



**2010 History**

**Higher Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

© Scottish Qualifications Authority 2010

The information in this publication may be reproduced to support SQA qualifications only on a non-commercial basis. If it is to be used for any other purposes written permission must be obtained from the External Print Team, Centre Services, Dalkeith.

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

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

## Paper 1

1 Each question is marked out of 20. *Where the candidate violates the rubric of the paper and answers two questions in one section, both responses should be marked and the better mark recorded.*

2 In Paper 1 candidates will be rewarded according to:

- a) **Knowledge and Understanding – 6 marks are allocated for** the relevant knowledge they use to address the question. Marks will be awarded for each accurate, full point they make; these points may be further developed, as in the following example, relating to the effectiveness of the Liberal Reforms:

**Old age pensions (0 marks for stating this) were given to all people over 70 (1 mark); married couples received 7/6 and single people 5s (a second mark for knowledge). This provision was not enough to live on, but old people were able to help pay their families if they lived with them (no further mark for knowledge, but an argument which would receive credit under the category Argument and Evaluation).**

- b) **Argument/Evaluation – 10 marks are allocated for** the quality of thought revealed in their answers by the arguments and evaluation demonstrated. This should be taken as including the extent to which the candidate:

gives an answer which is relevant to the question and relates explicitly to the question's terms;  
argues a case;  
makes the various distinctions required by the question;  
responds to all the elements in the question, and to any isolated factor in particular;  
explains, analyses, debates and assesses rather than simply describes or narrates;  
answers with clarity and fluency and in language appropriate to historical writing at this level.

- c) **Structure – 4 marks are allocated for** the appropriateness of the organisation of the answer, according to the degree to which the response

establishes the context of the question and the relevant factors to be considered in the introduction  
demonstrates a development of the issue  
responds to the question in the form of a balanced conclusion based on the evidence and arguments deployed.

3 The following descriptions provide additional guidance on the marks awarded to essays displaying various characteristics. Many essays will exhibit some, but not all, of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. **The characteristics should NOT be thought of as hurdles, all of which must be crossed before a boundary is reached. Marks should be awarded in the range where more of the characteristics are demonstrated; there is scope within the bands for argument and evaluation to reward greater or lesser achievement of the characteristics.** Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue rather than penalise what may have been omitted.

KNOWLEDGE –Up to 6 marks can be awarded

These are for substantive points and points further developed which are relevant and accurate.

STRUCTURE – Up to 4 marks can be awarded

- 0 marks            There is no identifiable attempt to establish context or relevant factor.  
The development is unstructured or random.  
There is no attempt to provide an answer in the terms of the question.
- 1 mark             There is some attempt to establish context or relevant factors.  
There is an attempt to develop an answer, though there may be some significant omissions.  
The conclusion may be implicit.
- 2 marks            The introduction establishes the context and indicates relevant factors.  
There is an identifiable development of the answer.  
The conclusion is a summary linked to the question.
- 3 marks            The introduction establishes the context, indicates relevant factors and outlines a line of argument.  
There is a coherent development directly related to the question.  
The conclusion is clearly based on the evidence presented, and is directly linked to the question.
- 4 marks            The introduction clearly sets the issue in its wider context, indicates relevant factors and demonstrates a solid line of argument.  
There is a coherent development directly focused on the question.  
The conclusion is balanced, summarising the arguments and coming to an overall judgement directly related to the question.

ARGUMENT – Up to 10 marks can be awarded:

- 0-1 marks        The style is narrative and descriptive  
There is little or no clear attempt to answer the question.
- 2-3 marks        The style is mainly narrative and descriptive.  
There are some brief attempts to answer the question.
- 4-5 marks        The style demonstrates some analysis, though there may still be some narrative.  
There is use of evidence to answer the question.
- 6-7 marks        The style is analytical, with the evidence used to develop and support a line of argument.  
The line of argument is focused directly on the question.
- 8-10 marks      The evidence is integrated into a sustained analysis.  
The argument is sustained and balanced, with some awareness of alternative interpretations and/or historical debate.

## **OPTION A – MEDIEVAL HISTORY**

### **HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH**

#### **MEDIEVAL SOCIETY**

Question 1: How significant was the role of knights in medieval society?

The candidate assesses the importance of knights in medieval society using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Emergence of Feudalism, the need to protect against Viking Raids**

- According to Bloch, feudalism emerged as a response to continued Viking raids on France. Bloch argues that it was necessary to have a warrior class to protect farmers and locals in times of warfare. Thus the importance of Knights' service and significance of protection that it offered both to the local nobility and the peasants whose land they shared.
- Brown agrees and goes on to further emphasise the importance of knights in English society after 1066. The need to have mounted knights to act as a quick response to Saxon rebellions, combined with the controlling factors of castles meant that without them the Normans would not have been able to keep control of England.

#### **The development of Chivalry**

- In the mid twelfth century the idea of Chivalry developed partly as a response to the Crusades and partly as a need to control the knightly classes. Knights became integral to medieval society, literature, music and art. Medieval stories of great knights, such as Roland or Arthur, became popular, inspired by the existence of knights.
- Tournaments began as a general melee of warriors, either practising combat or fighting for real. However in the twelfth century tournaments became an important part of the recognised conduct for knights. This further developed the importance of heraldry and social order through a code of loyalty or love to a lady etc.
- The church attempted to harness the power of the knights through introducing the "Peace of God", an attempt to limit the destruction of warfare in Europe and identify non-combatants and protect the church. This was later supplemented by the 'Truce of God', which prohibited fighting on Sundays and Church festivals. Churches targeted knights to swear these oaths, rather than monarchs.
- The Crusade was another attempt, at least partly, by the church to harness the power of the knights for the sake of their religion.

#### **Military importance**

- The military importance of the knights saw its heyday in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The power of a charge of armoured chivalry often decided the outcome of a battle. Their significance was not lost on David I when he attempted to recruit many knights to Scotland with grants of land, in an effort to develop his own authority in the kingdom and strengthen the Scottish military machine. By the beginning of the fourteenth century however, the military importance of the knights was beginning to wane, and defeats such as Bannockburn demonstrated the need for a more professional army.

#### **Arguments demonstrating the limited impact Knights have on society**

- Bloch in the 1940s also argued that the peasants were a far more important part of medieval society. Without their economic input into the feudal structure then the knightly class could have not survived. He therefore expands on his previous theory and argues that feudalism was not necessarily about military oaths and protection.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How important was the contribution of the Church in twelfth century Scotland and England?

The candidate assesses the contribution of the church in 12<sup>th</sup> century Scotland and England using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Religious contributions**

- The medieval church offered the people the hope of Salvation. The promise that in the afterlife things would improve, assuming that your soul was pure and free of sin. This offered a certain amount of social control but offered comfort and stability, providing answers to difficult questions.
- Church services – such as christenings, marriages and burials were an important contribution to society. The church also offered holy days, away from the pressure of the constant grind.
- Religion offered a certain amount of understanding about the world. The existence of God helped to explain not only how the world worked, but in a society without the benefit of science, the unexplained could often be frightening.
- The importance of Saints, Relics and Pilgrimages not only reinforced the power of God, but pilgrimage especially provided a way of opening new horizons and helping expand medieval Europe and trade.
- Monasteries position as ‘prayer factories’ provided hope for a greater salvation.

### **Social contributions**

- The church often provided Alms to the poor, offering the only real poor relief available.
- The church provided basic education for lay people, notably sons and daughters of nobility: the church, particularly the monasteries helped develop architecture, art and music: universities provided degrees in theology, medicine and arts.
- Church hospitals provided free medical care, especially for lepers.
- The church provided a social centre for rural and urban life: games and music were common after Sunday services.
- Women could attain a greater degree of social freedom if they became nuns.

### **Economic contributions**

- Monasteries made significant contributions to the economic development of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.
- They help to cultivate many barren areas of Britain.
- Some monasteries helped to fund and maintain important trades, such as the wool trade in Scotland.

### **Political contributions**

- Through the act of the coronation, the church legitimised monarchs.
- The papacy was a European-wide power, not only an Italian Prince, but able to influence other monarchs through the threat of excommunication and interdict.
- Monarchs required the help of the clerics to run the government, count taxes and write laws.
- In England the church was part of the feudal structure, able to raise armies to defend their lands, as the Bishop of Durham did at the Battle of the Standard in 1138.

### **Negative contributions**

- Independent scientific thought was at times suppressed. It was considered sacrilegious for example to suggest that the universe did not revolve around the earth or to question the creation of man.
- People were obliged to pay the tithe, a tax for church services.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: “Towns and burghs grew rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries primarily because of the development of international trade.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate evaluates the importance of international trade as a reason for the rapid growth of towns and burghs in the 12<sup>th</sup> century using evidence and arguments such as:

### **The isolated factor: International Trade and Banking**

- Towns that were granted a charter were, as part of their privileges, allowed to trade with foreign merchants. This gave towns, particularly along the coast, a great incentive to make money. Locals would be attracted to the new burgh’s market with the promise of exotic foreign goods, foodstuffs, wines, silks and other luxuries. Similarly foreign merchants could strike better deals with locals for their produce. Some towns began to specialise in foreign trade, such as Berwick which contained its own Flemish quarter, and went on to dominate that particular trade. International banking developed to further this European-wide trading: money lenders even began to advance sums to merchants.

### **Other factors**

#### **Domestic Trade and Guilds**

- Just as international merchants could be a big draw to towns and burghs, local merchants and annual fairs were also in demand. This forms the basis of Professor Barrow’s Market Demand Theory. Essentially towns grew up around castles, cathedrals or other significant political/religious establishments. The towns survived by furnishing the castle with all the crated items, food and goods that they needed to survive.

#### **Protection**

- Professor Duncan’s protection theory also argues that towns and burghs developed near castles and cathedrals. However, the difference here is the need for collective protection. The garrison or the sanctuary of the church offered enough defence to allow the town or burgh to develop without fear of raid or plunder.

#### **Freedom from Feudalism**

- Professor Duncan also argued that merchants needed to be free from feudal duties in order to travel and prosper. Towns generally offered protection from local feudal barons, and with their own councils established in their charters, merchants often felt empowered within the burgh.

#### **Political and financial benefits to monarchs**

- Monarchs found much benefit in establishing burghs in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.
- The rents of the burghers went straight to the coffers of the kings.
- Towns paid handsomely for their charters.
- Customs duties to goods entering and leaving towns formed an important part of the treasury.
- Burghs were a symbol of Royal power, as a castle Burghs helped symbolise the crown in remote areas far removed from court. Burghs tended to be strong supporters of peace and central law, hence the king.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: To what extent did David I create a 'Norman' Scotland?

The candidate assesses the extent to which David created a Norman Scotland using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Arguments suggesting that David was able to create a Norman Scotland**

- **Landholding** – David invited many of his friends from Henry I's court to Scotland. In exchange for their support and military aid he offered them land based on the Anglo-Norman model. Some historians recognise this as a form of Norman colonisation of Scotland.
- **The Church** – David established new bishoprics, formally lapsed Celtic Sees, however these were modelled on the Western Christian pattern, centred around Cathedrals and not monasteries. All new monasteries invested by David I were of the Roman model similar to the successful religious communities of Norman England. These monasteries were granted land, as they were in England, but were never part of the formal Feudal process and thus never had the right to raise troops.
- **The economy** – The development of burghs and the minting of his own coins along the English line. The coins, called Stirling, represented a step forward in terms of developing international trade.
- **The military** – David wanted to have a body of knights that would protect his throne from both domestic and foreign threats. These professional soldiers were more reliable and effective than Celtic warriors, many of whom owed their allegiance to the Mormaers (Native Earls) rather than the king. Landed knights and Barons established castles across Scotland, especially in regions not loyal to the crown.
- **Royal government** – David copied the Anglo-Norman style of government, surrounding himself with advisers such as the Chancellor and the Constable. Sheriffs emerged by increasing the powers of local thanes, a practice again copied from England. Sheriffs maintained the king's law, collected revenue and organised the feudal military force in their area.

#### **Arguments indicating that David did not create a Norman Scotland**

- **Celtic Traditions** – Not all Celtic traditions died out, many survived. Within the royal government the offices of the Doorwards and the Rannaire survived. The Mormaers took the oath of fealty and became Earls, yet retained considerable amounts of influence in their own regions. Some remained petty kings in their own right. The Celtic language continued and even David's coronation retained a Celtic element.
- **Military** – The majority of Scottish soldiers continued to be amassed from the old traditions of the common army. Earls (then Mormaers) raised their levies and marshalled them in the name of the king. The service in the common army was the duty of all freemen in Scotland, and shared some similar aspects to military feudalism, specifically land in exchange for the promise to fight.
- Celtic land measurements, food renders and Thanes continued across Scotland, but particularly in the North and the Western isles where David's reach was limited.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: How successful were Henry II's attempts to reform law and order in twelfth century England?

The candidate assesses how successful Henry II was in reforming law and order in 12<sup>th</sup> century England using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Arguments to suggest Henry was successful**

- Reform of Anglo-Saxon Justice – Trial by ordeal and Trial by combat were both still common under English law, the old Anglo-Saxon laws were still in existence and there were many loopholes that offered chance of corruption, Henry's new law system attempted to rectify this.
- Henry successfully reduced the number of types of courts in England; Baronial courts became less common as Barons were stripped of their rights to hear cases in their own lands.
- The Assizes of Clarendon (1166) and Northampton (1176) set out the new procedures and made the existing laws more uniform. English law was written down for the first time in order to make sentencing more consistent.
- Travelling judges (Justices in Eyre) were established. They travelled in circuits around England hearing cases and judging them under the new King's Law.
- Juries became a legal requirement, to round up the suspects and present them to the Sheriff.
- Writs were introduced to civil courts in order to compel individuals to attend. Writs were standardised and could be purchased by anyone. Thus they were very popular, as theoretically even nobles could be brought before the judge.
- Juries in civil cases were to make judgements based on fact not ordeal.
- Decisions were recorded so they could help settle other disputes in the future.
- Though historians are divided about whether or not this was his intent, Henry was able to reduce the power of the Barons in England as a result of his changes to the law system.
- The new justice system brought in much needed finances through fines and confiscation of land.

#### **Arguments to suggest that Henry's reforms were less than successful**

- In criminal law, guilt could still be determined through trial by combat or ordeal.
- Writs could be expensive and not everyone could afford to purchase one.
- Barons felt that their traditional rights were being attacked: this led to resentment against the throne.
- The biggest failure of the justice system lay in how it dealt with criminal clerics and other ordained churchmen.
- Church courts were separate from that of the crown, and churchmen always had the right to appeal to Rome. At the Assizes of Clarendon, Henry attempted to change this and bring the Church courts under the authority of the crown. This led to Henry's famous confrontation with Thomas Becket, and eventually led to the death of the Archbishop. While Henry survived the crises, many of the problems of church courts remained.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **NATION AND KING**

Question 6: “Financial difficulties were the main reason for the growth of baronial opposition during the reign of King John.” How valid is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which financial difficulties were the main reason for the growth of baronial opposition, by using arguments and evidence such as:

#### **Arguments that financial difficulties were to blame for the baronial revolt**

- **Financial demands** on England – Facing financial difficulties, thanks to the rising cost of warfare, inflation and his brother Richard, John became very apt at using feudal dues to claw back money for the treasury. His new taxes, on movables (1203 and 1207), his increased demands of scutage and use of the justice system to make money, all angered the barons. They saw John’s continual demands for money as excessive. Many were worried about setting precedents for future kings.

