



2008 History

Higher – Paper 1

Finalised Marking Instructions

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Paper 1

- 1** Each question is marked out of 20.

- 2** In Paper 1 candidates will be rewarded according to the quality of thought revealed in their answers. They will not be rewarded solely, or even mainly, for the quantity of knowledge conveyed. “Quality of thought” 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, when requested to do so;

makes the various distinctions required by the question;

responds to all the elements in the question;

where required, explains, analyses, discusses and assesses rather than simply describes or narrates;

answers with clarity and fluency and in language appropriate to historical writing at this level.

- 3** The following descriptions provide some additional guidance on the features of essays at grades C, B and A respectively. Clearly, many essays will exhibit some, though not all, of the features listed in any one category; others will be stronger in one area than in another. These characteristics do, however, provide a general indication of aspects to be expected in an essay at a particular grade.

C: 10 – 11 marks

a reasonable quantity of evidence relevant to the issue will have been presented, though the style may be largely narrative or descriptive;

some irrelevance is likely;

there will be basic analysis of the issue;

there will be a conclusion, although not particularly well structured.

B: 12 – 13 marks

there will be a more substantial body of relevant evidence;

the amount of irrelevance will be limited;

there will be some coherence to the argument, making positive use of the evidence presented to illustrate and develop appropriate points;

a conclusion will have been drawn, supported by some reference to the evidence.

A: 14 – 20 marks

there will be a considerable body of evidence, selected appropriately and used to illustrate and develop the analysis;

the line of argument will be well developed, clear and coherent throughout the essay;

there will often be awareness of possible alternative interpretations of the issue;

there will be a fluent presentation of the conclusion, arising in a logical manner from the argument.

Issues to consider in marking an essay

Markers may find it useful to consider the following aspects when evaluating an essay. For the avoidance of doubt, these are guides to questions that should influence your view of the quality of an essay, not a checklist of questions that must be answered positively in order to award a pass or a particular grade.

Structure –	Is the evidence organised appropriately by paragraph? Is the structure essentially analytical, or can it be described more accurately as narrative or descriptive? What is the quality of analysis contained in the development section?
Introduction –	Does the essay have a recognisable introduction that indicates an understanding of the issue in the question? Does the introduction place the issue in its broader historical context? Does it indicate, where relevant, an awareness of a range of factors influencing a particular event or issue?
Evidence –	Does the candidate communicate a good understanding of the historical evidence? Is there sufficient evidence to address the issue effectively? Is the evidence used in support of an argument, or is it merely presented? Is the candidate aware of potential (or actual) differences in interpretation, making reference to alternative interpretations/historiography where appropriate?
Conclusion –	Is there a recognisable conclusion? If so, is it merely a repetition, without discussion, of points made earlier in the essay, or does it summarise the argument effectively? Does it provide a clear answer to the issue in the question?
Overall –	Taking all of the above into account, what mark should be awarded?

Awarding a mark

In allocating marks, it may be helpful to break down the process of decision into a number of stages, bearing in mind the questions above and the broad descriptions of typical features of answers at various levels of performance:

1. Does the essay contain sufficient evidence of the characteristics described in the marking instructions to justify the award of a pass mark?
2. If so, does it have enough of the features of the higher band awards to take it above the C pass level?
3. Again, if so, does it match enough of the qualities of an A pass essay to justify that award?
4. Once the appropriate band has been identified, where within the range of marks available should the essay be placed? Does it just demonstrate enough of the relevant features to reach that band, or does it have additional qualities to take it higher up the range of marks, part or all of the way to the top mark available within the band?

In marking essays of high quality, it should be noted that the full range of marks is available to be awarded. It is important to bear in mind that most candidates will be sixteen or seventeen years old. Marks should reflect what it is reasonable to expect from a candidate of that age, and quality rewarded accordingly. An essay worthy of an “A” grade should not, therefore, automatically receive 14 or 15 marks, but as high a mark as you consider it merits; full marks should not be reserved for the “perfect” answer. In History no such thing exists anyway.

OPTION A – MEDIEVAL HISTORY

HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH

MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

Question 1: “In 12th Century Scotland and England, the strengths of the Feudal System considerably outweighed its weaknesses.” How accurate is this view?

Candidates should use evidence to determine whether or not the benefits of feudalism outweigh its weaknesses. Candidates should consider how the feudal system impacted on the following groups:

The King

Benefits

- The feudal structure placed the King firmly in control of the realm.
- Through the oath of fealty he controlled the Barons, who in turn controlled the Kingdom.
- It provided the King with an army to defend his lands and regular income in terms of aids and taxes.
- The King was nominally the supreme judiciary within the realm and this could be used to his advantage.
- The King could also use judicial rights as a form of patronage, as well as delegating responsibility to the Barons.
- The King was capable of increasing his own revenue through the feudal system; money from his own lands could therefore be supplemented with feudal incidents, aids, reliefs, scutage and escheats.

Weaknesses

- The King had to depend on the loyalty of those below him.
- If his Barons were to rebel then many of the advantages the King enjoyed would cease to be.
- Such examples can be found in England during the reigns of John and Stephen and in Scotland during the reign of John Balliol.

The Barons

Benefits

- Barons and other powerful magnates received land from their feudal overlords.
- These lands usually offered rights and privileges that in turn lead to wealth and a comfortable lifestyle.
- The privileges usually gave the Barons judicial control and the right to bear arms, build castles, hold tournaments etc. This often supplemented the income of the Barons.
- The Barons were therefore able to exploit their land in a similar way that the King did with the Kingdom, but on a smaller scale.

Weaknesses

- The primary problem faced by most Barons was the requirement to perform 40 days of military service.
- While the ability to summon an army was a benefit for the feudal overlord (King) it could often be inconvenient or dangerous for the vassal.
- As with the King, Barons were reliant on the loyalty of their tenants.

The Church

Benefits

- In England the Church was considered part of the feudal structure and thus benefited from grants of land from the King.
- This increased the revenue of the English Church.
- Also some of the feudal incidents were irrelevant for the Church. For example since the Church never died, relief's (inheritance tax) were never due.

Weaknesses

- The Church, because it was considered to be within the Feudal Structure was liable to perform military services for its land.
- This often resulted in Bishops raising local levies for the King.

The Peasants

Benefits

- The traditional view is that the peasants, at the bottom of the feudal ladder received little benefit from the feudal system. However, it can be argued that the original intention of the system was to protect the non warrior classes from Viking raids.
- Certainly there was a need for protection by the poorer population and this became a responsibility of the wealthier classes.

Weaknesses

- All the classes above them often exploited the peasantry.

Any other relevant factors

Question 2: How great an impact did the regular Church have on Medieval Society?

Candidates should evaluate the impact of the regular Church on Medieval Society in terms of:

Argument for the regular Church having an impact on Medieval Society

- **Political importance of the regular Church** – In both England and Scotland the regular Church became politically important. Literate monks often formed integral parts of the government, recording laws, transcribing orders and keeping tally of the treasury. Kings expected the monasteries to offer political support, especially in areas of law and order. David I was keen on the use of monasteries in Dunfermline, Melrose and Kinloss, to help extend his central control.
- **Economic importance** – The monasteries were often granted inferior land, or land in remote wilderness. Monks and lay workers brought this land under cultivation and developed the local economy. Some monasteries, such as Melrose Abbey, became major players in the international wool trade. The Cistercian Monks were particularly adept at making money, funding large communities such as Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire.
- **Religious importance** – Monks were often regarded as being closer to God, mainly to the belief in the sanctity of the vows that various orders took, as well as their lack of worldly contact, and daily prayer and hard work. Kings and Barons would use monasteries as ‘prayer factories’, paying for daily prayers to absolve their guilt. William the Conqueror founded several abbeys across England for just this purpose to atone for the death of Christians during the Norman conquests.
- **Social importance** – Monasteries provided free hospitals and infirmaries for the sick and poor. As with churches they could also provide sanctuary for runaway serfs. The regular Church contributed to the development of architecture, art, literature and music.

Argument for little or no impact on Medieval Society

- The original idea of St Benedict was to cut oneself away from society and become a self-sustaining community that was dedicated to God. Here one would not need to have any contact with the outside world, and thus be free from the temptation of sin.
- The constant regime of work and prayer left little time for monks to become acquainted with the outside world, and often they were aloof from the world around them.
- Many historians have suggested that the monastic orders became corrupt and very wealthy. Once they took on the role of just another landowner within the feudal system then they ceased to have any positive impact on society, other than that of any other landowner.

Any other relevant factors

Question 3: To what extent can it be argued that events such as the Investiture Contest indicate that the medieval Church was more interested in politics than religion?

Arguments for a Church only interested in politics

Investiture Contest – The Investiture Contest – ongoing political struggle between Church and state over rights to nominate people for important positions within the Church. Traditionally, Kings had appointed candidates to vacant positions within their Kingdom. However, with advent of new line of Popes trained at the influential monastery of Cluny this was to be contested.

Pope Leo IX had demanded bishops that had bought their positions should renounce them; this followed by Pope Gregory VII's challenge to the Emperor of Germany, Henry IV. Here the Pope interfered in national politics of empire in an attempt to put pressure on Henry to accept papal recommendations to appointment of bishops. In England, Henry I had similar disputes with Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, as did Henry II with Becket over the trials of criminal clerics. William the Lion of Scotland faced same issue when he tried to have his candidate for Bishop of St Andrews replace Pope's choice. Historical debate – many historians argue that this may appear to be a spiritual argument, but with deep political implications for the Kings.

Other political interests of Church – Church crowned the Kings – led to idea that Kings were dependent on God for their role, and thus subservient to the Church. Popes could apply religious sanctions against Kings – excommunication and interdicts. Often used to bring political pressure against opponent – examples are reigns of King John in England and Robert Bruce in Scotland.

Kings needed literate and numerate skills of clergy in order to help administer realms therefore they could hold high office in government. Wealth of the Church came mostly from large grants of land by nobles and especially Kings. Church therefore an integral part of feudal structure, holding lands in both Scotland and England – subject to military duties. Regular Church was also politically important – David I used monasteries to support his leadership and bring areas of the countryside under his law.

Arguments for a Church interested in religion

Salvation – This was the fundamental service of the Church. It held the keys to the gates of Heaven, thus controlled who had the right to go there. Offer of salvation in the afterlife was key cornerstone in the power of Church, and many historians have argued that all the other aspects of the Church's power derive from this.

Saints and relics – Church taught everyone of power of the saints – their remains (relics) could have strong spiritual power. Masses believed and travelled far to witness the miracles performed by such relics. Even entire kingdoms adopted help and guidance of saints, and Patron Saints became popular.

Pilgrimage - Pilgrims and pilgrimages, enforcing religious power of the Church over a wider audience.

Any other relevant factors

Question 4: How important was the development of the Scottish economy in strengthening the powers of the Crown during the reign of David I?

Candidates should evaluate the success of King David I in attempting to extend the central authority of the throne to the remote areas of the Kingdom of Scotland. Pupils should make note of the following points:

Development of the economy

- David introduced numerous monasteries, which helped to develop the wool trade and cultivate barren land.
- David granted charters to over 15 towns (including Aberdeen, Elgin, Forres and Berwick) making them into burghs, which helped develop the international trade.
- Trade was encouraged with Germany, Scandinavia and France.
- David introduced the first Scottish coins to help promote trade. These ‘sterlings’ were minted from Cumbrian silver mines. All this meant more money for the crown.
- Scotland became a wealthier kingdom.

Other Factors

- **Introduction of Feudal landholding** – During his time in England David became an admirer of the feudal landholding system. He introduced a form of military feudalism into areas of Scotland, notably the southwest, Lothian and the northeast. Noble families were given grants of land; in return they offered David their support, both politically and militarily. Families include the Menzies, Wallace and Bruce. However, they were limited in number and because they also held land in England, suffered from mixed loyalties.
- **Development of the Royal government** – David created a small but loyal group that had specific roles to aid him in the running of his household and the Kingdom. Many of these roles such as the Chancellor and the Chamberlain were copied from the English court, which David admired. Some Celtic offices were retained. The group offered the King advice and formed his royal court, and were trusted to hear the most serious of legal cases. In essence, spreading the load meant that more cases could be brought to the King. Sheriffs replaced Thanes in the remote areas of the Kingdom; they offered direct royal contact for those away from the traditional seat of power. They also acted as local enforcers of the King’s law and tax collectors.
- **Development of the royal military forces** – The new feudal forces brought to David by his introduction of Feudalism offered a significant advantage when dealing with the Celtic Mormaers. Traditionally it was the Mormaers who controlled the summoning of the Common army of Scotland. Now David had an independent force loyal to him. However, this force often did not work well with the other elements of the Scottish forces, as seen at the disastrous Battle of the Standard.
- **Development of the Justice system** - New Barons were given the rights to hold their own courts within their fiefs. This was an obvious extension of the King’s law, rather than reliance on the traditional Celtic courts led by Brechons, experts in the law. Eventually these Celtic courts died out and were replaced with Sheriff courts. However this took time and was not fully accomplished in David’s reign. Permanent Justices were eventually established to hear the four most serious cases: rape, murder, arson and robbery. The gradual acceptance of the King’s law led the way to the decrease of importance of the Mormaers and the acceptance of central control.
- **Development of the Church** – Started by David’s mother Margaret, the introduction of the Roman Church at the expense of the Celtic one offered a significant boon to the development of royal authority. As the Church preached the divine grace of the King, it was hard to justify any rebellions against him.

