be expected to refer to the commonly held viewpoint that Britain owed its safety from invasion to the RAF's victory in the Battle of Britain as expressed in Churchill's speech "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few".
- This being based on the assumption that Germany required control of the skies over Britain in order to protect her invasion force in Operation Sealion.
- Detail of the Battle of Britain itself and the huge losses in men and aircraft suffered by the RAF and the extent to which the Luftwaffe came close to achieving its objective of gaining control of the skies over Britain.

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include: accurate comment on this revisionist point of view from Dr Goulter will receive credit under historiography.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Stresses the large contribution made by Fighter Command but agrees with the alternative perspective (of Dr Andrew Gordon) that it was primarily the work of the navy which prevented the German invasion of Britain.
- According to the German general Jodl, the navy would have decimated any invading force since the German navy did not possess the warships necessary to get past the Royal Navy. Once that had been achieved there then was the combined threat of all of the RAF's resources to contend with.
- Goulter emphasises the importance of all of the branches of the RAF including Bomber and Coastal Commands in tackling the Nazi menace both in watching what the German troop movements in France were and in sinking hundreds of German merchant ships.
- Makes it clear that it was every branch of the RAF that was involved not just Fighter Command.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- That a slow moving invasion fleet of barges filled with soldiers would have been sitting ducks for the Royal Navy and that the certainty of massive loss of human life from such attacks would have dissuaded the Germans from launching any invasion even if they had gained temporary air superiority.
- Recent research suggests that the German navy had utterly rejected the notion of an invasion on all of these grounds if only because it would have been almost impossible to supply and reinforce any troops from the first wave of landings who did make it ashore.
- That the German threat of stretching a minefield across the channel to prevent the navy assisting in repelling an invasion force was an empty one since the German fleet contained very few of these mine laying ships anyway.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of views in the sources

- Some suggestion that Churchill himself thought an invasion unlikely but talked up the prospect of one as a method of drawing the USA into the conflict, keeping the British public behind the war effort and the trade unions quiet during his period of political difficulty in late 1940.
- Recent assertions by Dr Anthony Cummins that Fighter Command's attacks on German bombers were 'ineffectual' and that we owe a great deal more to the efforts of the Royal and Merchant navies than we care to admit.
- The belief prevalent amongst the navy at the time that fast-moving ships at sea were safe from aerial attack.
- Evidence that no capital ship had been sunk by an aircraft up to that point.

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

- Historiography on this subject is vibrant and controversial with the three senior military historians at the Joint Services Command Staff College, **Dr A Gordon, Dr Christina Goulter and Prof G Sheffield** all in broad agreement that it was the navy and not the RAF which prevented an invasion in 1940.
- **Dr Gordon:** "To claim that Germany failed to invade in 1940 because of what was done by the phenomenally brave and skilled young men of Fighter Command is hogwash."
- **Clive Ponting:** has produced statistical evidence to show that far from being heavily outnumbered, the RAF had changed its production methods to such effect that by October 1940, the RAF outnumbered the Luftwaffe.
- **Angus Calder:** asserts that the need for a myth of a generation of flying heroes was paramount and that such a myth energised the population and sustained morale.
- **Richard Overy:** concurs that the Battle of Britain has assumed the epic proportions of a Stalingrad and that the facts were juggled to produce a picture of the campaign which was in fact a caricature of itself.
- **Max Hastings:** would profoundly disagree and retains his belief in the primacy of the Battle of Britain in safeguarding the nation.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the two sources is helpful in offering a full perspective on the importance of RAF Fighter Command in preventing an invasion of Britain in 1940.

Question 2

How useful is Source C as evidence of why the Conservative Party lost the 1945 election?

(12 marks)

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source C** in explaining why the Conservatives lost the 1945 election in terms of:

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

- A much quoted excerpt from an election broadcast by Churchill himself.
- Candidate would be expected to identify and comment on the context and significance of the radio broadcast in terms of the election campaign.
- Comment on the inherent bias in the broadcast shown by Churchill against his erstwhile coalition colleagues from the Labour Party.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- The source contains the very negative views that Churchill expressed about the Labour Party in the run-up to the 1945 election. Churchill expressed many views that the public largely rejected.
- Churchill's view that a socialist Labour Party would be totalitarian in its outlook and that the democratic process would in some way be subservient to a worship of the state.
- That Churchill was suggesting a future Labour government would not only destroy free enterprise but would also subvert the basic human rights of individual Britons.
- That this would have to be achieved by the creation of some form of Gestapo within the police force.