#### **Other factors**

- **Loss of Normandy** – Many see this as the underlying cause of the problems with the Barons. Not only had they lost their ancestral lands, not to mention the loss of revenue, but they believed that had Richard lived this would not have happened. John’s perceived military failure could have acted as impetus to the belief that a revolt could succeed.
- **Attempts to regain Normandy** – on the back of John’s stringent financial demands he once again showed his lack of military prowess as his grand alliance in 1214 collapsed and Normandy remained in the hands of the French.
- **Quarrel with Pope Innocent III** – John’s failure to come to terms with Innocent’s choice of Archbishop led to a protracted dispute that saw England placed under an interdict, and threatened by invasion from the King of France. However, his solution was even worse; handing over the country to the Pope as Feudal Overlord led to increased financial demands to pay the papal taxes and lack of church support against King John.
- **Arguments that John was a tyrant** – Mostly made by chroniclers, there is evidence of John taking hostages for the good behaviour of his Barons. He also purposely raised reliefs knowing it would place his barons in debt, thus attempting to ensure their loyalty. John acted as though he was above the law, destroying important nobles whom he believed, rightly or wrongly, of treachery, such as William de Briouze whose wife was imprisoned and starved for a comment about the murder of Arthur.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: How important was the development of central government in France in expanding royal power during the reign of Philip II?

The candidate assesses the importance of the development of central government in expanding royal power by using evidence and arguments such as:

- **Development of Royal Government** – As Philip conquered new lands he needed to develop a system of administering them. He discovered the English system in use in Normandy and copied it. Regional governors were loyal to Philip and were responsible for enforcing royal law and collecting taxes. To a certain extent these bypassed the powerful local nobles. These governors and their Ballies were far more accountable than the Counts and Barons had been, thus Philip was able to keep a tight control over them. Philip also established a justice system that enforced the rights of the crown. Nobles were forced to accept royal jurisdiction and more cases were heard by the Kings' court, rather than the Barons' court.

#### **Other Factors**

- **Successful dealings with the Angevins** – Philip had proved an able diplomat and strategist in his dealings with Henry II. He had managed to turn the King's sons against him, first Geoffrey in 1186, then with Richard and John in 1189. Henry was forced to accede to the Treaty of Azai, where Henry handed over land and agreed to pay homage to the French King for his lands in France.
- This was a significant victory for Philip, who was only aged 24. While Philip struggled in his dealings with Richard, he had no such problems against John. He was able to use Arthur of Brittany's claim to the throne of England to successfully split John's baronial support. Philip was also able to defeat John's great coalition of nobles at the battle of Bouvines in 1214.
- **Acquisition of new Royal estates** – Philip increased his holdings considerably. He forced the Count of Flanders to cede Vermandois and Aimeins. Henry II had handed over Auvergne, while King John lost Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. This new land offered increased revenue and allowed Philip to extend his feudal power. He reserved the feudal rights for himself.
- **Feudal rights and the economy** – Philip decreed that as King, he could not be any man's vassal. He also enforced his rights as a feudal overlord on the other French nobles. He forced the Count of Flanders to hand over his relief when he inherited his lands. He also took hostages from his Barons to enforce their good behaviour.
- He used his feudal rights to raise relief, aids and scutage to help finance his wars. However the economy's development helped considerably. Philip sold charters to towns in newly conquered areas to increase their support and encourage trade.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: How important were the Scottish Wars of Independence in helping create a sense of Scottish identity?

The candidate makes an assessment of the importance of the Wars of Independence using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Arguments to suggest that the Scottish Wars did create a sense of Scottish identity**

- **Guardians** and the community of the realm – After the death of Alexander III there was no indication that the kingdom of Scots would not survive. Indeed the Guardians chosen from a cross-section of society worked closely to establish their kingdom on a secure footing.
- **Treaty of Birgham** – Indicated that despite a marriage between the Scottish and English royal family, Scotland's independence would be secure, as would its church, laws, taxes and parliament.
- **Career of Wallace** – Wallace's supposed reason for rebellion is due to his patriotism for King John and Scotland. His actions and deeds have long been used to argue that he believed in Scottish independence and national identity.
- **Help of the commoners or 'wee folk'** – Wallace relied heavily on the common folk in his army, as did Andrew Murray, and Bruce at Bannockburn. Without the support of the nobility (in many cases) the common army of Scotland turned out to fight for the cause of independence.
- **Declaration of Arbroath** – The Declaration put forward a strong case for Scottish independence and stated that for as long as 100 remained alive they would continue their fight for their freedom. It is a powerful document that (at least on the surface) had the backing of most of the important men at the time. Barrow argues that the content of the document would have been discussed by the council assembled at Newbattle and claims that the document should be seen as a national document. He goes on to point out the section that threatens to depose Bruce if he fails in his duty to protect Scotland.
- **Chroniclers** – Numerous chroniclers write about the spirit of the community of the realm and how many were loyal to the Scottish cause. There are accounts of anti-English feeling, name throwing and insults being cast down. Much of what is written has a strong pro-Scottish or strong pro-English slant.

#### **Arguments to suggest that it did not**

- **Nationalism** – Modern historians have argued that the term of nationalism doesn't belong in the middle-ages. They argue that you don't get national feeling in any country prior to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the advent of the nation state. Instead they prefer to use the term Community of the Realm which invokes a more collective notion of defence and security, rather than a nationalistic response to identity.
- **Chroniclers** – Most were writing after the time of the events, and thus are giving contemporary opinions for the court of David II, Robert II and Robert III. Thus they tend to emphasize the legitimacy of Bruce over Balliol, and thus the legitimacy of the whole wars of independence. In this light many historians find their work to be biased by the political motivations of the time, rather than giving a true insight to the feeling of the people of Scotland during the wars.
- **Declaration of Arbroath** – Many historians argue that the declaration was a clever political piece of propaganda by Robert to the pope. They point out that not everyone in Scotland could have been aware of the content of the document. There was also an assassination attempt on Robert months before by followers of Balliol. Thus it doesn't demonstrate Scottish independence but Robert's political savvy.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: How significant was the contribution of Robert Bruce in helping Scotland to victory in the Scottish Wars of Independence?

The candidate makes an assessment of the significance of Robert Bruce, using evidence and arguments such as:

- **Early contributions** – Bruce and Red Comyn worked together for a short period as joint guardians of Scotland. There are some arguments that suggested that the Steward's help to Wallace was at the behest of Bruce.
- **Murder of Comyn and crowning** – While killing Comyn was clearly a mistake, and effectively split the Scottish support for independence, it did remove the key figurehead of the Comyn/Balliol faction. Once Bruce had been crowned it gave him a sense of legitimacy that Wallace and Comyn had lacked.
- **Victory during the civil war** – The 1307-1313 campaign to regain control of Scotland was a success. The Comyn family was defeated and many of Balliol's supporters fled to England. Scotland was now, at least on the surface, behind Bruce.
- **Successful tactics** – Successful use of guerrilla tactics, destruction of castles that had fallen into his hands, and the unwillingness to fight a pitched battle left Bruce in a strong position, and gave him a sense of invincibility.
- **Bannockburn** – Bruce needed to win this battle, and the manner in which he did, ended any real military threat to his reign from within and without Scotland. Many nobles now came over to his side.
- **Pressure on Northern England** – The constant raids into Northumbria and Cumbria weakened English morale and provided much needed money for Bruce's cause. At the same time it did nothing to prevent the increasing English monetary problems.
- **Government in Scotland** – Effective and fair leadership did a lot to win his doubters around. He also forbade nobility from owning land in both Scotland and England.

#### **Other factors leading to the Scottish victory**

- **Role of other leaders** – Many historians, such as A. Grant, point out that Wallace, Murray, Douglas and others had significant contributions that should not be overlooked.
- **Death of Edward I and English weakness** – Certainly Edward II did not have the same drive to pursue a Scottish campaign that his father did. Without Edward's skill in battle the English struggled to form an effective force at Bannockburn.
- **Role of the Scottish Church** – Bishop Wishart and other leading clerics in Scotland strongly supported independence for Scotland, and Bruce himself. Their help in deflecting criticism and excommunication from Rome was very significant.
- **Strategic considerations of Scotland** – Was Scotland simply too difficult for English forces to cost-effectively keep hold of? What was the financial gain for barons to pursue such an enterprise?

#### **Any other relevant factors**

## CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

Question 10: “The most significant outcome of the Hundred Years War was its economic impact on England and France.” How valid is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the significance of the Hundred Years War, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Economic impact on England and France**

- **Expensive wars** – More and more the kings (especially in England) had to turn to parliament or provincial assemblies to help fund the war. In England this usually meant taxes on the wool trade, but at levels that could not be sustained.
- In France the king tended to apply levies then ask for permission afterwards.
- Much of the war was fought in France and had a devastating impact on the agricultural economy: much of the French overseas trade was disrupted.

### **Other impacts on England and France**

- **Development of warfare** – The mounted knight was no longer the battle winner that he had been before the war. Now the concentration was on professional foot soldiers equipped with pikes or longbows, and later on the introduction of firearms. This inevitably became a factor in the decline of feudalism as the old feudal hosts no longer had a significant impact on the battlefield.
- **The development of Parliament in England** – therefore became a regular body which began to retain its own traditions and expectations. By the time of Richard II, the people could claim that the king could no longer rule without parliament. It is worth noting however, that this did not lead to a parliamentary government yet.
- **War of the Roses** – Central government decayed as the two houses of York and Lancaster fought over the throne, causing a long period of instability for England.
- In France provincial assemblies came to dominate the political landscape, allowing the King to develop a more central role, leading to a more autocratic rule later on.
- **Nationalistic sentiment** – Some historians argue that the war stimulated nationalism in both England and France, much in the same way that the Wars of Independence did for Scotland.
- **Peasant unrest** – The Jacquerie in France and to a lesser extent the Peasant’s Revolt in England were stimulated by the events of the Hundred Years War. In France wandering bands of mercenaries ravaged the countryside. Many of the nobles that were supposed to keep law and order had been killed in the fighting.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 11: How important were events such as the Peasant's Revolt and the Jacquerie in bringing about the end of serfdom?

The candidate makes an assessment of the importance of events such as the Peasants' Revolt and the Jacquerie, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Peasants' Revolt and the Jacquerie as reasons for the decline of the serfs**

- **Peasants' Revolt** – The revolt had been inspired by the desire to return the level of labourers' wages to that of pre-plague torn England. But it was the threat of a new poll tax in 1381 that led to the outbreak of the revolt. The leaders of the revolt, Watt Tyler and John Ball, demanded from the King an effective end to serfdom. However, with the death of the leaders and the failure of the revolt, the landowners were quick to put down the threat.
- **Jacquerie** – was a popular revolt in northern France in and around 1358, following the defeat of the French King at the battle of Poitiers. It was brought on by the harsh tax regime placed upon the peasants by French nobles in order to rebuild the war torn country. Mostly the peasants revolted because of the anarchy that French society had dissolved into, with large war bands devastating the countryside. However a significant group believed that they should rid themselves of the French nobility and their ties to them. The uprising was put down at the battle of Mello, and thus like the Peasants' Revolt it had little long-term impact on the role of peasants in Europe.

#### **Other reasons for the decline of the serfs**

- **The Black Death** – After the high death rates of the Black Death across Europe the numbers of labourers in the fields were significantly reduced. It became obvious to the peasantry that their skills were now in much demand. They now could set the terms, not their lord. Peasants that were not well treated were able to seek employment elsewhere, with little or no questions asked by their new lord. Hundreds of thousands of peasants thus migrated across Europe in search of a better deal.
- **Increase of importance of a cash rent** – When the significance of the rent in kind began to reduce in the later middle ages, thanks to the ever increasing need for taxes, feudal lords began to see the need to free their workers. In such cases many lords 'freed' their serfs in exchange for cash rents rather than service.
- **Long-term factors** – Throughout the later middle ages, landowners began to change their outlook to their demesnes. They were no longer profitable due to the low price of grain and the high cost of wages. Many landowners rented out their lands wholesale or in large parts to individuals. This led to a consolidation of farms and some enclosures. As a result many landowners began to lose interest in their land and moved to the urban centres. The fear among many, that the lower classes would no longer know their place without the restrictions of serfdom, slowly disappeared. Landowners retained their titles and positions.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: To what extent can it be argued that the Black Death had a devastating effect on European society?

The candidate makes an assessment of the effect of the Black Death on European society, using evidence and arguments such as:

**Arguments to suggest that the Black Death had a devastating impact on European society:**

### **The ‘devastating impact’ of the Black Death**

- **Death Rate** – It is estimated that between one third and one half of the population of Europe died as a result of the Black Death. The emotional and psychological effects on the survivors were enormous. Many villages lost as much as 25% of their population while others were so devastated that they simply ceased to exist. This led to the ‘lost villages’ of England. Urban areas were disproportionately hit, leading to crises in many towns and cities.
- **Poverty and hunger** – With so many dying it became harder to acquire enough food to feed the survivors. England for example, could not afford to buy any foodstuffs from abroad. This was made worse as many Kings forbade the transportation of food in case it helped the spread of the disease. Malnutrition was common and the weakness of the people was a contributing factor in the high mortality rate. Many historians believe that Europe was already in a recession at this time. The Black Death therefore exacerbated the problem leading to European-wide poverty that affected all forms of society.
- **Effects on religion** – In the short term there was an increased devotion to the Church, as many saw this as their only salvation from the pestilence. However it soon became obvious that the Church could not offer any help, and indeed the most holy sites such as the monasteries were often hit the hardest by the plague because of their tendency to tend the sick. Cults such as the flagellants sprung up throughout Europe, predicting the end of the world. Support of organised religion declined slightly and a more cynical view of the Church replaced the blind devotion of the earlier age.
- **Little Ice Age** – One long-term effect speculated on by some historians focuses on the cooling of the earth in the later middle ages. It has been argued that the lack of cultivation in the years following caused a rise in more vegetation and trees. This in turn led to less carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, thus cooling the planet.

### **Positive impact**

- **Overcrowding** – It has been argued that prior to the Black Death, Europe had been overpopulated. The high mortality decreased the population to a state that there was no longer land hunger. The economy could cope with the more manageable population levels. There were cheaper land prices, and more food for the average peasant.
- **Wages and social movement** – The decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Indeed the shortage of labourers is often attributed to the decline of serfdom in Western Europe. Landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs’ services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions of those that survived. Peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could find themselves propelled upwards on the social ladder.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 13: “The Conciliar Movement, despite some early success, was unable to fully solve the problems facing the Church in the fifteenth century.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate assesses how successful the Conciliar movement was in being able to solve the problems of the church, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Effectiveness of the Conciliar Movement**

- Avignon Papacy – the papal decision to move the holy see to Avignon was seen as a highly damaging decision; thus the move back to Rome was seen as a step in the right direction.
- The Great Schism – The council of Constance (1414-18) ended the damaging schism of the Western Church. The new pope Martin V was elected under the protection of Emperor Sigismund and the two anti-popes were denounced.
- There was a short term wave of confidence in the church following the Council of Constance. People believed that a regular meeting of councils would be able to revive the interests of national and local churches in the central authority of Rome.