Any other relevant factors

Question 5: To what extent was the dispute between Henry II and Becket a continuation of the wider struggle between Church and State?

Candidates should define the struggle between Henry II and Becket in terms of an ongoing struggle for control of the local Church between the Crown and the Papacy, or as a clash of personalities.

Arguments for Church vs. State

This argument can be seen as a continuation of the Investiture Contest that was prevalent in the 12th century. Henry was attempting to affirm his control over the position of the Church, especially in terms of the issue of criminal clerics and the right to appeal to Rome. Therefore Becket's aggressive denials of the changes to the Church law, proposed by Henry at Clarendon, is seen as a defence of the traditional rights of the Church.

- **Clarendon** – Becket objected to the clauses in the constitution that allowed clerics to be tried under a civil court as well as a religious court – for the same crime. He also demanded a return of the right to appeal to Rome. Both of these issues had long been considered rights of the Church. Thus Becket supported the views of the Church.
- **Northampton** – Henry's charges levelled at Becket (embezzlement while he had been Chancellor) could not bring a Churchman to a civil court. Becket argued that the state was trying to discredit the Church.
- **Becket in Exile** – Henry believed that the Church had become involved in national politics due to France's involvement. Becket was in exile in France and was trying to undermine the King. Thus the Church was interfering in state affairs and the choice of archbishop during the coronation of young Henry.

Arguments for Clash of Personalities

Henry and Becket had been close for a number of years. Their relationship, however, had been characterised by Becket's stubbornness and Henry's temper. Many historians highlight this and indicate that it could have had a major impact on their quarrel.

- **Clarendon** – Henry felt betrayed by Becket. Here was a man that owed everything to the King; his title, position and wealth. Henry assumed that Becket would help ease these changes in the Church through but instead Becket blocked the King's wishes. Therefore the King felt angry and betrayed, while Becket felt used.
- **Northampton** – Henry may have just made up these charges, but they could have been real, and the King had ignored them because of their previous friendship.
- **Becket in Exile** – Arguably a series of 'tit for tat' encounters between Archbishop and King. Henry punished Becket's family while in exile; Becket excommunicated Henry's loyal bishops who took part in the coronation of young Henry.

Any other relevant factors

HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD

NATION AND KING

Question 6: “History has judged him to be a failure.” How valid is this view of the reign of King John (1199-1216)?

The candidate should analyse John’s reign taking into account the following:

Arguments for John not being a failure

- Richard had bankrupted the country with his Saladin tithe in order to pay for his Crusade, his ransom after his kidnap on his way back, and his costly war with Philip Augustus.
- Financial crises were aggravated due to the problems caused by inflation in the early years of the 13th century.
- The Barons were used to dealing with an absent king. Both Richard and Henry II had spent only part of their reign in the Kingdom. John however was seen as an ever-present landlord, and this stifled many, causing resentment. This led to many Barons failing to come to John’s aid.
- Much of John’s reputation is due to the chronicles written after his death. Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris’s accounts are particularly biased. Later Victorian scholars relied heavily on these. JC Holt believes these chroniclers were eager to portray John in a bad light to excuse the baronial rebellion of 1215.
- John’s failure in war was not entirely of his own making. His early success at Mirabeau showed that he was a capable general. However his Barons and allies let him down several times, such as at the battle of Bouvines. Loss of Normandy had long-term positive effects on English nationality and would most likely have happened at some point.
- There is no concrete evidence that John actually murdered his nephew Arthur.
- Many have accused John of behaving like a tyrant. While this is true, he did not behave any differently from the rest of his family. Henry II had a renowned fiery temper.
- John had notable successes against William the Lion, forcing the King of Scots to pay homage to the English throne again. He led an army to crush the Welsh rebellions and in 1210 led a successful expedition to Ireland.
- John was a very able administrator of the Kingdom, and he excelled at using the feudal powers of the King to his advantage.

Arguments that John was a failure

Much of this argument can be seen as a direct reversal of previous arguments:

- John was blamed for the loss of Normandy, the ancestral homeland of the Norman Barons. This was compounded by the loss of the rest of the Angevin Empire and his failure to recapture it.
- John’s quarrel with Pope Innocent III was protracted and led to his excommunication and the whole realm being placed under an interdict. He later offered the Kingdom to the Pope as a fief.
- John’s obsession with finances drained the coffers of the Barons, making them think of rebellion. The methods of taxation and the levels of aids and scutage he demanded were very unpopular.
- John ruled with an iron fist, forcing his Barons into debt to maintain control. He often took hostages to ensure their loyalty.
- A successful French invasion led by Prince Louis meant that in the last few months of his life he had lost the southern part of the Kingdom.

Any other relevant factors

Question 7: How important was the weakness of baronial opposition in the strengthening of the power of the French monarchy during the reign of Philip Augustus?

Candidates should analyse the reign of Philip in order to determine how he was able to strengthen the power of the crown, in terms of:

Weakness of the French nobility

Philip from an early stage in his career was able to deal effectively with his powerful nobles. He firstly untangled himself from the political influences of his mother's family, the house of Blois. Going against his own mother and his uncles, Philip made it clear that he would rule without their interference. He even refused to be crowned by his uncle the archbishop of Reims. Thus Philip had established his independence and was able to effectively play the rivalry of his relatives against each other.

Philip tended to be ruthless in his alliances; his friends in one alliance could equally become his enemies in another, as with the Count of Flanders. In 1175 the Count of Flanders had been an important ally against Philip's uncles, however by 1180, the Count of Flanders had turned against Philip and was leading a coalition of nobles against him. Philip skillfully bought off his uncles and turned his new father in law the Count of Hainault against the Count of Flanders, thus negating the threat altogether.

Overall, Philip was skilled in manipulating his feudal vassals in Northern France. Historians point out that the more land Philip acquired, the more he was able to bribe his opponents. As the economy grew, the nobility could not afford to keep up with his military spending. Thus they were unable to effectively unite against him.

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, firstly Geoffrey in 1186, then 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 successfully to 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 Amiens. 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.

Administration and justice – 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 Baillies 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.

Any other relevant factors

Question 8: How successful was Louis IX in expanding the power of the French monarchy?

Candidates should make a judgement on the success of Louis in increasing the strength and security of the French monarchy in terms of:

Areas of Success

- **Increase of royal lands** – Louis was successful in bringing more land under the direct control of the French crown. His victory over Henry III and Raymond of Toulouse in 1241 saw Languedoc and Provence brought under royal control. Louis gained control of Foix and Roussillon from James of Aragon by abandoning his claim to Barcelona.
- **Government** – Louis gave large amounts of land to his family, thus preventing the need for them joining rebellions. Nobles were richly rewarded, even when it went against Louis' best interests. This prevented any major baronial rebellions taking place. A regular parliament was established which employed 30 members of staff and consulted with the Chamber of Accounts to keep an eye on financial matters. Baillies in the north and seneschals in the south provided local level of government. Officials were employed to hear complaints about the government, and provosts were employed to encourage good Christian values in society.
- **Economy** – Louis helped the development of trade in towns in order to be able to collect revenue from their success.
- **Church** – Louis demanded that he had the right to tax the Church in order to pay for his Crusade and forbade the Church from doing the same thing. He kept control over his Church and demanded evidence before anyone's land was confiscated after an excommunication.
- **Saintliness** – Louis was seen as akin to a saint, especially in his dealings with his Barons. It was hard for anyone to accuse him of unfair dealings.

Areas of failure

- **Landholding** – Louis failed to push his claim against Henry III at the Treaty of Paris and the English King was left in control over the lands of the southwest. Many of his Barons were disappointed over this.
- **Crusade** – Louis's Crusade to Egypt in 1248 was a complete disaster; he was captured and imprisoned. This led to a failure of his government in his absence and to peasant rebellions. His second Crusade was therefore widely unpopular in France.

Any other relevant factors

Question 9: To what extent was Robert Bruce more concerned with personal ambition than with Scottish independence?

Arguments that Robert Bruce was interested in personal gain

- **Lack of sustained support for Scottish cause before 1306** – Bruce had been only a shadowy supporter of Wallace, and had sent only a few of his minor retainers to help at Stirling Bridge and Falkirk. Bruce split with the Guardians in 1302; his disagreements with Comyn and his fears of a Balliol return to the throne showed that he was not interested in a restoration of the old order. He joined with Edward and was rewarded with a pardon from the English King and a return of his lands. It is argued that Bruce was only interested in gaining the throne of Scotland and would have accepted it from Edward under any conditions. When he surrendered in 1302, Bruce claimed it was to protect his rights, which it is believed is his right to become King of Scots.
- **Murder of Comyn** – Bruce possibly murdered Comyn to remove a rival to the throne. Comyn had damaged Bruce's reputation in front of Edward and Bruce was worried that this might prevent him from acquiring the throne from the King of England. Once he had killed Comyn, Bruce realised that he was now an outlaw. His only chance was to gain the throne otherwise he would be hunted down, tried and executed.
- **Civil War** – Bruce's first actions were not to drive the English garrisons from Scotland, but to secure his position on the throne. Thus for the first stage of his struggle, his opponents were his political rivals within Scotland.
- **Political problems and the Declaration of Arbroath** – Many historians see the Declaration of Arbroath as a cynical ploy by Bruce to justify his usurpation of the throne, and to win the support of the Pope. Many of the signatories of the document were not in attendance, and it is claimed that they did not know what was said on the Declaration. Therefore, far from being a popular showing of support for Bruce and his Kingship, Bruce was simply trying to quash any rebellion by Balliol supporters.

Arguments that Robert Bruce was interested in the Community of the Realm and the good of Scotland

- **Historical debate – Barrow is a strong supporter/apologist for Bruce** – He believes that Bruce was acting for the good of the Community of the Realm and that he was well supported by a growing national view to oppose the English control over Scottish affairs. Barrow claims that the real power behind William Wallace's early rebellion was James Stewart and Robert Bruce; thus his support for Scottish independence was there from the start.
- **After Wallace's defeat** – After the Battle of Falkirk and Wallace stepped down as Guardian of the realm, Bruce stepped forward and assumed the mantle of leadership, putting aside his enmity with Comyn, the two ruling jointly as Guardians for a short time. Here they took the fight to Edward and continued the struggle.
- **Murder of Comyn** – Bruce had arranged to meet Comyn in order to get his support for a renewed rebellion against Edward, with Bruce as King. Bruce would point out that he had done little to help Edward since his surrender, and had prevented any men from his lands joining the English cause and fighting for Edward. Here Bruce's desire to be King coincided with the need for the Community of the Realm to have a strong leader in this time of crises. It is his patriotism that compels him to make a bid for the throne. Comyn's murder was therefore a terrible accident and not a plot to remove a potential claimant to the throne.
- **Personal hardship** – In making his bid for the throne Bruce suffers some major personal setbacks. His brothers were arrested and executed, his sister and wife were captured and forced to endure a humiliating ordeal. Bruce was hunted across Scotland and eventually forced to flee. It can be argued that this shows his commitment to the realm; if he were simply after personal gain then this did not appear to be the way to get it.
- **Declaration of Arbroath** – Most historians, including Barrow, Simpson and Grant accept the idea that this document represents the national feelings about the state of the Kingdom. Bruce has been shown to be their choice for King. It is a clear statement of their support for Bruce.

Any other relevant factors

CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

Question 10: To what extent was the eventual French victory in the Hundred Years' War due to the contribution of Joan of Arc?

Arguments that Joan was vital in the success of the French

- Joan's appearance at the Siege of Orleans in 1429 was due to her ability to convince the Dauphin that she had visions from God. Her arrival galvanized the French defenders and raised the morale of the army. The English forces had already been depleted by the death of their leader, the Duke of Salisbury, and withdrew with the Burgundian troops.
- The French troops inspired by Joan first seized the redoubts around the city in only 9 days, then defeated an English army at the Battle of Patay on 18 June. This was the first major French land victory of the war and helped to both reverse the sense of defeat among the Dauphin's supporters and increase the pressure on the English and Burgundian alliance.
- Joan then led the Dauphin to Reims where he was crowned Charles VII. It has been argued by historians that it was the aggressive tactics and use of artillery by Joan that inspired French commanders throughout the later years of the war and led to the victory.

Other reasons that the French were successful in the Hundred Years' War

- The failure of a long-term alliance between the English and the Burgundians was especially important in overall French victory. The French were able to secure the support of Phillip III of Burgundy in the Treaty of Arras 1435. Burgundy's expansion into the Low Countries prevented their support for the English cause in the later period of the conflict.
- The long negotiated truces gave the French time to reorganise their forces and government, replacing the feudal levies with a more modern professional army that could put its superior numbers to good use, and centralising the French state.
- France remained a large country and its sheer size made it difficult for England to effectively defend all their possessions. The more land held by the English, the more of their army were required to garrison it. Therefore the striking potential of the military forces was reduced.
- The war stimulated a nationalistic sentiment in France that rallied the people behind the King. This in turn allowed the monarchy to develop a more feudal central authority that allowed them to more successfully wage war.
- The aid from the Scots, although small, played an important role in the French victory. Continually having to fortify their northern border with Scotland was a drain on resources for the English. Scotland was also a recruiting ground for soldiers and commanders for the French army.