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source

- Churchill thought long and hard before including these ideas in his election broadcast being aware of their implications and likely impact.
- Much 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.
- Evidence suggests this speech cost the Conservatives votes and confirmed in many minds Churchill's unsuitability to be a peacetime PM.

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

- There are several/many other reasons cited for Labour's victory in 1945 not mentioned in the source.
- The influence of ABCA on the forces' vote is often given as a cause but more modern research (**K Jeffreys** *Politics and the People* 2007) casts doubt on the strength of this argument.
- The memory of the 1930s and the ghost of Neville Chamberlain's era was forcefully expressed as a reason for voting Labour. There's little doubt that 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 not to vote Conservative.
- Many would argue that the Tories' lukewarm approach to the Beveridge Report sealed their fate and that they trusted Labour far more with the task of reconstructing Britain and delivering the 'New Jerusalem'.
- The Conservatives cried foul over the fact that the Labour Party's election agents had been in place throughout the war and that theirs had been serving in the forces and were less well organised when an election was called.
- 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.

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

- Historians like **Paul Addison** (*Road to 1945*) are more inclined to believe 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.
- Historians like **Fielding** urge caution in interpreting the 1945 election result as a resounding endorsement of Labour and socialism and he maintains that the result was more of an anti-Tory than pro-Labour vote. In an age when the public was thoroughly disenchanted with politicians, it would appear that the Labour Party was simply less unpopular than the Conservatives.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence of why the Conservative Party lost the 1945 election.

Question 3

How fully does Source D describe the impact of the Labour government's domestic policies between 1945–1951? (12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate analysis of the impact of the Labour government's domestic policies between 1945–1951 in terms of:

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

- Excerpt from the memoirs of former Tory Party leader and Prime Minister of the 1980s so will be highly biased, particularly given that her political agenda was the antithesis of that set by the Labour Party 1945–1951 and given that her 'conviction politics' were a principled objection to what she saw as the failed politics of consensus developed since 1945. Thatcher's policies of limited government intervention in industry were directly opposite to those of the post-war Labour governments.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)

- Thatcher criticises Labour for further enlarging the scope of government in a society already grown large by the requirements of total war.
- She criticises Labour for introducing crippling high rates of personal, business and consumer taxation.
- She implicitly criticises Labour for controlling the economy and nationalising industries.
- She takes Labour to task for setting in place a wide level of universal welfare benefits which covered many eventualities and which she says were forced upon those who would rather have relied on their own resources.
- Finally she criticises Labour for glorying in controls and planning and by implication increasing the level of bureaucratic interference in peoples' lives.

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

- Candidate should refer to the extent of Labour's nationalisation programme with details of industries involved.
- Candidate would be expected to provide specific details of welfare policies implemented and their degree of universality.
- Details should be provided of the extent to which Labour managed the economy as well as details on planning regulations for exports and imports as well as housing, health and transport.
- Some comment should be offered on the extent to which these government controls were popular and successful as well as comment on the difficulties with the economy which Labour inherited at the end of the war.

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

- The candidate would be expected to be familiar with **Corelli Barnett's** views that Labour wasted the resources afforded it under US loans and Marshall aid by implementing costly and socially undermining welfare policies at the expense of regenerating industry and educating the workforce for change. Certainly, Barnett is a product of the Thatcherite era and he was in tune with Thatcher's criticism of the creation post-war of a nanny state which allegedly robbed individuals of the virtues of self help and independence and which she criticised so heavily.
- An analysis of the short term financial crises of the late 40s and the austerity budgets which ensued would allow the candidate to offer an alternative view of Labour's economic competence as seen by the activities of the British Housewives League, a middle class protest group campaigning against government restriction on individual consumer choice.

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

- Nevertheless, the candidate would be expected to provide a more positive interpretation of Labour's achievements as seen by **Jeffreys, Pugh, Tomlinson** and **Morgan** who all credit Labour with achieving substantial economic growth alongside low inflation and the development of a universally admired welfare state, with **Peter Hennessey** at the head of this group.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the impact of the Labour government's domestic policies between 1945–1951.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]