### **Continuing problems of the Church**

- The papacy had different ideas to that of the Conciliar movement; it was intent on restoring the power of the papacy at the earliest opportunity. Thus more infighting and scandal turned followers away from Rome.
- Many Delegations to the Councils were under the thumb of their local rulers and argued for regional matters rather than the central issues that were important to the lay people of Europe.
- European kingdoms, far from giving up their control of their clergy, had won the initiative while the papacy and the councils had fought between themselves. Their clergy now only paid limited attention to Rome, the wishes of the Pope or that of the Councils.
- Some historians argue that the Papacy itself lost interest in the universal church, getting bogged down with local Italian problems, much like any other Italian prince.
- Complaints about the moral activities of clerics continued to increase, while poverty continued to be a problem across Europe. Neither the council nor the Papacy was able to effectively deal with this fundamental problem.
- An increase in heresies such as Hussites and Lollards demonstrated the continued disaffection of people with the church. Eventually this led to the break up of the universal church in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **OPTION B – EARLY MODERN HISTORY**

### **HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH**

#### **SCOTLAND IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION 1542–1603**

Question 1: To what extent were developments in Scotland between 1542 and 1548 influenced by the conflicting interests of England and France?

The candidate assesses the extent to which developments in Scotland were influenced by the conflicting interests of England and France using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Difficulties facing Scotland in this period**

- Both England and France wished to dominate Scotland.
- Scotland had in Mary Queen of Scots a female minority. This often led to intervention in Scotland's domestic affairs.
- Auld alliance with France still existed but some Scots began to question its worth.
- Henry VIII released Scottish prisoners to promote the English cause in Scotland.
- Henry sent an envoy to Scotland to promote his plans.
- As a concession to protestant sympathies an act was passed at this time to allow nobles to read the scriptures in the vernacular.

#### **Treaty of Greenwich**

- 1543 Treaty of Greenwich planned marriage between Henry VIII son, Edward and Mary. This would have brought Scotland closer to England.
- The Governor, Arran was pro-English, with Protestant sympathies.
- The Scots backtracked on the Treaty as Henry increased his demands eg End the alliance with France, send Mary to England.
- Henry failed to formally ratify the treaty which gave the Scots an excuse to back out.

#### **Scots influenced by the French to reject the Treaty**

- Cardinal Beaton and Mary of Guise put pressure on Arran. Both were pro-French and Catholic.
- The Scots Parliament passed an act against heresy, this time firming its position as a Catholic country. The French were to provide money and supplies in return.
- Mary of Guise began to lead the opposition against England and she increased her popularity as a result.

#### **English reaction to rejection of the Treaty**

- Henry VIII response was to invade Scotland – This became known as the 'rough wooing'. This caused devastation on the Borders and south east of Scotland.
- Even pro-English Scots now joined the opposition.
- The English appear to have encouraged the preaching tour of the protestant George Wishart. He was burned at the stake.
- 1547, Cardinal Beaton was assassinated by Protestants perhaps as a reprisal. They occupied St Andrews castle, requiring French troops to retake it.
- Protector Somerset continued this policy after Henry died and at the battle of Pinkie a large but ill-equipped Scottish army was defeated.
- English garrisons were placed on the Forth and Tay. The English garrisons encouraged protestant ideas by distributing Bibles and protestant books.

### **French intervention in Scotland**

- By the winter of 1547-48 the Scots were finding it difficult to remove this occupation. The French were asked for help.
- The French wanted to maintain the alliance as it was valuable to them to have a country to the north of their enemy, England.

### **Treaty of Haddington 1548**

- Henri II of France proposed a marriage Treaty between the Dauphin and Mary (Treaty of Haddington, 1548).
- His plan was to eventually unite Scotland to France.
- Arran was given the Dukedom of Chatelherault.
- June 1548 about 6 000 French troops arrived in Scotland. Mary was sent to France for safety.
- The French besieged the English at Haddington, but it was the attack on the English garrison at Boulogne which led to the removal of English troops.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How important was English intervention in the success of the Reformation in Scotland?

The candidate assesses the extent to which English intervention brought about the Reformation in Scotland using evidence and arguments such as:

### **English intervention**

- In the 1540s English intervention had encouraged protestant ideas. English troops had distributed protestant literature.
- The English had encouraged George Wishart's preaching tour—inspired future leaders like John Knox.
- However they failed to give military support to the Protestants besieged in St Andrews castle.
- During the reign of Mary Tudor, England had become Catholic again—no help to Scots Protestants.
- After 1558 when Elizabeth I became queen in England, Scottish Protestants were given a major psychological boost – the Bonds – more nobles openly signing up to the protestant cause.
- Protestant congregations began to meet for worship using the English prayer book.
- The English intervention in 1560 gave supplies and military support to the Lords of the Congregation.
- January 1560 saw a fleet sent north to cut off French supply lines and in the spring troops entered the south east of Scotland to be based at Haddington.

### **Other Factors**

#### **Weakness of the Catholic Church**

For some time the Catholic Church in Scotland had suffered from various problems:

- The decline of monasticism and corruption in nunneries, lack of education for clergy and laxity in following church law.
- Pluralism a major problem – revenues for more than one parish were being pocketed by one man.
- Minors being given top positions in church – crown and nobility taking much of churches' revenues.
- Attempts at reform were made but were not enough.
- None of the bishops actively opposed reformation in 1560. Three joined the Protestants.

#### **Increased Protestant activity**

- Formation of the Lords of the Congregation. They took up arms against Mary of Guise.
- The 'Beggar's Summons' demanded the flitting of the Friars.
- 1559 Perth and Dundee declared themselves Protestant towns.

#### **Role of John Knox**

- Knox regarded as key religious leader – not in Scotland when Lords of the Congregation were formed.
- Returned May 1559. His preaching at Perth caused riots – led to attacks on religious houses.
- For a time he became minister of St Giles in Edinburgh.
- Some historians feel his role has been overstated.

#### **French intervention becomes unpopular**

- The presence of French troops in Scotland had become increasingly unpopular.
- The fact that Scotland was being increasingly treated as a French province made some doubt the alliance.
- Increased taxation for French troops and a planned fort at Kelso was also unpopular.

### **Death of Mary of Guise**

- A boost to the reformers. Mary of Guise kept Scotland Catholic – appeared to be gaining the upper hand against the Lords of the Congregation just prior to her death.
- It is significant that the reformation took place so soon after her death.
- No ‘Catholic’ leadership emerged after her death, thus creating a political vacuum.
- The Protestants were quick to take the lead.

### **Scots Protestants seize power**

- The Treaty of Edinburgh got rid of French and English troops from Scotland.
- The Reformation parliament, largely attended by Protestants, brought in the reformation.
- Mary Queen of Scots was in France and did not accept this but did nothing to actually oppose it.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: To what extent were the difficulties faced by Mary Queen of Scots in ruling Scotland the result of religious divisions?

The candidate assesses the extent to which Mary's difficulties were as a result of religious divisions using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Importance of Religious divisions**

- 1560 Scotland was declared Protestant by Parliament. Mary in France remained Catholic and did not accept the decision of Parliament.
- A very unusual situation for this period of time – monarch a different religion from their country was unheard of.
- Expectations would be that Mary would try to reverse this decision.
- Mary was slow to return to Scotland – did not come back until August 1561. On her return Mary did nothing to reverse the Reformation.
- She did not accept the offer of troops from Huntly.
- Instead she took her support from the moderate reformers including her half brother Lord James Stewart. They guaranteed her, her own personal religion.
- In 1563 the crown shared the income from the Thirds with the new Church.
- She declared in 1565 that the reformed church had been taken into her protection.
- In 1567 she was married according to protestant rites.
- Donaldson argued that it was not her religion that brought about her downfall.

### **Lack of attention to matters of State**

- Poor attendance at Council meetings.
- She often preferred to hide away with servants and favourites.

### **Problems with her nobility**

- At the start of her reign she had to deal with Huntly's revolt. This showed that being a Catholic would not avoid retribution.
- The Chase-About Raid was one of the results of her marriage to Darnley.
- Nobles' feeling neglected was one of the reasons for the Riccio murder. Although Riccio was also a Catholic and suspected of being a Papal agent.
- Nobles were also involved in the Darnley murder.
- In 1567 some of her nobles finally took up arms against her as the Confederate Lords.

### **Claim to the English throne**

- This created a suspicious monarch in Elizabeth of England.
- It might have gone some way to explain why Mary was so reluctant to reverse the reformation in Scotland – Civil war in Scotland would not make her popular in England.
- England gave refuge to the Earl of Moray after the Chase-About Raid.

### **Poor personal decisions**

- Darnley soon proved to be an unsatisfactory match due to his lifestyle and his demands for the Crown Matrimonial.
- Birth of a son provided the opposition with a potential replacement for Mary.
- Mary was implicated in his murder.
- Mary, with undue haste, married Bothwell, the prime suspect at the time of Darnley's murder.
- Strange circumstances surrounded her abduction by Bothwell.
- Bothwell, although Protestant, was not popular with many of the nobles.
- Mary was forced to abdicate in 1567 – Her half brother became the Regent.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: “The main problems facing James VI up to 1603 were issues of law and order.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate assesses the extent to which issues of law and order were the main problem for James VI up to 1603 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Law and Order**

- James worked to extend law and order to more remote parts of the kingdom.
- Joint policing took place in the borders with some success.
- An attempt to settle ‘civilised’ Scots from Fife on Lewis failed.
- Perhaps the most difficult issue for James, and at times his administration, was that he appeared weak.
- Feud between Bothwell and Huntly was successfully dealt with when they joined forces to rebel against the king in 1594.
- James used those nobles loyal to him to persuade others to be more respectful of the law.
- Even as late as 1600, the Gowrie conspiracy showed nobles prepared to threaten the king.

### **Other Factors**

#### **Problems with the Kirk**

- James wanted a church with bishops. This brought him into conflict with the Presbyterian party led by Andrew Melville.
- In 1581, 13 Presbyteries had been set up. This was seen as a challenge to royal authority.
- 1584, the ‘Black Acts’ subjected the Kirk to the authority of the crown. Ministers were asked to subscribe. This forced some into exile.
- 1592 ‘Golden Acts’ reaffirmed the privileges of the Kirk, General Assembly and Presbyteries. However the General Assembly could only meet with the consent of the king. James used this to his advantage, with the Assembly meeting in the North East where he could rely on more support.
- In 1600, James appointed bishops to parliament. He had clearly gone far in controlling the Kirk.

#### **Financial Problems**

- The crown reached the point of being almost bankrupt. This was to place limitations on James in his attempt to exert his authority.
- Revision of customs rates and import duties were introduced.
- Taxation was increased.
- Central government was to have an increased impact on local society.

#### **Problem of assuring the English succession**

- Central to James’ foreign policy was a pro-English policy in pursuit of the succession.
- The Treaty of Berwick 1586 cemented Anglo-Scottish friendship. James gained a pension from Elizabeth.
- James made an extremely muted protest at the execution of his mother in 1587.
- James was to assure Elizabeth of his support at the time of the Spanish Armada.
- James also moved against pro-Spanish Scottish nobles.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: How significant was the desire for the English throne in influencing the policies followed by James VI up to 1603?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the desire for the English throne influenced the policies of James VI using evidence and arguments such as:

### **James' claim to the English throne**

- Marriage of James IV to Margaret Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) had brought Scottish royal house close to that of England.
- Mary Queen of Scots had regarded herself as the 'true' queen of England.
- When James was baptised he was proclaimed as the 'new Arthur' King of the Britons.
- James was the closest relative to Elizabeth I of England.
- Heir by rules of primogeniture.

### **Main alternatives to James**

- The Spanish Infanta (daughter of Phillip of Spain).
- A more distant English relative of Elizabeth.

### **James' relations with Elizabeth I**

- James maintained a regular correspondence with Elizabeth.
- Extremely muted protest from James on the execution of his mother.
- His marriage to Anna of Denmark was suitable to Elizabeth.
- Elizabeth remained reluctant to name James as her heir.
- Elizabeth did however grant James a pension.

### **James' policy towards England**

- Central to all his actions was a pro-English policy.
- Treaty of Berwick, 1586 Anglo-Scottish friendship.

### **James reaction to the Spanish Armada**

- James was to assure Elizabeth of his support.
- James also had a number of pro-Spanish nobles arrested.

### **Religious Policy**

- James remained firmly as a Protestant thus increasing his chances of the English throne.
- James aimed to have a Church in Scotland with Bishops. This would be in line with England.

### **Image of Kingship**

- James cultivated an image as King which fitted in to a future as King of England.
- A number of titles were used for James including Arthur legendary King of the Britons and Brutus, unifier of Briton.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND IN THE CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS 1603–1702**

Question 6: How important were disputes with Parliament in causing challenges to the authority of James VI and I after 1603?

The candidate evaluates the importance of disputes with Parliament as a reason for the challenges to the authority of James VI and I after 1603, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Disputes with Parliament**

- James antagonised English MPs by refuting their accustomed right to formulate policy.
- James attempted to assert Divine Right as he had done in Scotland.
- House of Commons opposed Divine Right.
- King's defeat in Goodwin Case gave English Parliament motivation to further challenge him.
- King's imprisonment of outspoken MPs was an attempt to devalue their freedom of speech.

### **Other factors**

#### **Conflict with Puritans**

- James displayed antipathy towards Presbyterianism.
- James was determined to support Episcopalian Church in England.
- King sided with High Church in order to maintain authority of Bishops.
- Rejection of Millenary Petition at Hampton Court conference.
- King took stance against demands for Puritan reform of the church.

#### **James' position in relation to Roman Catholicism**

- King infuriated MPs by relaxing recusancy laws.
- Charges of favouritism towards Catholicism.
- Background of Gunpowder Plot led to increased suspicion of Roman Catholics.
- English Parliament was horrified that King allowed son to marry Catholic French princess.

#### **Financial factors**

- James wanted to exist financially independent of English Parliament.
- King enforced anachronistic laws drawn from statute books to raise revenue.
- Devices such as monopolies and wardships were used, angering MPs.
- Honours and titles were sold to the 'nouveau riche', devaluing seats in House of Lords.
- English Parliament defied King's policy by declaring increases in customs duties to be illegal.

#### **Legal issues**

- James manipulated courts system to suit himself.
- King appointed judges he knew would favour him in court.
- English Parliament perceived abuse of power by king.
- King imposed martial law and billeted troops in civilian homes in coastal towns.
- English Parliament opposed James' efforts to control judicial systems.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: To what extent were financial issues the main cause of the Civil War?

The candidate evaluates the importance of financial issues as cause of the Civil War, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Financial issues**

- Charles I wanted to be financially independent of Parliament.
- Charles used anachronistic methods of raising revenue.
- Forced loans and forest laws were unpopular with MPs.
- Charles raised tannage and poundage without Parliament's consent.
- King used Court of Star Chamber to fine those committing crimes against royal policy.
- King used legal loopholes to sell monopolies.
- In 1634 he re-imposed ship money and in 1635 extended the tax inland.

### **Political disputes**

- Charles I asserted Divine Right, treated promises lightly – surrounded by advisors unsuited to positions.
- Parliament introduced bills and Charles I disapproved, imprisoning MPs who criticised him.
- House of Commons antagonised Charles by arresting serving ministers.
- Impeachments showed that ministers were responsible to Parliament as well as the Crown.
- Parliament drew up Petition of Right in 1628, forced the king to sign it.
- In 1629 king dissolved Parliament, and between 1629 and 1640 ruled absolutely without them.