Any other relevant factors

Question 11: How important were uprisings such as the Jacquerie and the Peasants' Revolt in causing the decline of serfdom?

Peasants' Revolt and the Jacquerie as reasons for the decline of serfdom

- **Peasants' revolt** – The revolt had been inspired by the desire to return the cost 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 warbands 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 serfdom

- **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: “The impact of the Black Death upon medieval society was not entirely harmful.” How valid is this view?

Candidates should argue this issue in terms of the long-term and short-term impacts of the Black Death. For the most part, it can be argued that the short-term impact was considerable, while the long-term impacts were less harmful, and may even have been beneficial for the survivors. Candidates should consider the following points:

Short-term problems

- **Death Rate** – It is estimated that between one third and two thirds of the population of Europe died as a result of the Black Death. The considerable 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 sprang 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.

Long-term impact

- **Reduction in population** – 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.
- **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.

Any other relevant factors

Question 13: To what extent did the Great Schism reduce the authority of the Church?

Problems caused by the Great Schism

The Great Schism took place in 1378 when an Italian was elected as Pope against the wishes of most of the French cardinals. In essence, the cardinals had for a time been trying to limit the power of the Papacy. However, Urban VI was both autocratic and tactless in his dealings with the cardinals. In response, the French cardinals decided to denounce the Pope and elect a replacement. This split Christendom between the two rival claimants.

Naturally, this weakened both the divine authority of the Papacy and the respect of the people of Europe. Eventually the Council of Constance ended the schism. By this time, there were three Popes. All three were removed and a new Pope, Martin V, was elected.

However, the Papacy seemed to learn little from the disaster. Martin V attempted to restore papal authority against the wishes of the council and reaffirm most of the actions by the contested Popes (anti-Popes).

Other problems of the Church

- **Boniface VIII** – Many historians believe that the decline of the Papacy began with the tenure of Boniface VIII. His reign on the papal throne was one of pompous decrees, which included his politically disastrous claim over all secular rulers in Christendom. The arrogance of his claims irritated many rulers. He was eventually captured by Philip the Fair of France and died soon afterwards.
- **Wealth of the Papacy** – Increasing demands on Church resources led to the dubious practice of selling indulgences (pardons) and relics by the Church. The very thought that you could buy your way into heaven was abhorrent to many.
- **The issue of the Avignon Papacy** – The decision of the Papacy to move to Avignon was not without criticism, often referred to as the Babylonian Captivity; many monarchs became increasingly suspicious of the impartiality of the Pope, with his close proximity to the French Kings. In addition, the power of the Avignon Papacy seemed to be increasing. This included calling cases from local clerical courts and an increased papal taxation of the localities.
- **Long-term decline of the international Church** – Throughout the 14th century Europe was gradually becoming richer. The local monarchs could afford more of an educated laity, reducing the reliance on the Church. Local princes and Kings were busy founding their own universities, creating the educated elite needed to help run the state apparatus; Rome was no longer as necessarily important.
- **The local clergy in countries no longer needed the protection of power** – Similarly they believed that the power of Rome had become stifling, remote and out of touch. Lay personnel became disenfranchised from the Church and angry at the growing insular nature and corruption of the Papacy. There was a growing consensus that there was a need for reform within the Church.
- **Opposition to the Church** – There was a general growth in heresies against the organised Church. Many believed that the Church was too closely linked to secular matters and worldly possessions. The Avignon court for example needed a lot of taxation to pay for its excesses. Others still opposed the Inquisition and the Crusades, believing them to be morally wrong. The moral fibre of Churchmen was also becoming an issue.

By the 15th century most Popes had lost interest in the continual development of the international Church and instead acted as Italian lay princes, interested in the expansion of the Papal estates and their own families. This secular involvement of the Papacy allowed monarchs to feel they were able to oppose the Popes without actually destroying the foundations of the Church.

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: How successful was the Roman Catholic Church in its attempts to reform itself before 1560?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the extent to which the Roman Catholic Church tried to deal with its internal problems before 1560 using evidence and arguments such as:

Internal Reforms

- Cardinal Beaton showed little desire to introduce reforms. Laws introduced against heresy and the casting down of images – Act to allow the nobility access to the scriptures in the vernacular was short lived. Assassinated 1554.
- Archbishop Hamilton held a number of Provincial Councils. Strengthened the authority of the bishop, encouraged more preaching, improved the teaching of the faith – new catechism. St Mary's College set up to train priests. Some historians would argue reforms were “too little too late”.

Other Issues

- **Decline of Monasticism** – Few were entering the monastic life, and the nunneries were suffering from corruption. The Friaries were however more active as was the Augustinian order – some of them tried to reform the church from within, others became Protestants.
- **Crown benefited from the Church** – This meant that the Crown had no incentive to reform the Church. James IV and V placed family members in lucrative posts in the Church. James IV’s son became Archbishop of St Andrews, aged 14.
- **Unable to stop the growth of Protestant ideas** – These arrived in Scotland in the east coast burghs. Patrick Hamilton first Protestant martyr – Protestants besieged in St Andrews Castle. In 1550s interest increased with Wishart’s preaching tours. Wishart burnt at the stake. After 1558, Protestants encouraged by a friendly regime in England. Return of John Knox. Catholics unsuccessful in stopping this development.
- **Pluralism** – Major problem in the Catholic Church before 1560, which was never addressed – where one man received the income of several parishes. Money was often diverted from the parish level to the higher clergy and monasteries, thus there was inadequate provision in the parishes to the detriment of church buildings, education and poor relief.

Any other relevant factors

Question 2: How far was the death of Mary of Guise the main reason for the success of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the importance of Mary of Guise's death in bringing about a Protestant Reformation, using evidence and arguments such as:

Mary of Guise

- She was regent of Scotland from 1554, during which time she promoted a pro-French and pro-catholic policy.
- She was an extremely able ruler who governed and looked after Scotland for her absent daughter.
- She had managed to win many Scots over, partly through lavish gifts.
- Her unexpected death in June 1560, created a 'political vacuum' and thus an opportunity for the Protestants to take control.
- Mary of Guise had maintained French troops in Scotland.
- Despite a Protestant rebellion she was regaining control prior to her death.
- The Reformation was by no means a certainty.

Other Factors

- **The Catholic Church's failure to reform itself** – It failed to deal sufficiently with the challenge from Protestant ideas. It failed to deal with Pluralism and other corruptions in the system.
- **Increased confidence amongst Protestant Scots after 1558** – Reason – a Protestant Queen in England. 'Beggars Summons', Knox returned, preaching in Perth. Both Perth and Dundee declared as Protestant towns. Increasing numbers of nobility now prepared to show their true allegiances. Lords of the Congregation took up arms.
- **English intervention** – English sent a fleet to the Forth – aim to cut French supply lines. Army sent into SE Scotland, Spring 1560.
- The Protestants were active and organised to take advantage of the situation. There was in contrast no leadership from the Catholic Church – the Archbishop of Glasgow fled to France. 3 Bishops joined the Protestants.
- The Treaty of Edinburgh removed French and English troops from Scotland and the Reformation Parliament declared Scotland to have accepted the Reformed faith.

Any other relevant factors

Question 3: To what extent was Mary Queen of Scots herself to blame for the loss of her throne in 1567?

The candidate makes a judgement about Mary's role in bringing about the loss of her throne, using evidence and arguments such as:

- Mary's poor choice of husbands had alienated many of her nobles.
- Marriage to Darnley resulted in the Chase-About Raid which, although an unsuccessful rebellion, lost her the support of her half brother, the Earl of Moray. Some historians argue that he was the power behind the throne after her return from France.
- Darnley proved to be an unsuitable character, both morally and in his demand for the crown matrimonial.
- The Riccio murder stemmed from his jealousy. Birth of a son provides an heir but also potential alternative monarch.
- Mary's separation from Darnley and increased friendship with Bothwell – he stage-managed the baptism of her son. Darnley did not even attend.
- Mary was implicated in Darnley's murder. She failed to mourn him and very soon after married Bothwell.
- Bothwell was the chief suspect in Darnley's murder. Not a popular choice for a husband. Protestant wedding alienated some Catholics and the Catholic powers of Europe were not impressed. This marriage created enough ill feeling to force some of the nobles to take up arms as the Confederate Lords.
- Role of her half-brother Lord James Stewart (Moray) in Mary's forced abdication. Has her imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle. The infant James was declared King with Moray as regent.

Other Factors

- Mary had a very poor record at attending her Council meetings. Nobles felt neglected. She isolated herself and surrounded herself with French servants. She also suffered from depression on a number of occasions.
- Difficulty of a Catholic Queen in a Protestant land. A unique situation in this period for the monarch to be a different religion from that of their realm. Mary did very little for the Catholic faith and there was virtually no attempt to reverse the reformation of 1560.

Any other relevant factors

Question 4: “Mary’s forced abdication was the main reason for political instability in Scotland in the period 1567-1585”. How valid is this view?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the validity of this view, using evidence and arguments such as:

- **Abdication 1567** – Confederate Lords rebelled against Mary and her new husband Bothwell. Mary was forced to abdicate in favour of her son, with Moray as regent. The following year she escaped from prison. Battle of Langside – her forces led by Hamilton were defeated by Moray. This was the beginning of a civil war, which was to last until 1573. Marians v King’s Party. Mary escaped to exile and imprisonment in England.
- **Moray** as Regent had to deal with this civil unrest – fighting was sporadic but had a negative impact on the economy. Moray murdered 1570.
- **English intervention** – The English were keen to influence affairs – supported the King’s Party as they preferred a friendly regime in Scotland. The new regent, Lennox, was Elizabeth’s suggestion. English troops assisted in the siege of Dumbarton Castle, Hamilton stronghold (Marians) – Lennox also met a violent death.
- **Regency of Morton** – During this period the civil war ended and a period of relative stability began. Edinburgh Castle, last outpost for Mary, was captured with English assistance.

Other factors which caused unrest after 1574

- **Conflict with the Church** – Morton’s church settlement brought him into conflict with the Presbyterians (a new movement in the church led by Andrew Melville).
- **Financial Problems** – Largely as a result of civil war financial problems were created.
- Morton executed 1581.
- **Problems created by Esme Stuart** – Influence over young James – Elizabeth, the Kirk and the Protestant nobility saw him as an agent of the Pope.
- The **Ruthven Raid** resulted in the capture and imprisonment of James for 10 months.
- Clearly after 1574, the unrest caused by Mary’s forced abdication had largely died out but some instability remained throughout this period.

Any other relevant factors

Question 5: How significant were James VI's relations with the Church in his attempts to strengthen royal authority up to 1603?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the importance of James' relations with the church in establishing his authority using evidence and arguments such as:

Conflict with Presbyterians

- New movement in the church led by Andrew Melville – conflict had already developed during Morton's regency. King wanted a church with bishops.
- 1570s shortage of clergy – fear of Counter Reformation.
- 1581 – 13 Presbyters set up – seen as a challenge to royal authority.
- 1584 – 'Black Acts' subjected the Kirk to authority of the crown. Ministers are asked to subscribe – a number go 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.
- Increasingly James would have the General Assemblies meeting in the North East where he could rely on more support for the crown.
- In 1600 James appointed Bishops to Parliament. He had clearly gone far in his attempts to control the Kirk and thus help to control the state.

Other Factors

- James worked to bring law and order to his kingdom – joint policing took place in the Borders. Attempts were made to bring control to the highlands. Attempts were made to settle 'civilised' Scots from Fife on Lewis.
- Successfully crushed the rebellion of Huntly and Bothwell.
- Creation of an image of kingship – Poets – Basilikon Doran – Tracts on Kingship.

Any other relevant factors

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND IN THE CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS 1603-1702

Question 6: How far were religious issues the main threat to royal authority under James VI and I?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the extent to which religious issues threatened royal authority, using evidence and arguments such as:

Religious issues – England

- James' willingness to give some toleration to Catholics not always welcomed.
- 1606 harsh penal laws introduced but not rigorously enforced.
- A minority of Catholics organised against the crown – eg Gunpowder plot.
- More concern with the Puritans – at start of the reign had hoped for further changes in the church – Millenary Petition. James tried to meet them half way at the Hampton Court Conference. Agreed to some of their demands but insisted on Bishops in the church. Authorised Version of the Bible produced. Despite these problems religion was never a major divisive issue in his reign.

Religious issues – Scotland

- James was successful in introducing Bishops into the Kirk. The 5 Articles of Perth – kneeling at Communion created opposition. James wanted to introduce a new liturgy but had the sense and knowledge of Scotland to hold back.
- James boasted that he could now rule Scotland by the pen where others had failed by the sword.

Other issues

- Aim of James was to create one **unified Great Britain**. James wanted to see a Union of equals; his English Parliament did not welcome this. English also resented his Scottish favourites around the court.
- **Problems with Parliament** James imposed customs duties without the consent of Parliament. James also openly sold honours to raise cash. Fear existed of royal interference with Parliament – this was not helped by his views on the ‘Divine Right of Kings’. Disputed **Buckinghamshire election** – asserted prerogative on religious matters.
- James ruled without Parliament for 7 years (1614-21). In 1621 Parliament challenged the selling of monopolies.
- Throughout James’ reign a major problem was the inability to secure sufficient finance for the Crown.
- **Foreign Policy** – James pursued one of peace for most of his reign. However peace with Spain not always a popular policy in England.

Any other relevant factors

Question 7: How important were Charles I's financial policies in weakening his authority in the years before the Civil War?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the importance of financial policies in weakening Charles' authority in the years before the civil war using evidence and arguments such as:

Financial Policies

- Some historians have argued that Charles inherited problems from his father's reign. However, Charles was less able to deal with them successfully. At the start of his reign he was refused Tonnage and Poundage. In 1627 he was to introduce forced loans – refusal could result in forced conscription or imprisonment. He also had soldiers billeted on private individuals without payment.
- During the period of his rule without Parliament he exploited and revived ancient feudal rights to increase revenue. Examples – Commission for Knighthoods, Infringement of Royal Forests, Ship Money (at first coastal towns then the whole country).
- He also illegally gathered Tonnage and Poundage.

Charles' personality

- Stubborn – liked to be obeyed – believed in the 'Divine Right of Kings'.
- Catholic marriage unpopular.
- Resentment at Buckingham's influence during the first part of his reign.

Failure to work with Parliament

- His conflict with Parliament resulted in no Parliament being called from 1629-40.
- Parliament had criticised his financial and religious policy. Parliament only met in 1640 when he was forced to ask for more money to deal with the Scots rebellion.
- Parliament believed that where ministers acted in ways dangerous to the state or religion, that it was its duty to call them to account.

Religion

- Charles was committed to one group within the church known as Arminians. This was a major break with the Calvinism of the Reformation.
- He promoted William Laud in the church – Archbishop of Canterbury 1633.
- Some feared increased ritual in the church as Catholicism.
- He enhanced the position of bishops in the Church – which gave divine authority to the monarch.

Foreign Policy

- At first his war with Spain was popular but it proved to be a fiasco with France also declaring war in 1627.
- Peace was achieved in 1629.

Any other relevant factors

Question 8: “Purely a response to the attempts of Charles I to impose his religious views on Scotland.” How valid is this view of the growth of the Covenanting movement?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the importance of Charles’ religious views in bringing about the growth of the Covenanting movement, using evidence and arguments such as:

Religious issues

- James VI had reintroduced Bishops into the Kirk. The five Articles of Perth were passed by a General Assembly and reluctantly went through Parliament. Their aim was to bring conformity with the Church of England. James had the sense to take things no further – Charles lacked his father’s understanding of Scotland.
- Charles was insistent in achieving uniformity in the Church of both Kingdoms. Archbishop Laud had already made changes in England. Bishops were given office in government.
- 1633 – Charles was crowned in Scotland. The 8-year delay caused resentment. Coronation took place with full Anglican rites – choir, music, candles, clergy in vestments – was this a sign of things to come?
- 1635 – Book of Canons – gave more powers to the bishops.
- 1637 – introduction of new prayer book – resulted in riots – planned well in advance.
- More zealous Presbyterians started to meet in private for worship.
- Result was the National Covenant – this received widespread support.

Other Factors

- The Revocation Act was a major long-term factor in causing discontent. It annulled all gifts of land since 1540! (Before the Reformation). The aim was to reduce the power of the nobility and provide stipends for the clergy. It however created uncertainty amongst the nobility and alienated the very people who might have supported the king and resulted in many of the nobility joining the Covenanting Movement.
- High levels of taxation – this was needed for the new Parliament House and for the renovation of St Giles.
- Parliament had been controlled by the Committee of the Articles – the bishops were important as they made nominations to the committee.
- Charles’ character insistence on Divine Right – naïve – expected to be obeyed.

Any other relevant factors

Question 9: To what extent was the Republic successful in overcoming its problems between 1649 and 1660?

The candidate makes a judgement as to the success of the Republic in overcoming its problems, using evidence and arguments such as:

The Rump Parliament 1649-53

- **Problem of security for the new Republic.** Ireland in revolt – Scotland declared for Charles II. Cromwell successfully repressed Ireland but at a cost. Scots defeated at Dunbar and Worcester. Later Union would be forced on Scotland. High costs of garrisons in both places.
- **Charles I's execution** had ironically increased his popularity – Rump introduced censorship and depended on the army to maintain control – this was a problem never solved.
- **War with Holland.** This resulted in more expense but Navigation Acts protected English trade and the Royal Navy was built up. England began to be respected as a Naval power.
- **Problem of conflict between Parliament and the Army.** Radical element in army at odds with Parliament – John Lilburne (Leveller leader) imprisoned for criticising government. In 1653 Cromwell brings troops into Parliament and expels the Rump thus creating more problems and reduces the chance of a constitutional settlement.
- **Brief rule by the Barebones Parliament 1653** then power handed to Cromwell.
- **Head of State and the Army.** Shared power with a Council of State. He passed a number of laws before Parliament met – laws against blasphemy and drunkenness. Conflict with Parliament led to it being dissolved. Cromwell failed to improve his relations with Parliament during his time as Lord Protector. Yet he did keep law and order and was accepted at home – respected abroad.
- **Dislike of the Major General System.** This element of military rule was introduced by Cromwell and was very unpopular as it led to interference in individual's lives. Backed up by troops it could make on the spot fines. Enforced laws against swearing, drinking, Sabbath observance. 1656 they attempted to influence the election.
- **1657 Humble Petition and Advice** – Cromwell offered the crown – refused but accepted the powers of the crown. Further argument to support the view that it failed to produce a constitutional settlement. Radical element in the Army alienated.
- **Religion** – Toleration for all Christians except Catholics and Anglicans.
- Major failure was the inability of the Republic to produce a constitutional settlement, which would last. On the death of Cromwell the only solution appeared to be the restoration of the monarchy.

Any other relevant factors

Question 10: How successful was the Glorious Revolution in limiting the powers of the Crown?

The candidate makes a judgement about the success of the Glorious Revolution in limiting the power of the crown, using evidence and arguments such as:

Convention Parliament

- William and Mary to rule as joint sovereigns – accepted according to law and guided by Parliament.

Declaration of Rights

- This preserved much of Royal powers – Monarch chose ministers – make their own policy-influence Parliament – own patronage.
- Yet many of the powers, which James had claimed, were declared unconstitutional eg powers to make statutes illegal, packing juries, taxes without consent of Parliament, no church courts or standing army in peacetime without the consent of Parliament.
- It reinstated ancient rights rather than giving new rights to Parliament.

Restrictive Succession

- This was a major innovation. Catholics barred from the throne.

Vague statements of intent

- Subjects could petition the king – parliamentary elections, debates and proceedings to be free – Parliaments held ‘frequently’.
- No ‘cruel or unusual punishments’.

Criticisms of the Glorious Revolution

- No repeal of the Militia Act – nothing to prevent overlong Parliaments. King could still alter borough charters. Offices could still be bought and sold. No independent judiciary.
- It has been criticised as very conservative yet the Convention had lacked time to legislate on more than a few matters.
- Nearest approach yet to a written constitution. It implied a contractual monarchy – it entrenched the Protestant settlement and guaranteed the place of Parliament.

Parliament gains more power because of wars

- New parliament of 1690 granted customs for only 4 years. The financial needs of war ended the chance of the monarch being financially independent.

While the title of this essay would suggest primarily reference to England, some credit should be given if reference is made to Claim of Right and Articles of Grievance in Scotland. The abolition of the Committee of the Articles made the Scottish Parliament a stronger institution.

Any other relevant factors

HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND WORLD

ROYAL AUTHORITY IN 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY EUROPE

Question 11: How successfully did Louis XIV increase the power of the monarchy during his reign?

The candidate makes a judgement on the success of Louis XIV in increasing the power of the monarchy using evidence and arguments such as:

Success

System of Government

- More absolute than predecessors, contemporaries or successors – inherited system of absolute, Divine Right monarchy from Richelieu and Mazarin – became his own chief minister on Mazarin's death.
- Estates General never met during his reign – political power of provincial estates also diminished during his reign.
- Ruled through 4 Councils – Council of State, of Dispatches, of Finance and Privy Council.
- Took advice of ministers who could do nothing without his assent.
- Government more bureaucratic and centralized.
- Intendants became his most important officials in the Provinces – increased the authority and responsibilities of the Intendants – steady erosion of the autonomy of municipal authorities – financial management under the control of the Intendants – elected officials replaced by venal office holders.

The Law

- Reduced the power of the Parlements – lost their control over legislation – Louis acted as absolute law-giver of the realm – advised by a Council of Justice set up in 1665, dominated by Colbert – from 1661 established that Royal Council's decrees had precedence over Parlements' – from 1673 the Parlement of Paris had to register Royal edicts at once.
- Colbert reformed the Law – Civil Code, 1667 – Criminal Code, 1670 – Maritime Code, 1672 and Commercial Code, 1673.

The Army

- Subordination of army commanders to central control – Louis dominated his armies – reduced the status of the Generals – increased control over appointments – established the right to appoint every officer down to rank of Colonel – Royal army – remodelled by Le Tellier and Louvois.

Finance

- Colbert increased the efficiency of the fiscal and economic system – enormous amounts of tax revenue raised – enhanced royal power – made possible Versailles, creation of navy, remodelling of army, expansion of patronage and pensions, and Louis' many wars.

Versailles

- Symbol of Louis' success – triumph over noble dissidence – great achievement in persuading the elite that their best interests lay in cooperating with, rather than confronting, the monarchy.
- Lack of serious revolts proves the extension of royal power.

However

Limitations

- France not centralized – too large – bureaucratic organization of the state still primitive – only 30 or so Intendants with limited technical and secretarial resources – no civil service.
- System really based on cooperation with existing bodies – old system not really replaced – new system parallel to old – Versailles a façade.
- Colbert could not change fiscal system – corruptions still there, tax farming and office selling, exemptions from taxation – demands of war made Louis more and more dependent on office holders and traditional elite.
- Failure of Religious policies – quarrel with Pope – persecution of Huguenots.
- Louis left France bankrupt.

Question 12: To what extent should the credit for Louis XIV's achievements be given to his ministers?

The candidate makes a judgement on the credit for Louis XIV's achievements being given to his ministers using evidence and arguments such as:

Achievements

- Increased the authority and prestige of the monarchy.
- Flourishing economy.
- Ascendancy over Europe – military and diplomatic pre-eminence.
- Strongest army in Europe.
- Elaborate and efficient diplomatic service.
- Copied and envied by other powers.
- Extended the boundaries of France – bigger, better defended and more secure frontiers.

Argument

- Louis XIV acted as his own chief minister, in personal charge of French Policy – he was very conscientious in attending to routine matters of State – Ministers were appointed to carry out his wishes. He was well-served by very able ministers, especially Colbert, Le Tellier, Louvois and Lionne – selected from middle classes – they were the King's servants – all decisions were referred to Louis – they could do nothing without his assent.
- As long as they recognised the King's ultimate authority the Secretaries of State were given wide powers to pursue the process of government.
- Significant that Louis was most successful in the early part of his reign. Lionne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, retired in 1671. Colbert, chief advisor in domestic matters, Controller-General of Finances and Secretary for the Navy and Royal Household, died in 1683. Le Tellier, Secretary of State for war, died in 1685. After this time, France went into decline. Louvois, who succeeded his father as Secretary for War, and known as the King's 'evil genius', now exercised more control over Louis and is often blamed for the decline in France's fortunes.

Work of his Ministers

Colbert

- Established the Government's control throughout France – Intendants led by Colbert – Louis' principal agents in enforcing Royal Control – extensive powers over judicial, financial and administrative matters in the Provinces – successfully established Royal Government over the Pays d'Etat and over the towns.
- Colbert's true genius revealed in his impact on assessment and collection of revenue – an essential element in strengthening the Crown's power.
- Doubled the net revenue by 1667 – tightened up the administration – unable to change the system – abuses too deeply rooted to abolish them – frustrated by Louis' constant demands for money for war.
- Developed the economy – mercantilist – fostered industry and foreign trade and established Colonies – state invested in industry – system of tariff protection against foreign competition.
- Set up trading companies.
- Created a merchant navy and built up the French navy to protect it.
- Provided the resources for the building of Versailles.

Lionne

- Brilliant diplomat – agents deployed in every capital city in Europe, building alliances and isolating enemies – success in War of Devolution and events leading to Dutch War in 1672 demonstrate his skill – Louis' foreign policy less carefully planned after Lionne's retirement in 1671.

Le Tellier and Louvois

- Controlled the army – detailed planning and reform – recruitment rationalised, discipline improved (Martinet), colleges established for cadet training, new weapons, school of artillery established – army brought under direct control of the state – army largest and most efficient in Europe.

Question 13: How far did the enlightened reforms of Frederick II lead to significant changes to life in Prussia?

The candidate makes a judgement on the significance of the enlightened reforms of Frederick II in changing life in Prussia using evidence and arguments such as:

Argument

- Frederick II not very enlightened – very little significant change – reforms often carrying on tendencies already established in Prussia – main priority to strengthen the state and support the army – most significant changes in legal reform and to a lesser extent in religious reforms.

Evidence

Administration

- Inherited a highly centralized and bureaucratic system of government – made it more efficient – created separate ministries for trade, army, mining, forestry – undermined the General Directory – King acted as prime minister – claimed to be the first servant of the State.