### **Religious conflict**

- Charles relaxed laws against Roman Catholics and promoted High Church policies.
- William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, wanted to stamp out Puritanism.
- Those offending the Church were brought to trial – Laud's policies were detested by all Puritans.
- Charles I authorised the punishment of Puritan preachers and clamp-down on conventicles.
- Censorship of printed word to prevent criticism of the Church.
- 20,000 Puritans fled England to America in 10 years.
- In 1637 Laud imposed Prayer Book in Scotland, opposed by members of Scottish Kirk.
- Thousands of Scots signed National Covenant.
- Charles I lost Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 against Scots Covenanters.
- King allowed queen to celebrate Mass publicly at court with Pope's representative present.

### **Legal matters**

- MPs resented Court of Star Chamber being used as instrument of royal policy.
- Laud used Court of High Commission to persecute Puritans.
- Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was chief minister from 1628 onwards.
- Strafford used Council of the North to enforce 'Thorough' policies.
- Strafford, later Lord Deputy of Ireland, made Irish subservient to the king.

### **James I**

- Had angered MPs 1603-1625, attempted to raise taxes, asserted Divine Right, curtailed freedom of speech, rejected Puritan demands for church reform, abused the justice system.

### **Charles' actions, 1640-42**

- Charles I needed funding for Bishops Wars, MPs demanded abolition of prerogative courts and ship money, and passed Triennial Act, impeached Wentworth; Puritans and High Church in bitter dispute; rebellion in Ireland as people rose up against policies imposed by Wentworth; threatened invasion by Scots; Charles I entered Commons to arrest Puritan MPs, then left London for the North; by March 1642 Parliament formed an army; king raised standard at Nottingham.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: How far was religious freedom the main aim of the Covenanting movement?

The candidate evaluates the importance of religious freedom as aim of the Covenanting movement, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Religious freedom**

- National Covenant of 1638 advocated church existing independently of monarch.
- Covenanters wanted to maintain independence of Scottish Kirk.
- Resented Archbishop of Canterbury's attempts to spread Anglicanism in Scotland.
- Resisted proposed unification of British churches.

### **Rejection of English influence**

- Before Covenant was signed, there were signs of popular rejection of English practices.
- Incident at St. Giles in Edinburgh – Jenny Geddes threw stool at Dean reading from Prayer Book.
- Scots came out against Prayer Book, giving impetus to Covenanting movement in 1638.

### **Covenanting movement – general issues**

- Established to defend against Charles I's religious policies.
- Active politically and militarily.
- War of the 3 Kingdoms was result of Covenanters' defiance of Charles I.
- Solemn League and Covenant, 1643 – alliance between Covenanters and English Parliament.

### **Political objective**

- Covenanters inspired political opposition to authority of Charles I in Scotland.
- Nobles resented devaluing of their position in deference to the bishops.
- Appointment of bishops rather than nobles to Scottish Privy Council created resentment.
- John Spottiswoode given post of Chancellor in Scotland.
- Non-secular nature of appointment led to political and religious opposition.
- Covenanters gave weight to those opposing English policy of undermining Scottish nobility.
- Scot's opposition to Charles I created collective will against Stuart notion of Divine Right.

### **Military purpose**

- Covenanting movement led to Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640.
- Scots forced Charles I to agree to truce at end of 1<sup>st</sup> Bishops' War in Pacification of Berwick.
- Pacification acknowledged Scots' military victory and conceded religious freedom to them.
- Treaty of Ripon at end of 2<sup>nd</sup> Bishops' War benefited Scotland financially.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: To what extent was dependence on the military the reason for Cromwell's failure to establish successful government?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the dependence on the military as a reason for Cromwell's failure to establish successful governments, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Dependence on the military**

- Officers joined Council of State – Army extremists opposed Parliament in governing country.
- Military dictatorship from 1653 drew comparisons with James I's martial law.
- Cromwell drew up military districts during 2<sup>nd</sup> Protectorate from 1656.
- Parliamentarians resented influence of army on constitutional affairs.

### **Absence of monarchy**

- Council of State declared a Republic – no monarchical check on Parliamentary power.
- Royalists viewed king's execution as regicide.
- In Scotland, Charles II crowned king – his supporters wanted him to ascend throne in England.
- Cromwell ruled absolutely twice during Interregnum, drawing comparisons with Charles I.

### **Cromwell's role**

- Cromwell espoused democratic principles but acted dictatorially – he favoured military.
- Naturally conservative, but many policies were ahead of time, such as relief for poor.
- Puritan but passed progressive reforms, such as civil marriages.
- Preoccupied with foreign matters early on in his rule.
- Relied on army, ignored Parliament, suffered absence of monarch.
- Surrounded by enemies – royalists, Levellers, Presbyterians, army extremists.

### **Foreign matters**

- Faced with invasion, Cromwell fought several battles to control Scotland.
- Had to put down rebellions in Ireland where Royalists and Catholics were treated brutally.
- War waged on Holland to enforce Navigation Acts – In mid-1650s war with Spain – increased taxes.
- Foreign distractions meant social issues were not addressed appropriately.
- Social instability in England while foreign policy was being addressed.

### **Parliament**

- Puritans amongst Rump Parliament keen on church reform and viewed this as a priority.
- Parliament was opposed to role of Army, wanted to have greater say in constitution.
- Barebones Parliament full of well-intentioned but inexperienced men.
- Quarrels between MPs and army officers were feature of Interregnum.
- Parliament stood in way of toleration and prevented healing of religious wounds.

### **Unpopular legislation**

- Treason and Censorship Laws introduced in 1649 – Oath of Allegiance imposed in 1650.
- High Court abolished in 1654.
- Barebones Parliament introduced too many reforms.
- Constitution drawn up by army officers with no MPs.
- Roman Catholics and Anglicans excluded from voting.
- Moral Codes curtailed popular forms of entertainment and enforced Sabbath.
- Commission of Triers and Committee of Ejectors was disliked by church.
- 10% land tax resented by aristocracy – Taxation increased to fund wars.
- Many disliked Cromwell's approval of son Richard as successor.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 10: “Nothing changed apart from the monarch.” How valid is this view of the Revolution Settlement?

The candidate assesses the validity of the view that the Revolution Settlement did not change anything, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Bill of Rights**

- William and Mary had to agree to limitations on royal power before they were given throne.
- Bill of Rights that legalised new relationship between Crown and English Parliament.
- No future king or queen could attempt absolutism.

### **Religious settlement**

- High Anglicans expelled from their posts if they refused to recognise authority of William III.
- Toleration Act of 1689 allowed free worship for all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians.
- Roman Catholics were still ineligible for elected posts in towns or Parliament.

### **Financial settlement**

- Financial independence for monarchy now impossible.
- King and Queen were granted court expenses and Civil List system.
- Procedure of audit established for MPs to check expenditure of monarch.

### **Legal settlement**

- Parliamentary control established over legal system.
- Later Act of Settlement of 1701 stated judges could only be sacked if Parliament demanded.
- Ministers impeached by House of Commons could not be pardoned by the Crown.
- 1695 Law of Treason altered to give defendants more rights.

### **Parliament**

- Revolution Settlement provided for 1694 Triennial Act in 1694.
- Licensing Act was repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on freedom of the press.

### **Loopholes**

- Loopholes in settlement, monarch retained powers – held executive power and controlled foreign policy.
- Monarch was still source of patronage in army and navy and House of Lords.

### **Other aspects of settlement**

- Scotland to have its own Presbyterian Kirk – Scottish Parliament had greater share in government of Scotland.
- The succession – Bill of Rights declared no Roman Catholic could become king or queen.
- 1701 Act of Settlement stated future monarchs should be members of the Church of England.
- Ireland – soldiers who had fought for James II were allowed to flee to France.
- Settlement stated Catholics would enjoy same freedoms as they had done under Charles II.
- Army – Settlement meant Parliament gained partial control of army.
- 1689 Mutiny Act to be passed annually, forcing the king to summon Parliament.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **ROYAL AUTHORITY IN 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY EUROPE**

Question 11: How important were the Councils in maintaining the authority of Louis XIV?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the Councils in maintaining the authority of Louis XIV, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Councils**

- Councils controlled government, centre of decision-making in France.
- Cabinet Council, Councils of Finance and Dispatches, Privy Council, respectively made state policy on legislation, administered economy and provinces, acted as highest court in France.
- King carried out role 'en roi' at head of Councils, enhancing absolutism.
- However they later became less effective, took advantage of king's absence during wartime.

#### **Intendants**

- Gained power through royal appointment, carried king's laws to provinces.
- Functions elaborated during reign, eg inspection of courts, authorising tax-exemptions.
- Intendants took over responsibilities previously held by provincial and town authorities.
- However, intendants might be corrupt or inefficient, thus weakening king's standing.

#### **Cult of monarchy/Palace of Versailles**

- Cult was an illusion – king portrayed as demi-god and warrior in art, sculpture and poetry.
- Design of Versailles with images of king in Greek form made links with classical antiquity.
- Although palace was seat of government, its features were more symbolic than tangible.

#### **Provincial and town authorities**

- Provincial Governors' terms reduced to 3 years, kept at Versailles to be less powerful.
- Fiscal autonomy of Provincial Assemblies removed, definite sums had to be paid to king.
- Tax-raising responsibilities passed to intendants.
- Assemblies and Governors resented their devaluation.
- Town Councils lost right to elect functionaries themselves.
- Jobs and titles now sold by king to obtain loyalty.
- City Parlements lost right to make remonstrances to royal edicts.
- Councils and Parlements became forums for discontent.

#### **Limitations on Louis XIV's authority**

- Intendants not of highest quality, local authorities not abolished.
- Communications difficult.
- Successful foreign policy had damaging social, political and economic effects after 1680s.
- Disastrous religious policy saw king lose struggle with Pope.
- Treatment of Huguenots brought France and the Church into disrepute.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: To what extent did Louis XIV's foreign policy have a damaging effect on France?

The candidate assesses the extent to which Louis XIV's foreign policy had a damaging effect on France, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Early foreign policy**

- Louis XIV initially prospered, armies successfully prosecuted glorious foreign wars.
- Absolute, centralised government made it easy to raise money, men and troops in country.
- In successive wars he advanced cause of France against enemies.
- Territorial gains included parts of Spanish Netherlands in Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1668.

### **Foreign policy failures**

- After 1685 the king's best generals and ministers were gone.
- Consequently, in second half of reign he suffered devastating defeats.
- War of League of Augsburg 1688-1697 and War of Spanish Succession 1702-1714.
- As time wore on, foreign policy had increasingly drastic social, economic and political effects.

### **Social effects**

- Although territorial gains enlarged France, there was a price.
- Much of France was left poor, with farmland desolated by war resulting in hunger.
- People flocked to Paris from provinces.
- Taxation increased and prices rose.
- Black Years in 1708-9 witnessed bad harvests, famine and death.
- Taxation of births, marriages and deaths led to unlicensed ceremonies.
- Revolts in provinces resulted in prison sentences and executions.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate was forced to join army.
- Farmers had to go off and fight at crucial times of agricultural year.

### **Economic effects**

- Military necessity required more money to fund army.
- Taxes were collected with menaces by Dragoons.
- New taxes hit peasants badly: Capitation and Dixième.
- Coinage lost value, hitting merchants badly.
- Foreign markets cut off by war.
- Wine prices low, damaging the industry.
- By 1715 France was virtually bankrupt.

### **Political effects**

- During wars, Intendants gained in number and power.
- Bureaucratic and administrative staff occupied Versailles in increasing numbers.
- Government machinery became more complex and difficult to control.
- Ministers died; king was failing physically.
- Some groups in France opposed his will, such as Jansenism-influenced Parlement of Paris.
- Louis XIV's preoccupation with war meant he did not supervise Councils and Intendants.
- Councils acted outwith his authority and Intendants became corrupt and inefficient.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 13: “More concerned with increasing the power of the Prussian state rather than improving the lives of his subjects.” How valid is this view of the reign of Frederick II?

The candidate assesses the validity of the view that Frederick II was more concerned with increasing the power of the Prussian state than with improving the lives of his subjects, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Law**

- Samuel von Cocceji was only minister given free reign to implement change.
- Enlightened reforms were made to justice system, but king retained right to intervene in cases.

### **Economy**

- King was mercantilist rather than free-trader, promoted immigration to increase workforce.
- Dynamic new agricultural methods were promoted and state granaries were provided for serfs.

### **Taxation**

- French tax-farmer de Launay overhauled tax system and introduced Regie tax.
- King wanted greater revenue for government expenditure.

### **Education**

- Little action in Frederick II’s early reign.
- Education Decree of 1763 promised reforms in education.
- Money set aside for schools and teachers was used for army reform instead.
- King did not believe in too much education, so there was no significant reform.

### **Freedom**

- Serfdom was abolished on all but crown lands.
- King perceived serfs as beasts of burden.
- He awarded them heredity of tenure.

### **Religion**

- King maintained Prussian tradition of toleration towards non-Protestants.
- Excluded non-Protestants from some jobs and imposed discriminatory taxes on them.
- King not keen to interfere in people’s beliefs, did not let religion play a role in his own life.

### **Government**

- Strongly centralised in Berlin.
- Rank of Fiscals established in civil service to watch over senior officials in General Directory.
- King was highly interventionist in policy-making.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 14: How far did Joseph II succeed in his aims of reforming the Austrian Empire?

The candidate assesses the extent to which Joseph II achieved his aim of reforming the Austrian Empire, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Religion**

- Joseph II successfully established National Church to control Catholic majority.
- However, he showed toleration to non-Catholics to appear a benevolent ruler.
- Monasteries were closed in order to use buildings as schools.

### **Education**

- Joseph II built schools, ordered detailed curriculum, provided education for girls.
- However, non-Josephist schools were shut down.
- Emperor wanted educated population to fill government and civil service posts.
- Schooling made compulsory, financial rewards given to parents who sent children to school.
- Fines imposed on those withholding children from school at busy times in agricultural year.

### **Law**

- Some enlightened policies passed including fairer courts system with appeals procedure.
- Centralised Supreme Court in Vienna helped create greater uniformity within the empire.

### **Taxation**

- Taxation of all 3 estates continued, policy inherited from Maria-Theresa.
- Created greater revenue for government expenditure.

### **Freedom**

- Reduction in serfdom across empire.
- However, many reforms were repealed to appease nobility shortly before Joseph II's death.
- Emperor wanted healthy, contented workforce, but needed support from landowners.

### **Economy**

- Agricultural instruction in new methods provided for peasants, free trade encouraged.
- Via Josephina highway built to allow effective access to and from Vienna.
- Control of provinces made easier.
- Joseph II wanted prosperity for all Austrian people.

### **Government**

- Amongst despotic policies adopted, German to be spoken in all government ministries.
- Centralised government established in Vienna.
- Despite emperor's emphasis on control, promotion based on merit rather than patronage.
- Joseph II wanted unity in empire and greater control over provinces.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE CITIZEN STATE**

Question 15: “The failure to reform the financial system was the most serious threat to the Ancien Regime.” How valid is this statement?

The candidate evaluates the importance of failure to reform the financial system as a threat to the Ancien Regime, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Failure to bring about Financial Reforms**

- Because of exemptions crown was denied adequate income – privileged orders an untapped source of revenue – created resentment amongst the Third Estate.
- Tax farming meant not all revenues reaching government.
- By 1780s France faced bankruptcy due to heavy expenditure and borrowing to pay for wars.
- No agreement on tax reform – this arguably biggest threat facing Ancien Regime. Opposition which this generated led to Calonne’s dismissal 1787 – and to the convocation of the Estates General in 1788. When it met in May 1789 long-standing divisions between three estates unleashed forces which culminated in the overthrow of Ancien Regime.