Serfdom

- He was opposed in principle to serfdom but achieved little in practice – physical ill-treatment of serfs became illegal – banned the practice of Nobles' enclosure of peasant land (difficult to enforce) – improved the condition of serfs living on Royal lands – granted them heredity of tenure and limited the amount of labour service demanded.
- He made **no** attempt to alter social structure of Prussia – afraid to anger nobles and create social revolution.

Nobility

- Favoured – ‘golden age’ – dominated the army, civil service and judiciary – Frederick relied on them as the one reliable and loyal group in Prussia.

Education

- No real interest in education – set up national system of state schools – fines for non-attendance – narrow curriculum.
- Very little money allocated for education – not a priority – shortage of trained teachers – numbers of schools varied from one province to another.
- Did not favour education for peasants – did not want them to get ideas above their station.
- Did little for Higher education – revised the Berlin Academy of Science which had fallen into disorder – Universities starved of funds – struggled to survive.
- Quality of education in Prussia fell below that in many other countries.

Religion

- Showed a tolerance unusual at this time – toleration even to non-Christian religions – eg Muslims – there was a Prussian tradition of toleration.
- No toleration to Jews – not allowed in as immigrants – had to pay special taxes – banned from most jobs, professions and civil service.

Law

- Legal reform a major achievement – longest lasting of reforms – work of Cocceji – law more uniform, more impartial and equal for all classes – common legal system for scattered Prussian provinces – new protection for the people – equality under law, guaranteed civil rights and right to own property – lawyers and judges trained.
- Frederick still interfered in an arbitrary manner.
- Censorship of press reduced – freest press in Europe.

Economy

- Real interest in developing agriculture, especially after the devastation of the 7 Years' War – enlightened – introduced new ideas in farming – encouraged immigration – 300,000 immigrants.
- Not enlightened in industry and trade – mercantilist – Prussia became one of the most industrialized states in Europe.
- Modest improvement in standards of living.

Question 14: To what extent was Joseph II himself responsible for the limited success of his reforms?

The candidate makes a judgement on the extent to which Joseph II was responsible for the limited success of his reforms using evidence and arguments such as:

Argument

- Joseph practiced ideas of enlightenment on revolutionary scale – interfered with everything great and small – issued 6000 decrees and 11000 new laws in 10 years – tried to do too much too quickly – attempted single-handed revolution but lacked support of an educated and enlightened middle class – civil servants overwhelmed by large number of decrees they were expected to enforce.
- He ignored feelings of his subjects, lacked tact, too impatient and refused to compromise – methods wholly those of monarchical absolutism.
- He had no consideration for tradition – if he wanted reform it was carried out.
- His attack on serfdom and privilege antagonised powerful landed nobility – used their power to resist execution of his decrees.
- His attack on Roman Catholic Church aroused peasantry and urban classes as well as the clergy. Peasantry also resented introduction of conscription.
- His attack on provincialism and his desire for centralisation and uniformity antagonised non-German lands – provincial estates resisted his decrees – greatest opposition came from Hungary and Netherlands.
- Biggest mistake was 1778 war against Turkey when internal reforms had made his lands discontented. He imposed the full weight of conscription and heavy taxes. To stop revolution Joseph revoked most of the hated reforms.

Evidence

Administration

- Created single unitary state – Hungary, Netherlands and Italian lands unified under single administration controlled from Vienna – cut across provincial and traditional boundaries to counteract provincial and local allegiance – old institutions almost all abolished – German used as language of administration – refused to be crowned in Hungary – immense opposition in Hungary and Netherlands – attack on their culture and civilization – resistance led by powerful and selfish nobles – objected strongly to methods used.

Religion

- 1781 Edict of Toleration – Protestants equal under law – one of most successful reforms – only allowed private worship.
- 1782 Edict of Toleration for Jews – more controversial – Austria one of first states to conscript Jews – long-lasting reform – unpopular with the Church and Jews.
- Reform of Catholic Church – created great hostility – subordinated Church to State – censorship removed – monasteries closed and wealth reverted to state – schools removed from Church control – abolition of tithes, priests now paid salaries – interference in Church ritual led to great opposition.

Education

- Very enlightened but also utilitarian – schools built in all communities – provided secondary schools and universities – very successful – 30% attendance at school – most successful in Europe.

Social Reform

- Most comprehensive welfare system in Europe – hospitals, orphanages etc – humanitarian – very enlightened.

Serfdom

- 1781 Decree abolishing serfdom but not robot (labour services) – could now marry, emigrate and appeal against landlords.
- 1789 Tax and Agrarian Law – single land tax introduced and abolition of tithes, feudal dues and robot – most far-reaching reform – nobles horrified – timing unfortunate (French revolution) – great resistance – Joseph forced to suspend law – serfdom not abolished completely until 1848.

Law

- 1787 New codes of civil and criminal law – torture abolished – class distinction before the law was abolished – censorship of press abolished – limited application of death penalty – remarkable achievement – fairest and most efficient in Europe.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE CITIZEN STATE

Question 15: How far were the ideas of the Enlightenment the most serious challenge to the Ancien Regime?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the Enlightenment as a challenge to the Ancien Regime using evidence and arguments such as:

Enlightenment ideas

- Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau – questioned tradition – supported freedoms – press, speech. They attacked the privileges of the Church, its beliefs and the despotic nature of Ancien Regime Government. They were critical of many aspects of the Ancien Regime but not necessarily totally opposed to it.
- Impact may have been limited, as only certain sections of society would read their works. Some historians argue that Enlightenment ideas were only used to justify the revolution after it happened.

Other Challenges

- Absolutist nature of the monarchy
 - Marie-Antoinette. Decadence of the court.
- Unfair nature of the system
 - Privileged orders of the first and second estate – some examples might be given. Unfair taxation system – cumbersome administration – tax collected by the Farmers General.
- Grievances of the 3rd Estate
 - Rise in the importance of the Bourgeoisie – increased wealth – wish for increased participation.
- Peasantry – bulk of French society
 - Range of taxation and feudal rights imposed on them. Some examples should be given.
- Bad harvests and food shortages.
- Financial Problems
 - Arguably the biggest threat to the Ancien Regime. Created in part by France's involvement in wars – most recently the American War of Independence – brought France to bankruptcy.
- Failure to reform.

Any other relevant factors

Question 16: To what extent was the decision to abolish the monarchy in 1792 a result of the pressures of war?

The candidate evaluates the importance of war as a factor leading to the abolition of the monarchy, using evidence and arguments such as:

- War was declared April 1792 – by September 1792 the monarchy was abolished.
- It destroyed the consensus of 1789 and led to the overthrow of the monarchy – civil war and terror.
- Monarchy hoped for a French defeat allowing them to regain powers. There were links with the Austrians and the Émigrés.
- War got off to a poor start with desertions – fear for security of Paris. In this climate, the King's opponents increasingly aimed for the overthrow of the monarchy.
- The Federe arrived from the provinces to help defend Paris (Republicans).
- The rise of the importance of the Sans Culottes – invasion of the Tuileries Palace – only Louis' calmness saved his life.
- State of Emergency declared – Robespierre cooperated with Federe – called for the overthrow of the monarchy.
- Brunswick Manifesto – made matters worse. The enemy intended to help Louis – threat made to Paris if Louis harmed. Result – many more became Republicans.
- New revolutionary Commune set up in Paris.
- Attack on Tuileries Palace. 10th August 1792 – King is then imprisoned. Those who still supported a constitutional monarchy deserted. Royal documents found which confirmed contact of the Royal Family with the enemy. Monarchy is abolished.

Other Factors

- Even before the war Louis had started to lose support and credibility. The flight to Varennes, when Louis attempted to escape. His reluctance to accept the Constitution of 1791.
- The growth of Republican Clubs. Champs de Mars Massacre – aim to sign a Republican petition.

Any other relevant factors

Question 17: How effective was the government of the Jacobin dictatorship 1793 – 1794?

The candidate assesses the effectiveness of the government of the Jacobin dictatorship using evidence and arguments such as:

Seen by some historians as a time when extremists knocked the revolution off course but the dictatorship needed to organise against internal and external threats.

Machinery of the Terror

- Committee of General Security (CGS) – root out all anti-republican opposition.
- Revolutionary Tribunal (RT) – trial in Paris of counter-revolutionaries/suspects.
- Representatives-on-mission – sent out to the provinces – almost unlimited powers – aim to establish central control.
- Comites de surveillance – in each commune major towns handed over suspects to RT.
- Committee of Public Safety (CPS) – supervise the activities of ministers – set prices.

External threats

- Total war – state factories worked to produce arms and ammunition.
- Sections dominated by the Sans Culottes helped the war effort. Eventually war started to go well. Certainly can claim short-term success.

Internal threats

- Resentment of influence of Paris in the Provinces. Rebellions in Marseilles, Lyon, and Bordeaux. Atrocities committed to crush the rebellions eg drownings from barges at Nantes – mass executions by cannons at Lyon.

Popular demands

- There was clear tension here. The dictatorship at times can be seen to give in to popular demands in order to secure the much-needed support of the Sans Culottes. Maximum prices were fixed (including grain) – this was greatly resented by the peasants. Imposition of the death sentence for hoarding. Trials and executions of important figures, eg Marie Antoinette, also popular. Religious terror – dechristianisation – generally not a successful policy, greatly resented in the countryside.

Food supplies for towns and cities

- Very successful – helped preserve the revolution although the revolutionary armies created much resentment amongst the peasants.
- When CPS policies appeared to be successful they started to claw back power from the Sans Culottes – Law of Firmaire – CGS and CPS given full power – disbanded revolutionary armies.

Extremes

- Law of Suspects – anyone arrested could be held without trial.
- Any opposition was ruthlessly eliminated eg Hebert, Danton. May ‘94 all executions held in Paris. Law of Paririal – no witnesses required in trials.
- Coup of Thermidor – Execution of Robespierre – the worst of the Terror was over, it had successfully preserved the republic but at great cost.

Any other relevant factors

Question 18: To what extent had the Ancien Regime been destroyed by 1799?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the Ancien Regime had been destroyed by 1799, using evidence and arguments such as:

- The **Absolute Monarchy** of the Ancien Regime had been overthrown – the monarchy itself had come to an end. France became a Republic 1792. It was still a Republic in 1799 but the Coup of Brumaire that year may have heralded the move towards the Empire.
- An **Elected Assembly** was to be a permanent change brought about by the revolution. This was a totally new change to the government of France – had never existed before.
- The legal distinction between the **Estates** had disappeared, as had the old administrative and financial structure.
- A **new administrative system** had been set up with Departments, Districts and Communes. Equality of taxation, standardised weights and measures (metrication).
- **Church** – Lost its wealth/income from tithes, lands and privileges. Its monopoly on education, poor relief, hospitals. Toleration of Protestants was now established.
- **Nobility** – 1790 abolition of titles, lost feudal dues and privileges.
- **Bourgeoisie** were perhaps the main group to benefit from the revolution. Office open to all on merit.
- **Peasants** – Abolition of indirect taxation, feudal dues, tithes all helped the peasants, although still subjected to conscription in 1799.
- **Equality** before the law had been established as had freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest. The excessive punishments and tortures associated with the Ancien Regime had also gone.

Any other relevant factors

OPTION C – LATER MODERN HISTORY

HISTORICAL STUDY – SCOTTISH AND BRITISH

BRITAIN 1850s-1979

Question 1: To what extent was the growth of democracy in Britain after 1860 due to social and economic change?

The candidate assesses the extent to which the growth of democracy in Britain after 1860 was due to social and economic change, using evidence and arguments such as:

Social and economic change

- The industrial revolution changed where people lived, how they worked, and how they felt about their position in society.
- Middle classes – wealth creators – argued they should have more of a say in running the country.
- Development of basic education – cheap popular newspapers – raised working class political awareness.
- Spread of railways – helped create national political identity – people more aware of issues.
- Less fear of revolutionary “mob” – skilled working class more educated and respectable – shown in support for North in American Civil War by elements of artisan class – argument for extending the vote in 1867.
- Skilled working class vital to economic success of Britain.
- Increasing urbanisation led to pressure for redistribution of parliamentary seats – 1867, 1885, 1918.
- Impact of Great War on key issue of votes for women – realisation of economic role of women in wartime a factor in 1918 Act – fears of a revival of militant women’s campaign.

Changing ideology and attitudes

- Political reform no longer seen as a threat – struggles for liberty in Europe and USA – Britain usually supportive of this, therefore difficult to argue against democratic progress at home.
- American Civil War – Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address.

Political advantage

- Politicians often believed they could gain political advantages from passing reforms – eg, 1867 Reform Act passed by Conservatives after being in opposition for many years – arguably trying to win votes.
- Liberal party also tried to gain political advantage. John Bright argued for secret ballot, to free working class electorate from fear of retaliation by bosses and landlords.
- Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act – possible to argue that it was a pragmatic move by Liberals – by limiting amount spent on elections, they might reduce advantages held by wealthier Conservatives.
- Reforms of 1880s – could be argued that they served as a distraction from foreign policy problems facing Liberal government – Redistribution of Seats Act – Liberals hoped for political advantage from urban voters now being more fairly represented.

Popular pressure

- Impact of campaigns by Reform League and Reform Union in 1866-67 – large demonstrations.
- Dangers of withholding franchise from working classes – alarm at Hyde Park riots of July 1866. Less evidence of popular pressure in 1884 Reform Act.
- Impact of campaigns by women’s movements up to 1914 – clear historical debate on this; effects Suffragette campaign – government concern at a revived campaign after war – arguably a factor in the decision to grant votes for women at 30 in 1918.

Any other relevant factors

Question 2: How important were concerns about the extent of poverty in Britain in the Liberal Government's decision to introduce social reforms between 1906 and 1914?

The candidate evaluates concern about the extent of poverty in Britain in influencing the Liberal Government's decision to introduce social reforms in 1906-1914, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

Change in attitude from 19thC ideas of Laissez-Faire – growing arguments that the state should have a definite role for the well-being of its citizens.

Concerns about poverty

Reports of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree – clear evidence that, no matter how hard poorer people tried, they could not lift themselves out of poverty. Reports showed that poverty had definite causes – low pay, unemployment, sickness, old age – cures for this were beyond individual efforts of poor. People were usually poor through no fault of their own. Concept of the “deserving poor” – those who were poor through no fault of their own – idea took root and was an important theme running through the Liberal reforms.

Other Influences on the government

- **National Security** – South African War – rejection of almost 25% of volunteers on fitness grounds. Figure even higher from volunteers from cities – Government seriously alarmed about this. Politicians concerned – could Britain protect its Empire or even survive against a stronger enemy if the nation’s “fighting stock” of young men was so unhealthy?
- **National Efficiency** – By 1900, Britain was no longer the strongest industrial nation – facing serious competition from new industrial countries like Germany. It was argued that, if the health and educational standards of British workers got worse, then Britain’s status as a leading industrial power would be threatened.
In addition, Germany had introduced a system of welfare benefits and old age pensions in the 1880s – could Britain not do likewise?
- **Political Advantage** – Some historians argue that political advantage was a key factor in motivating the Liberals to introduce social reforms. The majority of working men were now voters – and the new Labour Party was actively competing for their votes! – were Liberals concerned about retaining traditional working class support?
- **New Liberalism** – “Old” Liberalism believed that poverty was due to personal defects, but, as the realisation grew that poverty itself imposed restrictions on choices available to individuals, a new definition of Liberalism developed. “New” Liberals argued that state intervention was necessary to liberate people from social problems over which they had no control.

Any other relevant factors

Question 3: “Their contribution during World War I was the main reason why the majority of women gained the right to vote in 1918.” How valid is this view?

The candidate evaluates the extent to which their contribution during the First World War influenced the government’s decision to give votes to the majority of women in 1918, using evidence and arguments such as:

The importance of the contribution during the Great War

- Main women’s organisations suspended their campaigns after outbreak of war – WSPU actively urged men to join the armed forces and encouraged women to demand “the right to serve”.
- Women’s war work – vital to Britain’s eventual victory – over 700,000 women employed in munitions.
- Traditional view – women given the vote as reward for efforts during war – a “thank you”. However, in 1918, vote was given to women aged 30 and over – yet, munition workers were largely young, single women below age 30 – they did not get the vote.
- Also, in France, women had worked equally hard for the war effort, but did not gain the vote.
- Can be argued political advantage is a better explanation – fears of a revitalised Suffragette campaign after the war.
- Politicians anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war, but had lost their residency qualification – easier to “add on” women in legislation which was happening anyway.
- Women clearly gained respect during war – balance negative publicity caused by earlier Suffragette campaign.
- Women’s war efforts converted earlier opponents, eg Asquith.

Other Factors

- **Social Change** – Women increasingly active in public affairs – in town councils, boards of guardians, as members of political associations – further change seemed inevitable. Historians such as Martin Pugh have pointed out that women’s active participation in local councils, boards of guardians, and other organisations, made it increasingly difficult to justify their exclusion from national elections.
- **Role of the NUWSS** – persuasive campaign of meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills introduced by supportive MPs – showed that substantial numbers of politicians had accepted principle of women’s suffrage. NUWSS also provided a “home” for women angered by the Suffragettes during their “wild period” – NUWSS had 53000 members in 1914.
- **Role of WSPU** – First objective was publicity for their campaign – can be argued that much of this publicity was negative – cause lost support because of tactics and methods adopted. However, can also be argued that, without the Suffragettes, Liberal Government would not have discussed the issue at all. WSPU brought issue of votes for women to crisis point – made issue a “hot potato” which could not be ignored.
Did the campaign do more harm than good? – by mid-1914, Suffragette leaders were either in prison, in hiding, or ill – very few were still actively campaigning.
- **Representation of the People Act, 1918** – regarded as a victory for the suffrage movements – but, women were still not the political equals of men.

Overall

- War can be regarded as a catalyst which speeded up progress to votes for women – but, tide flowing for female franchise before it started.

Any other relevant factors

Question 4: How successful was the National Government in dealing with the difficulties caused by the Depression of the 1930s?

The candidate assesses the success or otherwise of the National Government in dealing with the difficulties caused by the Depression, using evidence and arguments such as:

Context/Background

- Steady growth of structural unemployment throughout the 1920s, even before the impact of the economic crisis after 1929. This added cyclical unemployment to the problems already faced by the old industries of shipbuilding, iron and steel, coal-mining, and textiles. By the early 1930s, unemployment rose to over 3 million. In areas of older traditional industries, people were out of work for months and years.
- National Government formed to combat great depression – 1931-1935, economic issues were government's top priority.

Government actions

Four main aims in economic strategy:

- First was to **balance the budget** and **impose the cuts** planned before the 1931 election. Government believed that financial stability and “balanced books” would restore confidence of foreign investors in Britain. But, in world wide depression, little investment was happening.
- Second was **devaluation of the pound** – real effect was to make exports cheaper – cost less to buy British products. However, because of worldwide depression, there was only a slight increase in exports.
- Third aim was to **end free trade** – adopt **policy of protection and tariffs**. Ottawa Conference led to decisions to direct British trade much more towards the empire – but, increases were limited – policy of only limited importance.
- Fourth aim was **low interest rates** – this certainly increased house-building and helped the construction industry – almost 3 million homes built in 1930s. However, this policy did little to help depressed areas – difficulty of finding secure employment and of selling goods, discouraged businesses from borrowing even at low interest rates.

Help for the unemployed

- Special Areas Act, 1934 – tried to encourage development in depressed areas. Completion of liner “Queen Mary” is most famous example of help to a traditional industry in a badly depressed area.
- Shipbuilding on the Clyde was helped by government intervention – overall, though, Special Areas Act had limited success.
- Unemployment Benefit lasted 26 weeks – after this, people were given transitional payments.
- Unemployment Assistance Board created 1934 – responsible for long-term unemployed – paid out benefits after normal period of unemployment insurance. This relief was linked to hated Household Means Test introduced in 1931.

North and South

- “Hungry Thirties” not a time of gloom and depression for all. 1932 onwards, southern Britain entered time of prosperity and growth. Prices of goods fell, meaning that wages bought more. After 1935, majority of people enjoying higher living standards than ever before. Numbers of cars doubled – radios trebled. For those in continuous work, the 1930s were far from hungry and depressed.
- In depressed areas, no big housing boom – exports did not regain previous levels – unemployment remained a problem.

Overall Assessment

- Traditional view – National Government neither helped nor hampered the economy. Recovery probably more due to favourable circumstances than to efforts of National Government.
- Recent historical debate – leans more towards view that very little could have been done to prevent structural problems facing traditional industries, and therefore problems associated with mass unemployment. Government spent millions after 1935 on public works such as road-building – but help was temporary.
- Government policies assisted recovery, but did not really provide a solution. New industries helped as did cheap money.
- After 1936, rearmament programme helped to create extra jobs.

Any other relevant factors

Question 5a: To what extent did urbanisation increase social divisions in Scotland 1880-1939?
Discuss with reference to religion, leisure and education.

The candidate assesses the extent to which urbanisation increased social divisions in Scotland between 1810 and 1939, making specific references to religion, leisure and education, using evidence and arguments such as:

The context of urbanisation

- Rapid growth of towns and cities – population movements due to industrial revolution.
- For wealthier social groups – urban centres could be places of culture, prosperity, business and education aimed at producing a new professional elite.
- Middle classes regretted loss of influence of older traditional institutions, such as the church.
- Working classes – rootless, more anonymous – free from older, local traditions.
- Society becoming more divided – these divisions were illustrated in religion, leisure and education.

Religion

- In cities, the Kirk identified with middle-class values, and with skilled working-class – shared Victorian values of hard work, self-help.
- Church missionaries going into slum areas to preach to those who no longer saw church as relevant.
- More recent historians dispute collapse of church membership – religious values continued to influence Scottish way of life – children sent to Sunday school, “Sunday Best” clothing.
- Catholic/Protestant divide possibly the real social division – Devine’s view – Catholic Church growing stronger and forging ever closer contacts with urban poor.
- Religious divisions reflected in football clubs.

Education

- Rise of urban middle class and its associated schools illustrated social division.
- Urbanisation and industrialisation – increased demand for mastery of 3 R’s – future white collar workers.
- Urbanisation – influx of poorer working classes – needed to learn importance of time-keeping, rule following and discipline.
- “Good” education – seen as passport for social improvement for those who wanted better life for their children. Devine – 1918 Education Act important in assisting Scoto-Irish community to grasp educational opportunities.
- Other historians critical of education system – mainly targeted needs of middle class – did little to help social mobility of working classes – view that education became a low social priority, once needs of middle classes had been met.

Leisure and popular culture

- 1880-1939 – huge potential audience for mass entertainment – cinema, football, etc. Main division between “respectable” leisure and “rough culture”.
- Churches still remained centre of much respectable popular entertainment.
- “Healthy” activities – walking, cricket, gardening, bowling, golf.
- Libraries, art galleries, public halls built – to bring culture to masses. Parks, municipal baths – improve health.

Rough Culture

- “Rough culture” – universal popularity of football – could be played anywhere – gave fans an identity, sense of belonging – social divisions.
- Churches heavily involved in trying to combat the appeal of this.
- New forms of mass entertainment – dancing, music halls – cinemas later on – gambling: frowned on by middle classes and by churches.
- Working class culture – pubs, football terraces, dog tracks.
- Influences from outside Scotland changing how Scots spoke, thought, dressed and behaved.
- Urbanisation had created new social and religious division in Scotland.

Any other relevant factors

Question 5b: “Political nationalism in Scotland only became a serious force from the 1960s onwards.” How accurate is this view?

The candidate assesses the extent to which political nationalism only became a serious force in Scotland from the 1960s onwards, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background/Context

- In 1920s, all three major UK parties actively supported the union. Scottish National Party formed in 1930s – but no political breakthrough until 1960s.
- By 1970s, political nationalism had become allied to emotional desire for “freedom”.

The roots of the Scottish National Party

- SNP’s origins – grew from a number of organisations formed in the 1920s – had little popular appeal – Lynch – nationalist politics were “dynamic, vituperative, portentous and garrulous”.
- Little support for political nationalism before World War II.
- May, 1928, National Party of Scotland was formed – but only gained 3,000 votes in 1929 general election – less than 5% in each constituency.
- 1931 election best result was only 14%.
- Early 1930s – more right wing Scottish Party faced more left-wing National Party – merged to form Scottish National Party, 1934 – very little impact during 1930s.

The effect of World War II

- Discontent with government as war dragged on – led to increase in support for SNP in some areas – electoral truce between main parties. Kirkcaldy by-election 1944, SNP won 44% of vote. April 1945, SNP actually won Motherwell – Dr. Robert McIntyre became first MP.
- However, seat was lost at subsequent general election.
- No further SNP election victories for another 20 years.

1950s/1960s

- Little progress for political nationalism during 1950s – SNP got less than 1% of vote in 1955 – fought no by-elections between 1952 and 1960.
- Membership of around 2,000 – almost seemed an irrelevance to Scottish politics.

The SNP recovery in the late 1960s/1970s

- Britain hit by economic difficulties in late 1960s.
- Public discontent with government grew in Scotland – Nov. 1967, Winnie Ewing won Hamilton by-election for SNP.
- 1973 – Labour suffered a further crushing defeat – Margo Macdonald won Govan for the SNP.
- 1974 – SNP gained almost 40% of votes cast – 11 MPs elected.
- Argument that SNP did better in times when Scots were unhappy with UK government and wanted to protest, and that is true to an extent. Continued decline of Scotland’s traditional industries – unemployment began to increase.
- Oil and natural gas discovered in North Sea – SNP launched effective campaign. “It’s Scotland’s Oil”.
- Emotional nationalism, with particular appeal to younger voters – popular songs such as “Flower of Scotland”, World Cup anthems such as “Ally’s Army” – pop bands such as the Bay City Rollers made a feature of “tartan image”. To be Scottish was fashionable!
- Emotional nationalism being used by political nationalists – turn feelings into votes.
- By later 1970s, both main parties worried about attraction of SNP to Scottish voters.
- Devolution legislation in 1970s largely the product of nationalist pressures on Labour Government which needed to keep its support in Scotland to remain in power.

HISTORICAL STUDY – EUROPEAN AND THE WORLD

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

GERMANY

Question 6: How important was Bismarck's leadership in the achievement of German unification?