### **Enlightenment ideas**

- Attacked many despotic aspects of the Ancien regime but not necessarily totally opposed to it.
- Limited, as only certain sections of society would read them.

### **The Monarchy**

- Absolute monarchy.
- Unpopularity of the Queen – decadent and extravagant nature of the court.

### **Unfair nature of the System**

- Privileged orders of first and second estates.
- Unfair taxation system – collection of taxes by Farmers General was inefficient.
- The Bourgeoisie saw their wealth increasing but had no representation.
- The Peasantry had a wide range of taxes and feudal rights imposed on them.

### **The American War of Independence**

- Contributed to financial crisis – came to head post – 1786 but also represented practical expression of views of Philosophes – rights of the individual, no taxation without representation, freedom from tyrannical government. Inspired many of lesser nobility and bourgeoisie to seek same freedoms.

### **The economic crisis of 1788/9**

- Bad harvests, grain shortages inspired unrest among the peasantry and urban workers in Paris and in provincial cities exerting critical pressures on Ancien Regime.
- Less demand for manufactured goods which led to unemployment increasing amongst the urban workers.
- Nobility were increasingly blamed as peasants started to take political action.
- Economic crisis clearly created an environment in which the Ancien Regime was struggling to survive.

### **The political crisis of 1788/9**

- The convocation of the Estates General in August 1788 sharpened divisions between the three estates which came to a head between May and August 1789. The Cahiers des Doleances revealed the depth of dissatisfaction with the existing order, especially among the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The creation of the National Assembly, the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen all contributed to a revolutionary change in French government, society and economy.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 16: How important was the revolt of the nobles in 1787 as a cause of the revolution of 1789?

The candidate assesses the importance of the revolt of the nobles to the events of 1789 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Revolt of the Nobles 1787**

- This was a reaction to the exiling of the Paris Parlement (law courts) by Louis.
- The Paris Parlement had said that only the Estates-General could agree to new taxation. Brienne had failed to get them to register his reforms of the financial system.
- Some time before this the Assembly of Notables (mostly made up of nobles) had rejected reforms. They had urged Calonne to call the Estates-General.
- There were riots in the provincial capitals and the Nobles met in unauthorised assemblies.
- They gained the support of the clergy.
- The revolt of the nobles played an important part in having the Estates-General called.

### **Long standing social divisions**

- The divisions between the Church, nobility, bourgeoisie, peasantry and urban workers interacted during 1788 and 1789 to place intolerable strains upon the Ancien Regime and bring about revolutionary social, political and economic change.

### **Enlightenment ideas**

- They attacked the despotic nature of the Ancien regime.
- They were critical of many aspects of the Ancien regime but not necessarily totally opposed to it.
- Limited, as only certain sections of society would read them.

### **The Financial Crisis**

- Due to the expense of foreign wars France was bankrupt by 1788.

### **The economic crisis of 1788/9**

- Bad harvests and grain shortages inspired unrest among the peasantry and the urban workers in Paris and in provincial cities throughout France exerting critical pressures on the Ancien Regime.

### **The political crisis of 1788/9**

- The convocation of the Estates General in August 1788 sharpened divisions between the three estates which came to a head between May and August 1789.
- The Cahiers des Doleances revealed the depth of dissatisfaction with the existing order, especially among the bourgeoisie and the peasantry.
- The 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate claimed to represent the nation and demanded voting by head not order. They were to become the National Assembly.

### **Louis' actions**

- Louis was slow to take the initiative – no constitutional programme produced.
- Pressurised by the Queen and his brothers to resist change. He only accepted restrictions of his power when it was too late.
- Gathered military forces in order to stop change.
- Dismissal of Necker brought crowds onto the streets.
- Call to arms led to events of 14<sup>th</sup> July.

### **Any other relevant factor**

Question 17: “Constitutional monarchy in France was short-lived and doomed to fail.” How accurate is this view of French Government between 1789 and 1792?

The candidate assesses the accuracy of the statement using evidence and arguments such as:

### **1789 August Decrees and Rights of Man and the Citizen**

- Louis refused to approve these decrees thus causing tension.
- He had been allowed to suspend or delay laws for up to 4 years.

### **October days 1789**

- Anti-revolutionary royal banquet.
- March by people on Versailles as a result the King was forced to Paris.
- Louis now styled ‘King of the French’ under the law.

### **Civil Constitution of the Clergy 1790**

- Clergy had to take an oath to the Constitution.
- Result was split in the church.
- Louis reluctantly agreed to this.

### **Flight to Varennes June 1791**

- Louis was angry with himself at accepting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.
- Aim to flee Paris and try to renegotiate with the Assembly.
- He was stopped and returned to Paris.
- Louis had left a proclamation, which made clear his feelings about the Revolution.
- Clearly he had failed to understand the popularity of the revolution.
- Many began to think that he could no longer be trusted as head of state.
- The credibility of the new constitution was undermined before it was implemented.
- Support for a republic grew.

### **Champ de Mars Massacre July 1791**

- Crowds gathered to sign a republican petition.
- Lafayette’s national guard fired on the crowd.
- Result was that the moderates kept control and were prepared to compromise with the King.

### **Constitution of September 1791**

- Louis reluctantly accepted this, much to the anger of the Queen.
- Louis continued however to veto laws thus increasing his unpopularity.

### **War declared April 1792**

- The constitution just might have survived had it not been for the war.
- Queen was in contact with Austrians.
- The Brunswick Manifesto aimed to help the King but had the opposite effect.
- Increased calls to abolish the monarchy.
- August 1792: attack on the palace – king handed over to the Commune.
- Louis was suspended from power and then on 21/22 September, France became a Republic thus ending the constitutional monarchy.

### **Any other relevant points**

Question 18: To what extent did the effects of war make it difficult to establish stable government in France between 1793 and 1799?

The candidate assesses the extent to which war made it difficult to establish stable government using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **The Terror 1793-1794**

- Success of revolutionary army at Valmy (September 1792) removed immediate threat of foreign invasion – should have heralded end to violence. Other factors can be identified as reasons for continuing extremism.
- Extreme actions of government were fuelled by fact that France was at war – ‘The fatherland in danger’ – brought about reprisals against any suspected enemies.
- War brought shortages – resulted in whole state being on a war footing.
- The Terror did save the republic but at a major cost.
- Success in war – no longer need for extreme measures. This a factor in coup to oust Robespierre.

#### **Political factionalism**

- Struggle between Girondins and Jacobins – and within Jacobins. Executions of many Girondins in October 1793, Hebertists in March and Dantonists in April 1794 – evidence of bitter power struggle between radical groups, due to struggle for control of Revolution and exigencies of war.

#### **Religious and regional divisions**

- Ever since Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) religious divisions had split France – hostility of Church, the revolt in Vendee and de-Christianisation Campaign of Oct/Dec 1793 showed this – led to many deaths. The Vendee and other areas resented the increasing pressure on National Convention exerted by Parisian sans-culottes; opposed the Convention and its policies.
- Restoration of Convention’s control over provinces in autumn 1793 – led to over 14,000 deaths.

#### **The context of government in 1794/5**

- Mid 1794 France emerging from two years of radicalisation, and bitter factionalism.
- Jacobins under Robespierre had been overthrown – ‘White Terror’ was soon to sweep country in revenge for excesses of radical left during Terror.
- France torn apart by civil war, threatened by foreign armies egged on by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow Revolution – religious conflict due to the state’s opposition to primacy of Catholic Church.

#### **The Constitution of 1795**

- This new constitution tried to avoid any one faction dominating affairs.
- Bi-cameral legislature inhibited strong government.
- Protests against composition of new Convention – put down by Napoleon Bonaparte.

#### **Increasing intervention of the army**

- Long continuation of war placed army in an increasingly important position.
- Napoleon’s use of a ‘whiff of grapeshot’ underlined instability of Government.
- In 1796 the army was used to put down the Babeuf Conspiracy.

#### **End of constitution of 1795**

- Sieyes saw the constitution as unworkable.
- Used Napoleon Bonaparte to mount a coup against it.
- In 1799, Consulate was established with Napoleon as first Consul – victories in war gave him great popular support.
- People were tired of weak and unstable government.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

## OPTION C – LATER MODERN HISTORY

### HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH

#### BRITAIN 1850s–1979

Question 1: To what extent did Britain make progress towards democracy between 1850 and 1918?

The candidate makes an assessment of Britain's progress towards democracy by using evidence and arguments such as:

Introduction: This question is an assessment of how democratic Britain had become by 1918. With that in mind, candidates should focus on the features that must operate within a democracy and evaluate the extent to which those features had become established in Britain by 1918. In their assessment it would also be acceptable for candidates to comment on any features that had not been established by 1918.

#### Overview

- In Britain before 1867 most men and no women had any say in choosing their government. They had no right to vote. However by 1918 almost all men in Britain 21 or older could vote and some women 30+. By 1918 Britain seemed to have become a lot more democratic.

**The right to vote** was given to more and more people.

- 1867 – the right to vote to most skilled working class men living in towns owning property above a certain value and lodgers paying rent above £10 a year. The effect of this reform nationally was to double the number of men who were entitled to vote.
- 1884 – men living in the counties were given the vote on the same rules as men in towns.
- 1918 the Representation of the People Act gave the vote to another 13 million men and 8 million women over 30 years of age. Not until 1928 did men and women 21 or over get equal political rights.

#### Fairness

- The Secret Ballot Act of 1872 allowed voters to vote in secret in polling booths and that certainly helped eliminate most intimidation and bribery.
- The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act 1883 – Election expenses were limited and the intention was to make elections fairer with no one political party dominating a constituency because of its wealth.
- **Redistribution of seats** in 1867, 1885 and again in 1918 tried to make the distribution of MPs across Britain fairer.

#### Choice

- By 1900 the Labour Party provided wider choice for working class voters.

#### Access to information

- The spread of literacy, railways, new libraries, cheap daily newspapers spread information and allowed voters to make informed decisions, for political ideas to spread and for politicians to 'meet the people'.

### **House of Lords power weakened**

- The Parliament Act of 1911 reduced the power of the House of Lords which now had had no say over budgets and could no longer veto bills passed by the House of Commons. They could only delay them for two years.
- The Parliament Act also reduced the maximum length of time between general elections from seven years to five and provided payment for Members of Parliament.

Candidates may balance answer by suggesting other features of democracy not in place such as political equality for women, plural voting and first past the post-electoral system still in place.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 2: How successfully did the Liberal Reforms of 1906–1914 deal with the problem of poverty in Britain in the early 1900s?

The candidate makes an assessment of how successfully the Liberal reforms dealt with the problems of poverty in Britain using evidence and arguments such as:

Background references to growing awareness that poverty was beyond ability of individuals to help themselves. Evidence from Booth and Rowntree and acceptance that ‘deserving poor’ needed help.

### **The Old**

- In 1908, the government started paying 5 shillings (25 pence) a week to people over 70. A married couple got 37.5 pence.
- *Effectiveness?* Amount paid below poverty line. In poorer areas of cities, life expectancy was around 45 so pensions at 70 would help only the very few of the poor who lived long enough to collect the pension.
- There were also some qualification rules, which excluded some of the elderly. The pensions were a help, but certainly not a solution to old age poverty.

### **The Young**

- In 1906 free school meals were started in some areas for the poorest children.
- 1907 school medical inspections started but it was not until 1912 that free medical treatment was available.
- 1908, juvenile courts and borstals – young people’s prisons – were started.
- All these reforms, including restricting the sale of cigarettes and alcohol to children were called a ‘Children’s Charter’.
- *Effectiveness?* Not all local authorities provided school meals. Medical inspection did little to solve any problems. 1912 free medical treatment for school children was started that problems could be dealt with.
- Early attempts to protect children from ‘social evils’ such as smoking and alcohol by setting minimum ages at which these things could be bought had limited success.

### **The Sick**

- The National Insurance Scheme of 1911 was called a contributory system referred to as “ninepence for fourpence”. Everyone on low wages – up to £160 a year – was insured. An insured worker got ten shillings a week (50 pence) when off sick but the benefits only lasted for 26 weeks.
- *Effectiveness?* Only the insured worker got free medical treatment from a doctor. Other family members did not benefit from the scheme, no matter how sick they were.

### **The Unemployed**

- Labour exchanges were started so workers could find out easily what jobs were available in their area.
- National Insurance Act Part 2 dealt with unemployment. Most insured workers got seven shillings (35 pence) a week for a maximum of 15 weeks.
- *Effectiveness?* The Act of 1911 was only meant to cover temporary unemployment and only applied to seven trades, most of which suffered seasonal unemployment.

**Other reforms passed apart from the main ones mentioned included:**

- In 1908, miners secured an eight hour day, the first time the length of the working day was fixed for adult men.
- In 1909, the Trade Boards Act tried to protect workers in the sweated trades like tailoring and lace making by setting up trade boards to fix minimum wages and maximum hours.
- In 1911, the Shops Act gave shop assistants a weekly half day off.

**How effective were the Liberal reforms?**

- They were NOT meant to create a Welfare State. They WERE meant to provide SOME help to people who could be thought of as the deserving poor. Most of the reforms also depended on those who received help doing something to help themselves.

**Any other relevant factors**

Question 3: “The steady pressure by the moderate Suffragists was the most important reason for the achievement of votes for women by 1918.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the importance of the pressure by the moderate Suffragists in the achievement of votes for women by 1918, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **The role of the NUWSS**

- Persuasive campaign of meetings, pamphlets, petitions.
- Parliamentary bills regularly introduced by friendly backbench MPs – many, if not most, MPs had accepted the principle of women’s suffrage.
- NUWSS also provided a ‘home’ for women angered by the Suffragettes during their ‘wild period’ so much so that NUWSS membership totalled 53,000 by 1914.

### **Pressure from campaigns since 1860s**

- Social change was an important factor in creating an atmosphere of acceptance in terms of women’s suffrage. Millicent Fawcett, a leader of the NUWSS, had argued that wider social changes were vital factors in the winning of the right to vote.
- Change seemed inevitable and in the words of Martin Pugh, “their participation in local government made women’s exclusion from national elections increasingly untenable”.

### **The WSPU – the Suffragettes**

- The WSPU – nicknamed the Suffragettes – first objective was publicity.
- Not true that the Suffragette campaign destroyed all support for cause of women’s suffrage. Although support for the cause decreased it can be argued that were it not for the Suffragette campaign, the Liberal Government would not even have discussed women’s suffrage before World War One. It can be easily argued that the campaigning of the Suffragettes brought the issue of votes for women to crisis point and made the issue into a political ‘hot potato’ that could not be ignored.
- But did the campaigns of the Suffragettes do more harm than good? By the summer of 1914 all the leaders of the WSPU were either in prison, unwell or living in hiding. By the eve of the First World War there were very few Suffragettes still actively campaigning.

### **The importance of the Great War**

- The war acted more as a catalyst.
- The traditional explanation for the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 has been that women’s valuable work for the war effort radically changed male ideas about their role in society and that the vote in 1918 was almost a ‘thank you’ for their efforts. Women’s war work was important to Britain’s eventual victory. Over 700,000 women were employed making munitions.
- But the women who were given the vote were ‘respectable’ ladies, 30 or over. The young women who worked long hours and risked their lives got no vote.
- Another argument about the 1918 act is that it only happened because politicians grew anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war but lost their residency qualification to vote. A government many had not chosen had also conscripted them. Female franchise could be ‘added on’ to legislation that was happening anyway.
- Perhaps gaining political advantage is a better explanation. Could the government be sure that women would not join a revitalised Suffragette campaign after the war and return to Suffragette ‘terrorism’?
- Undoubtedly the sight of women ‘doing their bit’ for the war effort gained respect and balanced the negative publicity of the earlier Suffragette campaign. It is even true that the actions of women during the war converted earlier opponents, including Asquith.
- The 1918 Representation of the People Act: women over the age of 30 who were householders, the wives of householders, occupiers of property with an annual rent of £5 or graduates of British universities should have the vote.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 4: How far did the post-war Labour Government meet the welfare needs of the British people between 1945 and 1951?

The candidate makes an assessment of how far the Labour Government met the welfare needs of the British people using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Context/background**

- The Beveridge Report of 1942 identified five giants blocking the path to progress. These giants were: want, disease, squalor, ignorance, idleness. In 1945 a new Labour government introduced a series of reforms which aimed to deal with each of the five giant problems identified by Beveridge.

### **Want**

- The Family Allowance Act paid a small amount of money to all mothers of two or more children.
- The Industrial Injuries Act paid compensation for all injuries caused at work. The government, not individual employers, paid it. All workers were covered.
- The National Insurance Act of 1946 improved the old Liberal Act and allowed for sickness and unemployment benefits, retirement, widow's pensions and maternity grants. All people in work were included in this insurance.
- The National Assistance Act helped people who were not in work or the old who had not paid enough contributions into the new National Insurance scheme.
- *Successful?* By including all workers and families in the benefits scheme, it seemed this attack on poverty caused by shortage of money would be very helpful.

### **Disease**

- National Health Service (NHS) started in 1948. The NHS was based on three main aims: Universal access: the NHS was for everybody. Comprehensive: the NHS would treat all medical problems. Free at point of use – no patient would be asked to pay for any treatment.
- *Successful?* The government inherited many out of date hospitals, costs were high and to keep doctors happy the NHS operated alongside private medicine. By 1950 the idea of 'free for all treatment' was damaged when charges were introduced for spectacles and dental treatment but overall the NHS was welcomed and did provide medical help from 'the cradle to the grave'.

### **Squalor**

- The government aimed to build 200,000 houses each year. Most were council houses for rent. Many were factory-made houses – 'pre-fabs' for short – which were quickly assembled on site.
- The New Towns Act in 1946 laid the plans for 14 New Towns to be built.
- *Successful?* Many houses were built but Labour did not build as many houses as it promised. By 1951 there was still overcrowding and long waiting lists for council housing.

### **Ignorance**

- The Education Act of 1944 raised the school leaving age to 15.
- All children were to get free secondary education. An exam at 11 placed children in certain types of school. Those who passed the exam went to senior secondary schools. Children who failed the exam went to junior secondary and were not expected to stay at school after 15.
- *Successful?* For those who passed the 11+ exam or 'qualify' the system worked well. However those children who failed the exam seemed to be stuck in a trap of low expectations and inferior education.

## **Idleness**

- In 1944 the government agreed to aim for 'full employment'. Nationalisation was one way of keeping full employment. The government could use tax money to keep an industry going even if it was facing economic difficulties.
- *Successful?* Nationalisation costly and at times led to bad management but full employment maintained for a time.

## **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: (a) “Urbanisation was the main factor in causing changes to leisure activities, religion and education in Scotland between 1880 and 1939.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate makes an assessment of how far urbanisation caused changes in leisure activities, religion and education, using evidence and arguments such as:

Context: By 1850, one Scot in five lived in one of the big four cities – Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee or Aberdeen. By 1900, it was one in every three.

### **The Kirk and society**

- In the cities ‘Kirk’ identified with the values of hard work and self help. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century attendance in Church of Scotland services varied, with the kirk being seen by many working class areas as the provider of services to ‘hatch, match and dispatch’.
- Church membership in Scotland doubled 1830 and 1914, peaked at an all time high in 1905.
- Church involved in missionary work into areas of extreme poverty.
- Churches remained the centre of much popular entertainment until the 1960s eg The Boys Brigade, Scouts, the Girl Guides. Temperance organisations linked to the Church.

### **The Catholic Church in urban Scotland**

- In some ways the Catholic Church was becoming stronger than the Protestant churches after 1880.
- Many social and self help organisations operating under the umbrella of the Church.
- Catholic Church developed a network of social activities where young Catholic men and women could socialise.

### **Education**

- Urbanisation and industrialisation increased demand for mastery of the 3Rs in the creation of future ‘white collar workers’ such as civil servants, office workers and business people.
- Urbanisation also led to rapid expansion of cities – huge numbers of poorer working classes who needed to learn the importance of time keeping, rule following and strong discipline!
- Scottish Education Act of 1872 – all children 5 and 13 to attend school, parents had to pay a small amount of money for each child.
- 1890 – education free in state elementary schools for 5-14 year olds. Fees were still charged for secondary school and for most children, especially from poor backgrounds, education in school ended at 14.
- By 1908 school boards were also trying to deal with health issues.
- 1918 Education Act allowed local authority education committees to take over running of schools, including Roman Catholic schools which were now funded by the state – only teachers acceptable to the Catholic Church ‘in regard to religious faith and character’ were employed.
- In 1914 only 4% of Scotland’s children completed secondary education and only 2% went on to university level. By 1939 the figures were much the same.

## **Leisure and popular culture**

- Between 1880 and 1939, urbanisation produced a huge potential audience for mass entertainment – music halls, theatres, circuses, and, by the early 20th century, cinemas.
- Between the 1880s and 1939 Scotland's urban population had more money to spend and greater choice about how to spend leisure time than ever before. A half day holiday on Saturday already common in cities by 1880 and by 1890 a week long, unpaid, summer holiday was not unusual. By 1914, 'trades fortnight' meant 14 days rest for some industrial workers.
- 'Healthy' activities – walking, cricket, gardening, bowling and, golf were also very popular. In Scotland's cities libraries, art galleries and public halls were built to bring culture to masses. To improve health, local authorities built public parks and municipal baths, sometimes with a swimming pool and bandstands. Pubs became the stronghold of the semi or unskilled working man – an atmosphere of glamour and leisure in contrast to the dark cold streets of urban Scotland.
- Railways took city people into the countryside and day excursions. The development of a steamboat and paddle steamers, especially on the Clyde, allowed the urban population in the west of Scotland to go 'doon the watter'. Urbanisation had widened the horizons of thousands of Scots and exposed them to new influences.

## **Any other relevant factors**

Question 5: (b) How far did changes in the Scottish economy influence the level of support for the Scottish National Party up to 1979?

The candidate makes an assessment of how far changes in the Scottish economy influenced the level of support for the Scottish National Party up to 1979 using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Possible context/background**

- In the 1920s all three major UK parties actively supported the union. Although the Scottish National Party was formed in the 1930s it was not until the 1960s that the SNP made a national political breakthrough. By the 1970s political nationalism allied itself to an emotional desire for 'freedom'.
- There was little support for political nationalism before World War Two. The leaders of the new National Party of Scotland, founded in May 1928 only received 3,000 votes in the 1929 General Election, less than 5% of the vote in each constituency. In 1931 things were no better. The most successful candidate only polled 14% of the vote.
- By the early 1930s the more right-wing Scottish Party faced the more left-wing 'National Party'. They formed the Scottish National Party on April 7th, 1934 but the new Scottish National Party had very little direct political influence in the 1930s.

### **The Effect of World War Two**

- Discontent with the government did grow as the war dragged on and in some areas of Scotland support for the SNP rose. At Kirkcaldy in 1944 the party won 42% of the vote. At Motherwell in April 1945 the nationalists won their first parliamentary seat, held by Dr Robert McIntyre.
- McIntyre's success was short lived, losing his seat at the General Election three months later. The Scottish National Party had no more election victories for another 20 years.

### **1950s/1960s**

- Throughout the 1950s political nationalism made little progress. The SNP got less than 1% of the vote at elections in the 1955. The SNP failed to fight any by-election between 1952 and 1960, its membership stuck around 2000. It seemed to be an irrelevance in Scottish politics.

### **Economic difficulties and the recovery of the SNP**

- In the late 1960s economic difficulties hit Britain.
- A common argument is that the SNP did better in times when Scots faced economic difficulties, were unhappy with the UK government and wanted to protest and that is to an extent true. In the 1960s and 70s Scotland's traditional industries continued to decline and unemployment started to rise.
- Public discontent with the government grew in Scotland and in the Hamilton by-election of November 1967 Winnie Ewing won the seat for the SNP.
- At the same time oil and natural gas were discovered in the North Sea and in 1972 the SNP launched the effective "It's Scotland's oil" campaign.
- In 1973 Labour suffered another crushing defeat at Govan when Margo MacDonald won for the SNP.
- In 1974 the SNP gained almost 40% of votes cast and had 11 MPs in parliament.
- By the late 70s both main parties were worried about the attraction of the SNP whose support peaked in 1977 at 36% of the electorate.
- The introduction of devolution legislation in the 1970s was largely the product of nationalist pressures on the Labour Government which needed to keep its support in Scotland to remain in power.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD**

### **GROWTH OF NATIONALISM**

#### **GERMANY**

Question 6: To what extent were religious divisions in Germany the main obstacle to unification between 1815 and 1850?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which religious differences in Germany were the main obstacle to unification, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Religion**

- Northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic; thus the north looked to Prussia for help and protection while the south looked to Austria.
- The leaders of the German states also obstructed unification and were protective of their individual power and position. They wanted to maintain the status quo which would safeguard this for them.
- Suspicion of the Protestant north by the Catholic south lingered till the 1860s, when the southern states declined to join what became the North German Confederation.

#### **Divisions of nationalism**

- Nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* arguments.
- Failure of the Frankfurt Parliament – lack of clear aims and without an armed force to enforce its decisions. Lack of decisive leadership. Divisions among the ‘revolutionaries’ regarding aims and objectives. Self-interest among German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt.
- Particularism of the various German states – autonomous and parochial in many ways.
- Popular apathy – most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany, nationalism affected mainly the educated/business classes.

#### **Austrian strength**

- The states within ‘Germany’ had been part of the moribund Holy Roman Empire, traditionally ruled by the Emperor of Austria.
- Post-1815 the chairmanship of the *Bund* was given to Austria on a permanent basis, partly as she was considered to be the major German power.
- Metternich’s work to oppose liberalism and nationalism. His use of the weapons of diplomacy and threats of force. Use of the police state, repression and press censorship. Smaller German states were in awe of the power and position of the Austrian Empire. Austrian control over the administration and management of the empire, stamping authority on the *Bund*. Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles.
- Post-1815 Austrian military strength and bureaucracy continued to decline in effectiveness; shift in balance of power between Austria and Prussia.
- Treaty of Olmutz, 1850 – signalled the triumph of Austria and humiliation of Prussia. German nationalism was now a spent force apparently.

#### **Attitudes of other foreign states**

- Foreign concerns over the idea of a united Germany. None of the Great Powers wanted to see the creation of a strong Germany which might upset the balance of power. Britain, Russia, Austria and France were all happy to see the German states weak and divided.

#### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 7: How far was Bismarck's success in unifying Germany between 1862 and 1871 due mainly to mistakes made by others?

The candidate makes an assessment of how far Bismarck's success in unifying Germany was due to the mistakes made by others, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Mistakes of others**

- Bismarck's exploitation of the weaknesses and errors of other European statesmen/rulers – mistakes made by his adversaries eg involvement of Austria in the war against Denmark in 1864 – isolation of Austria in 1866 – Napoleon III, 1870, France left with no allies – failure to realise the potential growth in Prussian strength.

### **Bismarck's foreign policy 1863-1871**

- Bismarck's aim was to *increase the power of Prussia* by whatever means necessary.
- Bismarck and his 'realpolitik'/diplomacy in the '3 wars' against Denmark, Austria and France.
- Bismarck took the initiative, as opposed to Austria, in the war against Denmark; his 'solution' to the Schleswig-Holstein question.
- Bismarck's skilful manipulation of events leading up to the war with Austria in 1866 plus his establishment of friendships with potential allies of Austria beforehand.
- Bismarck's wisdom in the Treaty of Prague, 1866.
- Bismarck's manipulation of the Ems Telegram to instigate a war with France in 1870.
- Bismarck's skill in isolating his intended targets (diplomatically).
- Arguments about the role of Bismarck:
  - 'Bismarck did not fashion German unity alone. He exploited powerful forces which already existed...' (Williamson)
  - '...it was he (Bismarck) who created the conditions which rendered possible the creation of a Great Germany.' (Hitler)
  - 'Bismarck's admirers often exaggerate the extent of the obstacles in his path.' (Medlicott).

### **Prussian military strength**

- Significance of the Army reforms of 1862; arguably this depended on Prussian economic strength.
- Significance of military reforms of Moltke and Roon – creation of modern powerful army which Bismarck used.

### **The decline in Austrian power and influence**

- Economically and militarily Austria's position declined during the 1850s particularly.
- Distraction to Austria of commitments in Italy.

### **Economic factors**

- Growth in Prussian economic power – development of railways, transport links, roads, for example; importance of the Rhineland and the Saarland to Prussian economic development. Able to finance and equip Prussian army.
- The Zollverein – the Prussian-dominated free-trade area; the significance to German political unification – the 'mighty lever of German unification'.

### **Political factors**

- The 1848 revolutions in German states – importance of Frankfurt Parliament/decisions taken regarding a unified Germany; Prussia was a potential leader; Austria was excluded from Germany ('kleindeutschland').
- The Nationalverein – aim was the creation of a united Germany; composed of intelligent and economically important section of German society – businessmen; identified Prussia as leader of a united Germany.

### **Cultural factors**

- Influence of Napoleon Bonaparte – reduction of number of German states; growth of a national consciousness.
- Growth of German cultural nationalism/Romantic Movement – *Burschenschaften*, writers, music, for example, leading to an increased German national consciousness among the educated classes.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 8: How successful was the new German state in dealing with internal political problems between 1871 and 1914?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which the new German state was successful in dealing with internal problems, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **German Society post-1871**

- After 1871, Bismarck's main concern was to protect the new Reich, maintain the power/influence of Prussia and the Kaiser, negate any challenges to his authority; *Realpolitik*.
- German Empire proclaimed in January 1871; new Reich contained significant number of foreigners eg Poles, Danes, French.
- Reich did not include those Germans living in territories occupied by Austria-Hungary.
- New Reich appeared to be more of an extension of Prussia rather than a true unification as Prussia had 60% of the land and population.
- Argument to state that the German states had been Prussianised rather than unified as Prussia dominated the Reich.
- Until 1890 the new powers given to the Kaiser were virtually under Bismarck's control.
- Kaiser inherited the problem of the socialists.