The candidate evaluates the importance of Bismarck's leadership in the achievement of German unification, using evidence and arguments such as:

Importance of Bismarck's leadership

- Bismarck's aim – to increase the power of Prussia by whatever means possible.
- The Constitutional Crisis in Prussia (1862); Bismarck supports King William against the Landtag.
- Bismarck and his diplomacy in the '3 wars' – against Denmark, Austria and France.
- Bismarck taking the initiative as opposed to Austria, in the war against Denmark and 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 exploitation of the weaknesses of European statesmen/rulers.

Historical debate on Bismarck's role

- "Bismarck did not fashion German unity alone. He exploited powerful forces which already existed..." (Williamson)

OR

- "...it was he (Bismarck) who created the conditions which rendered possible the creation of a Great Germany." (Hitler)

Importance of other factors

- Influence of Napoleon Bonaparte – reduction of number of German states – also – effects of resistance to Napoleon.
- Growth of German nationalism in first part of 19th Century – limited in appeal, however – mainly to educated Germans.
- Growth in Prussian economic power – Rhineland and its resources – "Coal and Iron" – development of railway system – gave Prussia a significant advantage over its rivals.
- Modernisation of Prussian army – role of generals like Von Moltke, Von Roon.
- The Prussian Zollverein – customs union/free trade area – the 'mighty lever' – demonstrated the benefits of economic unity to member states – generation of prosperity.
- The 1848 Revolutions in German states – importance of Frankfurt Parliament – an attempt at political unity.
- The Nationalverein – aim was the creation of a united Germany.
- The decline in Austrian power and influence during the 1850s especially – falling behind Prussia.

Any other relevant factors

Question 7: How successful was the new German state in winning popular support during the period 1871-1914?

The candidate assesses the degree to which the German Executive managed to gain support from the German population for its policies, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

- After 1871, Bismarck's main concern was to protect the new Reich, maintain the power/influence of Prussia and the Kaiser and negate any challenges to his authority; *Realpolitik*.
- German Empire proclaimed on 18 January 1871; new Reich contained significant number of foreigners eg Poles, Danes and 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 new country.
- Until 1890 (Bismarck's resignation) the new powers given to the Kaiser were virtually under Bismarck's control. Kaiser inherited problem of the socialists.
- Between 1871 and 1890 there were 3 main areas which proved problematic for the Executive in the new Reich.

Evidence

- 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; Prussia, through the Constitution, was undoubtedly the dominant power in the Reich.
The 1870s often referred to by historians as the '*Grundungzeit*'; also known as the '*Liberal Era*'.
- The struggle with the Catholic Church (Kulturkampf) – struggle for civilisation; phrase coined by a left-liberal Reichstag deputy in 1872.
Bismarck believed Catholics posed a potential threat to the stability and security of the new Reich. Doctrine of Papal Infallibility by Pope Pius IX in 1870 alarmed Bismarck – Catholic loyalty to Pope first and foremost and not Reich? Details of the campaign against the Catholic Church eg the May Laws (Falk) 1873 plus reasons for cessation of the campaign to be considered. Serious issue of potential alienation of large section of population of 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 (*Sozialistgesetz*) in 1878 – details. Bismarck's domestic policy of 'whips and sugar plums.' – introduction of elements of social welfare reforms, intended to slow advance of Socialism and demonstrate state's care for its citizens.
- The Kaiser's Germany, 1890-1914; "I intend to rule as well as reign". Kaiser represented old, traditional authority in the Reich. Policies towards socialists left an angry working class which continued to support the SPD.

Any other relevant factors

Question 8: How important were weaknesses and divisions among his opponents in explaining Hitler's rise to power by 1933?

The candidate evaluates the importance of weaknesses and divisions among Hitler's opponents as a factor in his rise to power, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

At the end of the Great War the Second Reich was dissolved and a new Germany emerged from the ashes of defeat – the Weimar Republic. The Republic brought a new political system plus a new ideology to German politics – democracy. The new political system was challenged by various groups who did not share the political beliefs of the Republic. One such group was the Nazis, which came to power in 1933, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. Hitler's rise to power was made possible by various factors.

Importance of weaknesses of opponents

Main opponents were the socialists and communists;

The inability of the SPD (Social Democrats) and the KPD (Communists) to cooperate in the face of the Nazi threat. Reasons for this lack of cooperation date back to the suppression of the Spartacists in 1919 – details of this conflict considered – co-operation between Ebert's government and army. KPD policy heavily influenced by Soviet Union.

Importance of other factors

- “A republic without Republicans.” – lack of popular support for the new form of government post 1918 – extensive elements of Kaiserreich survived – Army, judiciary, civil service – little sympathy for Weimar Republic.
- The Constitution – Article 48, the ‘suicide clause’ – allowed government by decree in times of crisis. Argument that Germany was too democratic.
- Economic problems – the hyperinflation of 1922/23 – wiped out savings of middle classes – alienated from Republic – prosperity of later 1920s was short-lived – Great Depression of 1929 – economic crisis with record unemployment – widespread despair – desire for strong leadership to help the country to recover – massive rise in support for the Nazis.
- Popular appeal of the Nazis – something for everyone, despite often advancing contradictory policies. Won increased support from rural areas and from middle classes.
- Propaganda – role of Goebbels; highly effective exploitation of the media, for example – Hitler’s election tours by plane – use of film: support from sympathetic newspapers.
- Party organisation/efficiency in election campaigns.
- Use of the SA to disrupt opponents political meetings.
- Political weaknesses of the Weimar Republic and politicians – no one with the ability to oppose and stand up to Hitler.
- Political intrigues of von Schleicher and von Papen – latter regarded Hitler as someone to be used and then to be subsequently abandoned – failure to recognise Hitler’s drive and ambition.

Any other relevant factors

Question 9: To what extent did the Nazis' control of Germany up to 1939 depend on their social and economic policies?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the social and economic policies of the Nazis as a factor which facilitated their control of Germany up to 1939, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

Adolf Hitler became Chancellor in 1933; his aim was to shape Germany into a country that reflected Nazi beliefs and ideology (Gleichschaltung). By 1939 the Nazi regime had control of almost every social, professional and economic organisation in Germany.

Importance of social and economic policies

- Creation of the *volksgemeinschaft* (national community) – emphasis on German race and culture.
- Nazi youth policy – Hitler Youth, BDM, etc.
- Nazi education policy.
- Nazi policy towards the Jews – first isolate, then persecute and finally destroy – anti-Jewish propaganda, Nuremberg Laws – Kristallnacht.
- Nazi family policy – Kinder, Kirche, Kuche – details, eg, role of women.
- 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 in financing this – construction of Autobahnen, rearmament – expansion of armed forces.
- Goring's policy of 'guns before butter'.
- Major fall in unemployment after 1933 – Nazi policies appeared to be working.
- Kraft durch Freude programme.
- Nazi policy towards farming eg Reich Food Estate.

Importance of other factors

- Political parties were outlawed or persuaded to disband – no electoral threat to Nazis – Germany became a one-party state.
- A Concordat with the Catholic Church was reached; a Reichsbishop was appointed as head of the Protestant churches – strengthened Nazi control.
- Anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis – courts placed under political control.
- Acts Hostile to the National Community (1935) – all-embracing law which allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a 'legal' way.
- The use of fear/terror through the Nazi police state – details eg campaigns of anti-Semitism.
- Concentration camps set up; the use of the SS – brutal treatment of political prisoners.
- The weakness of opposition groups in Germany – ineffective and disorganised.
- Nazi success in foreign policy attracted support among Germans.

Any other relevant factors

ITALY

Question 10: How significant was the military leadership of Garibaldi in the achievement of Italian unification?

The candidate evaluates the importance of Garibaldi's military leadership in the achievement of Italian unification, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

“Italy” simply a “geographical expression” (Metternich); in 1815 Italy did not exist as a country. Italian unity completed in 1870 with removal of French troops from Rome.

Importance of Garibaldi

- Born in Nice; Garibaldi became involved with Mazzini’s “Young Italy” movement.
- He fled to South America where he raised a guerrilla army of Italian exiles to fight for Uruguay against Brazil and Argentina.
- In 1849 he returned to Italy and then fought against the Austrians in the north and then the French in Rome. “Garibaldini” march across the Appenines inspired nationalists; he fled again in 1848 but was back in Italy by 1859.
- In 1860 he gathered an army of a thousand volunteers at Genoa ready to set sail to help the Sicilians. The role of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour in this episode to be considered. Garibaldi displayed leadership and military skills of a high order. Major step forward in road to unification.
- Garibaldi’s plan to invade Naples – details; in 1862 Garibaldi marched on Rome – stopped by Sardinian army.
- Again, in 1867, Garibaldi marched on Rome – stopped by French troops. Details of Garibaldi’s actions/aims to be considered.
- Garibaldi – the “sword” of unification.

Importance of other factors

- Importance of Mazzini to be considered (the Risorgimento) – the “heart”? – Mazzini’s writings and ideas as a source of inspiration to Italian nationalism – influence on other leaders such as Garibaldi.
- Importance of Cavour – the “brain” – Cavour had excellent diplomatic skills – realised the importance of enlisting support of other major European powers in achievement of unification led by Piedmont – encouraged economic development of Piedmont. Piedmont’s involvement in Crimean War a key step in achieving support – later, active support from France, and neutrality from Britain – vital in progress of unification.
- Role played by Victor Emmanuel – gave support to Cavour – role as symbol and figurehead of Italian unification.
- Role of Napoleon III of France – willing to support Piedmont and confront Austria – had his own motives, but inflicted significant defeats on Austrians.

Any other relevant factors

Question 11: How successful was the new Italian state in winning popular support during the period 1871-1914?

The candidate assesses the degree to which the Italian state managed to gain support from the Italian population for its policies, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

Italian unification was completed in 1870 when Rome was united with the rest of Italy, when France removed her troops from Rome. The capture of Rome was to commence a quarrel with the Pope which was to last for many years.

Evidence

- The new Italian state's quarrel with the Pope – details; 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.
- The lack of a strong parliamentary system led to chronic instability of Italian governments; lack of a real political party system (Transformism).
- Corruption was widespread; activities of politicians/parliament appeared largely irrelevant to ordinary 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 as Prime Minister in 1876 – details of reforms passed – move towards greater democracy. However, the workers became increasingly unhappy and 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.
- Return of Crispi 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 – development of industry and railways – southern Italy lagging behind – backwardness, greater poverty.
- Giolitti as Prime Minister – details of his work up to 1914.

Any other relevant factors

Question 12: How important were weaknesses and divisions among his opponents in explaining Mussolini's rise to power by 1922?

The candidate evaluates the importance of weaknesses among Mussolini's opponents as a factor in his rise to power using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

After the Great War, Italy appeared ripe for a political transformation. The man who took advantage of the situation and who took the leadership of Italy was Benito Mussolini.

Importance of weaknesses of opponents

- The November 1919 elections in Italy had a proportional representation system in place; democratically desirable perhaps but likely to cause further difficulties for Italy where it was already hard to form a stable government due to the large numbers of existing parties and factions. In 1922 Luigi Facta became Prime Minister – the least able of all Italy's Liberal faction leaders – he was unable to form a strong coalition government.
- The Fascists began a takeover of local administrations and the government did nothing. Parliamentary government had failed and law and order had broken down. "Either we are allowed to govern, or we will seize power by marching on Rome" – Mussolini, October 1922. Role of Victor Emmanuel III – weakness shown twice. Mussolini invited to form a government.

Importance of other factors

- Proportional representation encouraged the growth of small parties which made coalitions/alliances difficult to achieve when a country is in crisis.
- The role played by Mussolini personally – his ambition and talents were used well – a powerful orator – speeches popular with supporters.
- Fascists won the support of wealthy industrialists and rich landowners by using the *Arditi* – organised groups available to break up strikes and land grabs by starving peasants.
- D'Annunzio's attempt to seize control of Fiume ended in farce – discredited himself and removed a potential rival for the leadership of a nationalist Italy.
- Mussolini's alliance with Giolitti in the 1921 elections.
- The use of the *Squadristi* on opposition during the 1921 election – such tactics ignored by police and army; judiciary largely sympathetic to fascists – sympathy from business classes and factory owners.
- Fascism appealed to the people as the patriotic answer to the dangers of Marxism and the political chaos of ineffective liberalism – the appeal of strong leadership.
- Fascist emphasis on order, reliability and power appealed to the people – Mussolini appeared to have answers to Italy's problems.
- The misjudgement of the Italian Establishment – failed to see the Fascists as a threat.
- Victor Emmanuel inviting Mussolini to become Prime Minister – loss of King's nerve.
- Belief that fascism could be brought under control – that Mussolini could be used.

Any other relevant factors

Question 13: To what extent did the Fascists' control of Italy up to 1939 depend on their social and economic policies?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the social and economic policies of the Fascists as a factor which facilitated their control of Italy between 1922 and 1939, using evidence and arguments such as:

Background

In 1922 Mussolini had power bestowed on him by the King and by the end of 1925 he was finally established in power as a dictator.