### **1871-1914**

- The German Constitution-Bundesrat and Reichstag.  
Bundesrat used by Bismarck as a means of maintaining Prussian power in the new Reich. Powers of the Reichstag were very limited; through the Constitution, Prussia was the dominant power in the Reichstag undoubtedly.  
The 1870s often referred to as the Grundungzeit by historians; also known as the Liberal Era.
- The struggle with the Catholic Church/Kulturkampf; Bismarck believed Catholics posed a potential threat to the stability and security of the new Reich. Doctrine of Papal Infallibility by Pope Pius IX alarmed Bismarck. Catholic loyalty to Pope first and foremost and not the Reich? Details of the campaign against the Church eg May Laws (Falk) 1873; reasons for cessation of the campaign considered. Serious issue of potential alienation of a large section of population of the new German state.
- The struggle with socialism; formation of the Social Democratic Party in 1875 and the Gotha Programme. Passing of the Anti-Socialist Act in 1878 – details. Bismarck's domestic policy of 'whips and sugar plums'. Introduction of elements of social welfare reforms; intent was to slow advance of socialism and demonstrate the Reich's care for the citizens. Social Democrats grew stronger, however.
- The Kaiser's Germany, 1890-1914; 'I intend to rule as well as reign'. Kaiser represented the old, traditional authority in the Reich.
- Policies towards socialists left an angry working class which continued to support the Social Democratic Party.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 9: “Propaganda rather than solid achievement allowed the Nazis to maintain their authority between 1933 and 1939.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which propaganda allowed the Nazis to maintain their authority, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Propaganda**

- Role of Goebbels; highly effective exploitation of the media – emphasised role of Hitler, and Nazi achievements – poster campaigns.
- Control of the mass media – suppression of hostile newspapers – control of radio stations and broadcasting.
- Effective use of film to convey Nazi policy – emphasis on strength and achievement.
- Support from sympathetic newspapers – Harzburg Front.
- Propaganda campaigns against ‘enemies’ of the Reich – socialists, communists, Jews.

### **Weakness of opposition**

- Opposition lacked cohesion and effective leadership; also lacked armed supporters.
- Lack of co-operation between socialists and communists as Nazi regime became established – opposition parties banned.

### **Use of law/constitution**

- Political parties outlawed; non-Nazi members of the civil service were dismissed.
- Speed of takeover of power and ruthlessness of the regime made opposition largely ineffective.
- Anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis.
- Acts Hostile to the National Community (1935) – all-embracing law which allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a ‘legal’ way.
- Nuremberg Laws.

### **Success of domestic policies**

- Economic policies
  - Nazi economic policy – attempted to deal with economic ills affecting Germany, especially unemployment.
  - Nazis began a massive programme of public works; work of Hjalmar Schacht.
  - Nazi policy towards farming eg Reich Food Estate – details of various policies.
  - Germany was given better living standards under Hitler.
  - Goring’s policy of ‘guns before butter’. Popular once foreign policy triumphs appeared to justify it.
- Social policies
  - Creation of the *volksgemeinschaft* (national community).
  - Nazi youth policy and education policy.
  - Nazi policy towards the Jews – first isolate, then persecute and finally destroy.
  - Nazi family policy – Kinder, Kirche, Kuche.
  - Kraft durch Freude programme.
- Religious
  - A Concordat with the Catholic Church was reached; a Reichsbishop was appointed as head of the Protestant churches.

**Success of foreign policy**

- Nazi success in foreign policy attracted support among Germans.

**Use of force/terror**

- Opponents liable to severe penalties, as were their families.
- The use of fear/terror through the Nazi police state; role of the Gestapo.
- Concentration camps set up; the use of the SS.

**Any other relevant factors**

## ITALY

Question 10: To what extent was the attitude of the papacy the main obstacle to Italian unification between 1815 and 1850?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which the attitude of the papacy was the main obstacle to unification, using evidence and arguments such as:

### Background

- Unification hampered by Austrian control of Lombardy and Venice, several independent Italian states, and the limited power and influence of Italian leaders.
- Congress of Vienna, 1815 – Austria regained control of Italian peninsula.
- Metternich quote – Italy was purely a ‘geographic expression’.

### Attitude of the Papacy

- The autonomy of the Papal states – Papacy was determined to safeguard this, and was therefore hostile to nationalism and the idea of a unified Italy.
- Popes all concerned to maintain and preserve their own power.
- Power of the Papacy and of the Catholic Church in the lives of the Italian people, particularly in the poorer regions of the South.

### 1815-50

- Between 1815 and 1832 there were local risings against the absolute rule of restored monarchs – no common programme, little popular support.
- Austria crushed these uprisings and the old rulers were restored.
- Carbonari and other secret societies – initially demanded only more rights from their respective rulers; by 1820, the Carbonari were involved in numerous failed revolts. Failure of secret societies due to lack of organisation and common purpose.
- Mazzini – an idealist aimed for unification and a republic. Creation of Young Italy, a group whose aim was to spread ideas of unification, revolution and republicanism. Disbanded in 1836 and Mazzini exiled – a romantic symbol but of limited practical value.
- Apathy amongst Italian people towards unification a barrier to such.
- Geographical rivalry between North and South.
- Internal trade barriers hampered unification.
- Role of Austria – a huge hindrance to unification – substantial areas of territory under Austrian control – fall of Metternich in 1848 triggers the possibility for change.
- Attitude of Pope/concern for own power made unification difficult to achieve; 1846 – Pius IX, a liberal Pope – a signal for change?
- Lack of cohesion, common goals and methods among revolutionaries proved problematical.
- By 1850 unification appeared very much a distant possibility.

### Any other relevant factors

Question 11: “Cavour’s diplomacy was the key to Italian unification.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which Cavour’s diplomacy facilitated Italian unification, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Importance of Cavour**

- The ‘brain’ behind unification? PM of Piedmont from 1852; excellent diplomatic skills; realised the importance of enlisting support of other European powers in achievement of unification led by Piedmont.
- Cavour manipulated public opinion by use of the press; promoted some liberal ideas and most importantly spread the propaganda of Italian unity under King Victor Emanuel II.
- Cavour encouraged the economic development of Piedmont; encouraged industrial development and railways.
- Piedmont’s involvement in Crimean War a key step in achieving support – helped ensure favourable British attitude – later, active support from France and neutrality from Britain – vital in process of unification.
- War between Austria and Piedmont in 1859; Plombieres meeting; Cavour had a major success in enlisting the support of France. Piedmont increased in size and influence – Cavour’s manipulation of people and circumstances.

### **Importance of Garibaldi**

- Involvement with Mazzini’s ‘Young Italy’ movement – Garibaldi’s march across the Apennines inspired nationalists; gathered an army of a thousand volunteers in 1860 at Genoa to help the Sicilians; role of Victor Emanuel and Cavour to be considered also; Garibaldi displayed leadership and military skills of a high order. Major step on road to unification.
- Details of Garibaldi’s plan to invade Naples; 1862 – Garibaldi’s march on Rome and later his march on Rome in 1867 considered.
- Garibaldi the ‘sword’ of unification?

### **Other factors**

- Importance of Mazzini and ‘Young Italy’ – the Risorgimento – encouraged growth of feelings of nationalism.
- Role of Victor Emanuel to be considered – support given to Cavour – role as a symbol and figurehead of Italian unification.
- Role of Napoleon III of France – willing to support Piedmont and confront Austria – selfish motives but nevertheless aided unification process.
- Strength of Piedmont – military, strength; stable parliamentary government; internal stability; scientific and economic progress.
- Seven Weeks War between Austria and Prussia – Prussia promising Venetia if Italy supported Prussia – Italy suffered defeats, but Prussian victory ensured eventual success.
- Franco-Prussian War of 1870; France pulling troops from Rome to aid war effort facilitated completion of Italian unification.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 12: To what extent did the new Italian state win popular support in Italy during the period 1871 to 1914?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which the new Italian state won popular support, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Background**

- Italian unification was completed in 1870 when Rome was united with the rest of Italy. The capture of Rome was to begin a quarrel with the Pope which was to last for many years.

### **The New Italian State 1871-1914**

- The new Italian state's quarrel with the Pope – Catholic Church's resentment at loss of control of Papal States. From the start, the new state faced a serious challenge to its authority and legitimacy, leading to insecurity both at home and abroad; the bitterness of Church/State relations; no formal accord until 1929.
- Lack of a strong parliamentary system led to chronic instability of Italian governments, which had effects on reforms and economic development of the country; lack of a real political party system – transformism.
- Corruption widespread at local and national level – the activities of politicians often appeared to be self-centred/parliament appeared largely irrelevant to the lives of ordinary Italian citizens.
- By the mid-1870s, a 'New Left' had appeared; made up largely of radical liberals who were more willing to work with the existing political system.
- Depretis elected PM in 1876 – some significant reforms passed; move towards more greater levels of democracy.
- Workers became increasingly discontented at their living and working conditions – poor quality housing and overcrowding in the growing cities – working classes increasingly turned to socialism to remedy their grievances.
- Strikes and violent protests became common in the 1890s among the poor workers of the north of Italy – growing industrial unrest in the cities.
- Return of Crispi to power in 1893; serious industrial unrest in the north and the Sicilian peasants were in revolt in the south; Crispi's use of repressive measures – details.
- Economic progress in northern Italy – significant development of industry, and improvements in transport – growth of relatively prosperous middle class in some areas.
- Southern Italy and Sicily lagging behind – little industrial development in the South. Agriculture also remained backward, peasant farmers often living at subsistence level – general backwardness, greater levels of poverty.
- Giolitti's work as PM – details.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 13: “Propaganda rather than solid achievement allowed the Fascists to maintain their authority between 1922 and 1939.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate makes an assessment of the extent to which propaganda allowed the Fascists to maintain their authority, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Propaganda**

- Strict press censorship – also radio, films and the theatre were similarly controlled – details.
- Government youth organisations which indoctrinated the public with the brilliance of the Duce and the glories of war – details.
- Propaganda for Mare Nostrum and the New Roman Empire – conquest of Abyssinia – efforts to portray Italy under Mussolini as a major European power.
- Education in schools and universities was closely supervised – details.

### **Other factors**

- Use of the media to promote Mussolini as a macho Italian male – Mussolini depicted as the main driving force within Italy.
- Government subsidies where necessary – industrial development, attempts to improve transport, particularly railways.
- Major push for self-sufficiency in food – the ‘Battle of Wheat’ encouraged farmers to concentrate on wheat production – but, success was sometimes limited.
- Land reclamation was launched to increase agricultural yield – Pontine Marshes – major success in reclaiming land, south of Rome.
- Public works programmes to reduce unemployment – roads, hydro-electricity – economic progress largely restricted to Northern Italy – the South remained poorer and backward.
- Free Sundays, annual holidays with pay, social security, sports and theatre facilities and cheap tours and holidays – all benefits for the workers – but, workers’ rights were increasingly restricted.
- Corporate State – Mussolini claimed to have created an end to class struggles and strikes. Government tried to promote cooperation between employer and employees to end class warfare; strikes and lockouts were outlawed. System, however, gave extensive power to industrialists and financiers – far less to workers.
- Lateran Treaty of 1929 – Italy recognised the Vatican City as a sovereign state; Catholic faith was official state religion and religious instruction was made compulsory in all schools; possible to be both a good Catholic and a good Fascist – Mussolini succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Catholic church – a major success for Mussolini, which ensured him at least the benevolent neutrality of the C.
- Suppression of political opposition – arrest of leaders of rival political parties; Ovla, secret police, used to track down and arrest political opponents – not as oppressive as the Gestapo.
- Impact of fascism on Italian people may have been limited – often lip service paid to Fascist organisations – Fascist state tolerated as long as it brought benefits.
- Use of terror tactics to subdue opponents – details, eg murder of Matteotti.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **THE LARGE SCALE STATE**

### **THE USA**

Question 14: “The economic boom of the 1920s was largely due to the policies of the Republican administration.” How valid is this statement?

The candidate assesses the validity of the statement that the economic boom of the 1920s was largely due to the policies of the Republican administration, using evidence and arguments such as:

#### **Policies of the Republican government**

- As President Coolidge said, “the chief business of the American people is business”.
- Republicans cut taxes which gave people more disposable income to buy consumer goods and also gave businessmen more money to invest in their businesses.
- The government also protected home industries by taxing imports through a system of tariffs.
- Acts such as the 1922 ‘Fordney-McCumber’ Tariff Act set tariffs at a record level of 40%!

#### **Importance of other factors**

##### **Impact of World War One**

- America emerged from the War in a very healthy economic state.
- USA lent money to the combatant nations and thrived as their economies were in poor shape at the end of the war.
- This economic strength encouraged export of goods to Europe.
- The war economy had encouraged more efficient production methods as well.

##### **New technology and mass production techniques**

- Effects of mass production in making goods cheaply and in great numbers.
- Example of Henry Ford and car production, steel, petrol and rubber production.
- Creation of a consumer society. Increase in car ownership.
- New inventions contributed to this growth in demand for goods with labour saving devices for the home such as refrigerators and vacuum cleaners.

##### **The Credit Boom and consumer confidence**

- Encouragement of consumer spending on credit.
- For a small deposit the goods could be taken home. Regular payments plus interest then had to be made over a period of time.
- At the time consumer confidence was high, wages were high for many and the stock market was growing.
- Easy profits were made as shares rose.

##### **Natural Resources**

- The United States of America is blessed with significant natural resources, such as coal, oil, agricultural land and minerals.
- Natural resources were easy to access and America had a large population to exploit them.
- The growing American population provided a ready market for goods as a result.

##### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 15: How far was the Ku Klux Klan to blame for the problems black Americans faced in the 1920s and 1930s?

The candidate assesses how far the Ku Klux Klan was to blame for the problems faced by black Americans in the 1920s and '30s, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan**

- Reformed 1915, by 1920s it claimed membership of between two and five million.
- Klan paraded openly in Washington DC and other cities. Burning crosses caused fear.
- Beatings, mutilation, murder and intimidation became the norm in some communities.
- Widespread support, and in states like Oklahoma and Oregon, exercised enormous political influence.

### **Prejudice and racism**

- Such views common in '20s and '30s, especially in Southern States, but also in North – a significant proportion of white population hostile towards any suggestion that African-Americans were equal to themselves or should have right of citizenship.
- Belief in the inferiority of the black man, physically, morally and intellectually.

### **Economic factors: discrimination**

- The 1920s were a time of affluence for many, but large sections of American population lived in poverty.
- Black Americans in the south particularly struggled – 1920s, incomes below £200 a year. In general black Americans had menial jobs.
- In the north black Americans who had moved to take jobs, found them taken by white Americans returning from the First World War.
- Black inhabitants of city ghettos such as Harlem and Manhattan in New York found that poverty deprived them of decent food and schools. It seriously affected health. In Harlem the death rate among black Americans was 42% higher than in other parts of New York.
- Black Americans were particularly affected by the Great Depression. In some cities unemployment for black Americans reached 60%. Cuts in education spending affected them as did competition for jobs.
- The New Deal was designed to stimulate the economy, not right the wrongs of discrimination. Problems for blacks remained in the 1930s.

### **Failure of black organisations**

- Organisations such as NAACP continued to fight against disenfranchisement and lynchings throughout 1920s, but they were predominantly middle-class – failed to make much impact in South where fear and intimidation meant that black population reluctant to push for rights.
- Differing approach of people like Booker T. Washington, who sought to win acceptance through education and opportunity.
- Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association argued that racism was ingrained in the USA – black Americans should return to Africa – emphasised pride in black heritage and difference with white culture.
- Divided nature of the Civil Rights movement did not help the cause.

### **Political factors**

- In theory black Americans had the vote. By 1870, 700,000 freed slaves in the southern states had been given a fundamental civil right – the right to vote.
- Southern States in particular sought ways to deny black Americans the vote, such as basing the franchise on property ownership or literacy.
- Black Americans not allowed an equal political voice throughout period, although they became aware of the importance of the vote and by 1930s it was increasingly influential in the North.
- Failure of the Federal government to enforce equality legislation or challenge State government decisions. Views of Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt.

### **Legal judgments**

- Separate but equal: An 1896 Supreme Court ruling meant that it was legal to segregate black and white people.
- Also stated that the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted citizenship to all people born in the USA, was not intended to enforce equality of the two races before the law.
- Formed the basis of the Jim Crow Laws which existed in the South.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 16: How far was the growth of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s due to the emergence of effective black leaders?

The candidate assesses how far the growth of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and '60s was due to the emergence of effective black leaders, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Emergence of effective black leaders**

- Martin Luther King: believed in non-violence. Inspirational leader: use of emotive speeches: "I have a dream" speech. Good organiser. Effective creation of publicity: got himself arrested in Albany 1962. Big impact in the South.
- Malcolm X: White society was racist. Believed in separate black development. Warned of problems in northern cities for blacks, such as unemployment and drugs. Important role model for black people in the North. Black Power movement.
- Stokely Carmichael: advocate of black supremacy and 'black power'; demanded radical change. Controversial figure as he divided the movement.

### **Importance of other factors**

**Effective black organisations formed** (often, but not exclusively, by the leaders identified above)

- 1957 Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) formed by Martin Luther King and other black clergy.
- Co-ordinated the work of civil rights groups.
- 1960 emergence of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help the civil rights movement.
- Role of such organisations in organising effective and visible action such as sit-ins, boycotts, marches and freedom rides.
- Combined efforts of civil rights groups ended discrimination in many public places such as restaurants, hotels and theatres.

### **Continuation and emergence of emotive issues**

- Jim Crow laws and continuing segregation.
- Education: 1954 Brown v Board of Education of Topeka: 1957 Little Rock Central High School.
- Transport: 1955 Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

### **Impact of the Second World War**

- World War Two was fought for democracy, freedom and human rights.
- Black American soldiers talked about the 'Double-V-Campaign': Victory in the war and Victory for civil rights at home.
- Role of A Philip Randolph in highlighting problems faced by black Americans during WW2.
- March on Washington and Roosevelt's response: Executive order 8802.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 17: “Civil Rights improved for black Americans by 1968 mainly due to the actions of the federal government.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the improvements in civil rights for black Americans were due to the federal government, using evidence and arguments such as:

### **Role of the Federal Government**

Passed important legislation, such as:

- The 1964 Civil Rights Act was a very important step in improving social conditions for black Americans, such as desegregation.
- August 1965 Voting Rights Act passed which encouraged blacks to register to vote. Abolished literacy test, very important act.
- Federal court action important: rulings on unconstitutional nature of segregation in schools (Brown case, 1954) and on transport (1956). Ruling in 1962 that James Meredith be allowed to attend the University of Mississippi, etc.

### **Role of the President**

- Presidential action very important in overruling state inaction. Example of Little Rock, Arkansas saw resistance from white racists to integrated education. Attempts by black children to go to school in Little Rock, was opposed by a racist crowd. President Eisenhower used his authority as Commander-in-Chief to bring the Arkansas National Guard under federal control. They escorted the children to school.
- President Kennedy and his brother Robert Kennedy, Attorney-General, brought out an injunction against the Ku Klux Klan who had been attacking freedom riders. Sent Federal Marshals to Montgomery and Robert Kennedy organised the desegregation of all inter-state travel.

### **Other possible factors**

#### **Actions of the Civil Rights movement**

- Legal actions highlighted the inequalities that existed and forced the government to act.
- Martin Luther King, the NAACP and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- Role of NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, CORE, inspirational leaders like King.
- Use of sit-ins: example of success in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960 where black students ordered from a ‘white-only’ counter at a branch of Woolworths. Televised evidence of brutal white reaction to sit-ins played into the hands of the demonstrators. Did succeed in getting a number of public facilities desegregated. By the end of 1961, 810 towns and cities had desegregated their public areas.
- Freedom rides from 1961 to challenge segregation.
- Conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963 to achieve desegregation, arguably spurred the Federal Government to action.
- March on Washington, 1963.

Some may argue that there were **limitations to Civil Rights**

- 58% of black southerners were still in segregated schools in 1968.
- Segregation remained in force on transport in parts of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.
- Unemployment amongst black Americans remained about 2% higher than for white Americans.
- Major problems of direct and indirect discrimination remained for blacks in both the south and the north, in housing, equal opportunities, justice and employment.
- Divisions emerged within the Civil Rights Movement: Decline in King’s influence, Malcolm X, Black Panthers, Black power, etc.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## **RUSSIA**

Question 18: How significant was the role of the Okhrana in maintaining the authority of the Tsarist state in the years before 1905?

### **The Okhrana (Secret Police)**

- Set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out any opposition to Tsar – spying on people irrespective of class – used paid informers and spies – also agents provocateurs. Created climate of fear, suspicion and mistrust. Large numbers of Tsar’s opponents arrested, and exiled or imprisoned. However, they were unable to completely eradicate all of the ideas opposing the Tsar.

### **The Church**

- Helped to ensure that people remained loyal to Tsar. They preached to peasants that Tsar had been appointed by God – should obey Tsar. Ensured peasants were aware of Fundamental Law. Church a major influence in the lives of peasants, who made up 80% of the population – priests usually regarded as figures of respect and trust – therefore extremely helpful to Tsar in maintaining control.

### **Fundamental Law**

- This stated “To the emperor of all Russia belongs the Supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear”. Fundamental Law was therefore the basis of all Tsarist power.

### **The Army**

- Army was large and heavily armed – controlled by the officers who were mainly upper class, conservative and loyal to the Tsar, from whom they received their commissions. Army ensured that population and peasants in particular were loyal to Tsar. Most soldiers had been peasants themselves – taught to be loyal to Tsar. They crushed any insurgence – used to enforce order and loyalty to the Tsar. Cossacks were particularly feared – Cossack regiments were often dispatched to potential trouble-spots – mere presence was sufficient to restore order.

### **Civil Service**

- Civil Service or Bureaucracy mainly middle class, thereby ensuring their loyalty. Civil Service responsible to Tsar for enforcing laws on censorship, corruption, and meetings – made it difficult for revolutionaries to communicate. Civil Servants owed careers to state – in their own interest to ensure its efficient operation.

### **Censorship**

- This controlled what people were able to read, controlling what University lecturers could say, controlled access to schools, limited books available in libraries, access to foreign newspapers, political pamphlets.

### **Russification**

- This was an effort to restrict the influence of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language. As a result law and government were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language. This maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minorities cultures. As a result of this, discrimination against the minority peoples became more widespread. State intervention in religion and education. Treated subjects as potential enemies and inferior.

### **Zubatov Unions**

- These were controlled by police – were used to divert attention of workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in factories – reducing chances of workers being influenced by revolutionary groups. Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes – disbanded due to pressure from employers.

### **Revolutionary Groups Weak**

- Revolutionary groups – Social Revolutionaries (peasants unhappy at the Mir system), Social Democrats (disillusioned and angry town workers) and Liberal (who wanted a British style parliament) – on their own not powerful or popular enough to affect change – further weakened by fact they were not well organised and did not cooperate.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 19: To what extent was the 1905 Revolution caused by the incompetence of the Tsar?

### **Tsarist Incompetence – the War with Japan**

- The war with Japan was a failure and humiliation for the country. This was compounded by the heavy losses and disastrous defeats suffered by the Russian army and navy. Initially to distract the public from domestic troubles by rallying patriotism, the war was a complete fiasco for Russia, and highlighted the incompetence of Nicholas II and his ministers, who had appointed the army and naval commanders. Army was poorly equipped and badly led – serious problems also within the navy. The incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it. Troops were suffering from low morale after the defeat and were complaining about poor pay and conditions. The war caused worsening food shortages across the Empire. There were some sporadic but uncoordinated revolts. There were mutinies by troops waiting to return from the war and on the Trans Siberian Railway. Finally, the war showed that tsarist power **could** be beaten – seriously compromised the idea of Tsarist invincibility.

### **Discontent with the Tsar and his Repressive Government**

- There was discontent amongst various factions in Russian society. The middle class and some of the gentry were unhappy with the government at the time.
- The middle class were aggrieved at having no participation in government, and angry at the incompetence of the government during the war with Japan.
- There was propaganda from middle class groups, Zemstva groups calling for change, Radical Union of Unions formed to combine professional groups. Moreover students rioted, and carried out assassinations.
- The gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions.

### **Discontent amongst the Peasants**

- The peasants had several grievances related to their widespread problems – Redemption payments, high taxes, Land Hunger and general poverty—also, hostility towards recruitment into the armed forces.
- There was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903 which gradually increased to 1905. There were various protests like timber cutting, seizure of lords' land, labour and rent strikes, attacks on landlords' grain stocks, landlords states seized and divided up.

### **Discontent of industrial Working Class**

- At the start of the 1900s there was industrial recession and as a result this caused a lot of hardship for the working class. Their main complaints were long hours, low pay, poor working and living conditions, and general lack of political rights – also, general fear and resentment over tsarist repression from the police and the armed forces.

### **National Minorities**

- General background of grievances due to lack of respect for their culture, language and religion – the imposition of the Russian language as the official language of the state – deep resentment at the policy of Russification. Desire for independence or at least greater autonomy.

### **Bloody Sunday**

- 22nd Jan 1905 Father Gapon, an Orthodox priest attempted to lead a peaceful March of workers and their families to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition asking the Tsar to improve the very conditions of the workers. Marchers were fired on and killed by troops. Seen as brutal massacre by the Tsar and his troops. Greatly damaged the traditional image of the Tsar as the 'Little Father', the Guardian of the Russian people. Bloody Sunday can be regarded as a classic episode of Tsarist incompetence – demonstration was peaceful (led by priests) – violence came from Tsarist troops. Reaction was nationwide disorder strikes in urban areas, terrorism against government officials and landlords, much organised by the SRs – the onset of the Revolution.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 20: “The popularity of Bolshevik policies was the main reason for their success in seizing power in October 1917.” How valid is this view?

### **Bolshevik Policies**

- Lenin returned to Russia with the announcing of the April Theses, with slogans such as “Peace, Land and Bread” and “All Power to the Soviets”. Bolshevik propaganda continually highlighted these policies and, as time passed, support for them increased
- *Peace, Bread and Land*  
These policies were continually emphasised by the Bolsheviks, and won increasing support:
  - *Peace* – Russia had suffered disastrous losses in the war, and the country was exhausted. There had been massive loss of life, and the army was close to collapse, after a long series of defeats. By emphasising Peace, the Bolsheviks were certain to pick up support.
  - *Bread* – there were worsening food shortages in the cities, and the Provisional Government was unable to resolve them. By promising Bread, the Bolsheviks were again drawing attention to a very basic issue, which concerned the majority of the population of the cities.
  - *Land* – Lenin promised land to the peasants, a re-distribution of the landed estates which the peasants had long sought. The Bolsheviks had little support among the peasants but the promise of land would, at the very least, ensure that that the peasants would not oppose the Bolsheviks when they tried to seize power.
- *All Power to the Soviets*  
As a convinced Marxist, Lenin regarded the Soviets as representing the organised power of the working class, which was behaving as Marx had predicted. Above all, the Soviets were **elected** bodies, unlike the Provisional Government, so that the idea of the Soviets taking control in the name of the people began to win support.

### **The Provisional Government**

The Provisional Government became increasingly unpopular and lost support

- The election of the Constituent Assembly was postponed – the Provisional Government carried on running the country, even though it had not been elected.
- Land reforms were postponed – this cost the Provisional Government the support of the peasants, the largest group in Russian society. Much of the land was seized by the peasants, but the Provisional Government gained no support from this.
- The decision to continue the war was highly unpopular – the majority of Russians wanted peace, and the army became increasingly disaffected. The defeat of the final offensive in June 1917 made things worse.

### **General Kornilov**

- The attempt by General Kornilov to seize power won valuable support for the Bolsheviks. The Provisional Government was powerless to stop Kornilov, and was forced to ask the Petrograd Soviet (and thereby the Bolsheviks) for help. The Bolshevik Red Guards made preparations to defend Petrograd, and Bolshevik propagandists helped to demoralise Kornilov’s troops. This episode enabled the Bolsheviks to portray themselves as the defenders of the city.

### **Bolshevik Drive and Organisation**

- The Bolsheviks had, in Lenin, one of the most dynamic leaders in history, who had devoted his life to their cause. He was ably assisted by Trotsky, who was a brilliant organiser, mobilising and leading the Red Guards, and persuading key military and naval units to defect to the Bolsheviks. Trotsky’s organisational skills were central to the actual seizure of power by the Bolsheviks.

### **Any other relevant factors**

Question 21: To what extent were divisions among the Whites the reason for Bolshevik victory in the Civil War?

### **Disunity among the White Armies**

- The White Armies were led by a number of ambitious men, each eager to achieve power for himself. Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, and Wrangel, led powerful forces, and received support from foreign countries. However, their campaigns were never co-ordinated, and there was virtually no co-operation between the White Armies. The Bolsheviks were able to drive back their armies in turn, when a co-ordinated campaign might have achieved success. Apart from a hatred of the Bolsheviks and the Soviets, the leaders of the White Armies had very little common purpose.

### **White Leadership**

- The White leaders were simply out to achieve power for themselves, by using force. They had little in the way of policies and objectives to help them to build up support among the Russian people. There was increasing fear that White victory would reverse some of the changes carried out during the Revolution, such as the land redistribution.

### **Red Army**

- Under the leadership of Trotsky, as Commissar for War, the Red Army was better organized than the Whites and also better equipped and therefore able to achieve victory. Trotsky was an excellent organiser and propagandist, and motivated and inspired the Red Army to achieve success. He used former Tsarist officers to provide military experience, and political officers to ensure loyalty. His ruthlessness and energy had a significant effect.

### **Bolshevik Motivation**

- The Red Army was fighting for a definite cause, in which they strongly believed – the victory of socialism. This ideology helped to provide a strong sense of unity among the troops.

### **Control of the Russian heartland**

- Once the Reds had established defence of their lines they were able to repel and exhaust the attacks by the Whites until they scattered or surrendered. By having all of their land together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd) the Reds had access to factories to supply weapons etc and move troops swiftly due to their control of the railways. This helped them to co-ordinate and plan their strategies, unlike the Whites.

### **Control of the Railways**

- The means to transport troops supplies quickly and efficiently and in large numbers to the critical areas of defence or attack. The decisive battles between the Reds and Whites were near rail heads.

### **Foreign Intervention**

- The Bolsheviks were able to claim that the foreign ‘invaders’ were imperialists who were trying to overthrow the revolution and invade Russia. The Reds could stand as Champions of the Russian nation from foreign invasion.

### **Propaganda**

- Bolshevik propaganda was efficient and well planned, and helped to build up their support.

### **War Communism**

- By forcing the peasants to sell their grain to the Reds for a fixed price the Reds were able to ensure that their troops were well supplied and well fed.

### **Terror (Cheka)**

- The Cheka was set up to eradicate any opposition to the Reds. There was no need for proof of guilt. There was persecution of individual people who opposed the Reds as well as whole groups of people, which helped to reduce opposition due to fear, or simply eradicate opposition.
- Bolshevik ruthlessness helped them to ensure victory.

### **Any other relevant factors**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]