Importance of social and economic policies

- Fascist Youth Movement set up as an alternative to youth organisations such as the Catholic Scouts.
- Education – teachers/lecturers required to swear an oath to Il Duce; all pupils had to take a course in Fascist Culture; history was rewritten, certain books being banned.
- Birth of youth organisations eg the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardisti*.
- Creation of the *Dopolavoro*.
- Mussolini's launching of a programme of public works eg *autostrade*, hydro-electric schemes, draining of the Pontine marshes, construction of ski resorts – details – high-profile developments which gave the impression of dynamic activity.
- The Battle for Grain – attempts to make Italy self-sufficient in food.
- The Battle for the Lire.
- The Corporate State – Catholic and socialist trade unions were banned; strikes became illegal; wages were held down.

Importance of other factors

- The appeal of Mussolini himself – a powerful orator, supported by powerful use of propaganda.
- The use of fear/terror through the fascist state apparatus – work of secret police.
- The creation of totalitarian government – attempts to extend powers of state into all aspects of people's lives.
- The support given to Mussolini by industrialists, capitalists and landowners – approved of his aggressive policies towards socialists, communists and trade unions.
- Italy benefiting from American investment.
- Fascists, made a strong and deliberate appeal to Italian nationalism.
- The Lateran Treaty (1929) – a triumph for Mussolini as it earned him the gratitude of the Italian people who could now be loyal Catholics and patriotic Italians at the same time – details. The Pope believed Fascist policies were preferable to communism – removal of long-standing problem in Church-State relations.
- The consistent and openly anti-parliamentary stance of fascism – elections eliminated – opposition parties banned.
- The use of terror tactics to subdue opponents – eg murder of Matteotti.

Any other relevant factors

THE LARGE SCALE STATE

The USA

Question 14: “Economically, socially and politically divided.” How accurate is this view of American society in the 1920s?

The candidate assesses the degree to which American society in the 1920s was economically, socially and politically divided, using evidence and arguments such as:

American society

- There is an idealised view of America as a ‘Melting Pot’, where people from all backgrounds could come and start a new life. This is wrapped up with the idea of the ‘American Dream’; the idea that people had the opportunity to become successful, in America, irrespective of background or circumstance. Much of this belief comes from the American Declaration of Independence, which emphasises equality and rights to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. In the 1920s America did not adhere to such values.

Economic Divisions

- Boom for many ‘ordinary’ Americans on the back of credit, good wages, plenty of work and mass production of goods.
- Many did not share in the good times: immigrants suffered suspicion and were forced into menial jobs: farmers suffered from falling prices and income; older industries suffered, such as textiles, shipping and coal:
- Blacks suffered as they were in low paid jobs and were often the first to be fired.
- Native Americans were also outside this system.
- Post war economic recession and returning troops looking for jobs exacerbated the situation and developed tensions.

Social Divisions

- The areas in which immigrants lived became run down and overcrowded. They crowded together with people from their native country, continued to speak their native language and follow their traditional culture.
- Immigrants were blamed for social disorders in American society, especially in the cities. Statistics showing soaring crime rates in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of immigrants were held as proof of the bad influence of the immigrant on his or her environment.
- The facts suggest that the criminality of foreign born in America was no larger than that of the native population. Yet the myth of immigrant criminality persisted.
- Catholic immigrants from Italy, Poland, Greece, Mexico and Canada had to contend with the hostility and fear of the American predominantly Protestant population.
- Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe faced similar hostility.
- Crime, divisions from prohibition, etc.

Political fears

- National divisions between the main political parties in the USA over the course of the 20th century – Republicans and Democrats. However, more sinister divisions could be found with attitudes towards immigrants who found themselves under attack for political reasons. They were believed to be Communists or anarchists.
- Americans feared Communism and the threat posed by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Suspicion fell on immigrants. Fear of Communism: 1919 Arrests and deportations of supposed Communists.
- The hysteria passed almost as suddenly as it began. The Bolshevik threat had been exaggerated.

Any other relevant factors

Question 15: To what extent was the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s a result of increasing concerns over immigration?

The candidate evaluates the role of increasing concern over immigration in the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, using evidence and arguments such as:

Growth of the Ku Klux Klan impressive

According to Dr Clive Webb, 1920: 2,000 members, 1921: 1,000,000; 1925: 5,000,000 +

Growth of Klan as a result of concerns over immigration

- Most historians are agreed that immigration, and in particular the perceived threat to white jobs, by foreign migrants from southern and eastern Europe was a contributing factor to the growth of the Ku Klux Klan.
- Klan support came chiefly from victims of declining status: white blue-collar workers, clerks, small professional and business men who were being challenged for jobs by European immigrants. Fast growing cities like Dallas, Memphis, Detroit and Los Angeles are cases in point.

Importance of other factors

Origins of the 1920s Klan were as a Southern, white supremacist movement

- Founded by William J Simmons, who was influenced by the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* which glorified the first Klan, the reincarnated Klan hit a chord with those whites threatened by the movement of Blacks from the South from 1918 in the ‘Great Migration’. Looking for better wages, jobs and prospects, there was an inevitable conflict with poor white Americans who were also looking for work and housing. The film also reignited old tensions and anti-Black sentiment which was already widespread.
- The Klan also embraced attacks on those supposedly undermining ‘American’ values and was thus anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist (it grew rapidly at the time of the ‘Red Scare’ at the end of World War One).

Effective publicity: use of the media/methods/images

- *The Birth of a Nation* mythologised and glorified the first Klan. The film created a nationwide craze for the Klan. The film’s popularity and influence were increased by the endorsement of its factual accuracy by historian and US President Woodrow Wilson. In his *History of the American People*, he stated, “The white men were roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation ... until at last there had sprung into existence a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable empire of the South, to protect the Southern country.”
- From 1920 the Klan employed two professional fundraisers who took charge of recruitment and oversaw the massive recruitment of the Klan. Many were attracted by the spectacular initiation ceremonies, the sinister clothing and grandiose titles.

Social and economic policies

- Policies which appealed to ‘middle-America’, such as advocating improved law enforcement, honest government, better public schools, and traditional family life attracted support across white social classes.
- In certain states, such as Alabama, the KKK was not a mere hate group and showed a genuine desire for political and social reform. Because of the elite conservative political structure in Alabama, the state’s Klansmen were among the foremost advocates of better public schools, effective prohibition enforcement, expanded road construction and other “progressive” political measures.

Any other relevant factors

Question 16: To what extent was the Depression of the 1930s the result of the economic boom of the 1920s?

The candidate evaluates the role of the economic boom of the 1920s in causing the Economic Depression of the 1930s, using evidence and arguments such as:

Importance of the economic boom of the 1920s

- In the 1920s, American industrial production doubled on the back of confidence, Laissez-Faire policies, new technology and mass production methods.
- The boom of the 1920s was based on credit. Credit encouraged people to borrow to pay for goods and to invest in the stock market. Americans became complacent, seeing the stock market as an easy way to make money. Large numbers of Americans sank their money into stocks and shares. Money was borrowed in the belief that a few months wait would see a large return.
- People also borrowed huge sums of money in the belief that the good times would continue, work would be there and they could pay off their debts.

Importance of other factors

Weakness in the Banking System

- Weak banking system with few checks meant that banks used their savers' money to buy shares and make quick profits. Banks became dangerously exposed to any falls in the stock market as a result. Banks also used savers' money which was irresponsible.

Saturation of the American domestic market

- Wealth inequalities in America meant that consumer goods only had a finite market given the numbers. By the end of the 1920s this was happening. 1927 Henry T Ford stopped production of the Model T as the market was saturated.

American government economic policies

- American protectionism such as the 1922 Fordney-McCumber Act made foreign countries respond with tariffs of their own, making export markets expensive and difficult to access.
- Laissez-Faire policy saw growth of large corporations which dominated the market. Small companies could not compete. Lack of regulation/control encouraged this. Tax cuts for rich led to boom, but also speculation on the stock market. Wealth did not 'drip down', showing inequalities.

Wall Street Crash

- Collapse of share prices on Wall Street in October 1929 often seen as one of the main causes of the depression. As a direct result, 100,000+ businesses collapsed and 15 million became unemployed. Could be seen as a symptom of the problem rather than the cause.

International Problem of Debt

- Interrelated nature of world economy with knock-on effects in Europe in particular. Many European countries owed money to America. When plunged into crisis America was alone.

Any other relevant factors

Question 17: How far were improvements in the lives of black Americans by 1968 due to the Civil Rights movement?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the Civil Rights movement in the improvements in the lives of black Americans by 1968 using evidence and arguments such as:

Importance of the Civil Rights movement

- In encouraging black voter registration, especially in the south: NAACP.
- Role of NAACP in campaigning against public school segregation leading to Supreme Court ruling/educational desegregation.
- Role in Desegregation of restaurants and lunch counters: sit-ins, role of CORE.
- Montgomery Boycotts: role of Martin Luther King and the SCLC, Freedom Rides etc
- Martin Luther King and March on Washington advocating Civil Rights legislation.
- Luther King's importance as an advocate of Christian non-violence, acceptability of change to the white establishment.

Importance of other factors

Economic developments

- Black workers were needed for the war effort, during WWII: new employment opportunities created northern migration to more liberal north; exposure to the world outside the rural south of America. Need for literacy, etc. Growth of a black middle-class. Educational attainment.

Judicial rulings and appointments

- 1940s: Roosevelt's appointees to The Supreme Court provided momentum to legal challenges to segregation from the 1940s by striking down laws excluding minorities from juries, overturning laws mandating lower pay for African-American teachers etc.
- 1946 *Morgan v Virginia*, Supreme Court held that racial segregation on interstate buses violated federal law.
- Appointment of Earl Warren to Supreme Court in 1953: Warren oversaw a number of important rulings including: 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* struck down the separate-but-equal ideas of the education system.

Role of the Presidents

- Use of executive orders: Truman used them to make appointments of Blacks, order equality of treatment in the armed services: Kennedy signed 1962 executive order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing etc,
- Eisenhower sent in army troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African-American students enrolled in a Central High School: Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student, James Meredith.
- Johnson and the 1964 Civil Rights Act banning racial discrimination in any public place, Voting Rights Act of 1965, Affirmative Action etc.

BUT

- Black militancy: From black Americans who felt that progress was not good enough: riots etc
- The Kerner Commission findings which stated that America was divided into two societies; one black and poor, the other white and richer.
- Assassination of Martin Luther King.

Any other relevant factors

RUSSIA

Question 18: “In the period before 1905, opposition groups had little chance of mounting an effective challenge to the authority of the Tsarist state.” How accurate is this statement?

The candidate assesses the security of the Tsarist regime before 1905, using evidence and arguments such as:

Opposition Groups

Opposition and revolutionary groups were fairly weak. There were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (supported by peasants seeking land reform), Social Democrats (supported by industrial workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British style parliament). However these groups on their own were not powerful or popular enough to affect change. Moreover these groups were further weakened by the fact they were divided and disorganized – leaders often in prison or in exile.

The “Pillars of Autocracy” – the features of the Tsarist state which strengthened it, and made it almost impossible for opposition groups to challenge it.

The Church

Helped to ensure that the people, particularly the peasants, remained loyal to the Tsar. They preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar. Ensured the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Law.

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.” This was the basis of the tsarist state.

The Army

This was controlled by the officers who were mainly upper class, who were therefore conservative and loyal to the Tsar. They ensured that the population and the peasants in particular were loyal to the Tsar. They crushed any insurrection and were used to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar.

The Secret Police (Okhrana)

This was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar. They did this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. Those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar were imprisoned or sent into exile. Large numbers were exiled.

Civil Service

Mainly employed middle class people therefore ensuring the loyalty of that class. The Civil Service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption as well as about meetings which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate.

Censorship

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

Russification

This was the policy of restricting the rights 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. State intervention in religion and education. Treated subjects as potential enemies and inferior to Russians.

Zubatov Unions

Organised by the police, these were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories, thus reducing the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups. Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes and so were disbanded due to pressure from employers.

Any other relevant factors

Question 19: To what extent was the outbreak of revolution in 1905 due to Russia's social and economic problems?

The candidate evaluates the importance of social and economic problems in the outbreak of revolution in 1905, using evidence and arguments such as:

Reasons for the 1905 Revolution

Social and Economic problems

- **Discontent amongst the Peasants:** The peasants had several, long-standing grievances – redemption payments, high taxes, land hunger and poverty. There was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903 and 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 estates seized and divided up.
- **Discontent of large Working Class:** At the start of the 1900's 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 conditions, health problems, harsh treatment. There was a wave of strikes in Jan 1905 with nearly half a million on strike (10 times the number in the previous decade).
- **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, and calls for change by the Zemstva, Radical Union of Unions formed to combine professional groups.
- **National Minorities:** Aggrieved at lack of respect for their culture, language and religion, and the imposition of the Russian language. Desire for independence or at least greater autonomy. Jews singled out for repressive and brutal treatment by the Tsarist state.

War with Japan

- The war with Japan was a failure and humiliation for the country and moreover this was compounded by the heavy losses suffered by the Russian army. Initially to distract the public from domestic troubles by rallying patriotism. 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. Defeat by Japan also demonstrated that the Tsarist state could be defeated.

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 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 clearly the key event – violence had been begun by Tsarist forces – revolution followed this.

Any other relevant factors

Question 20: How important was Russia's military failure in the First World War in causing the collapse of Tsarist authority in 1917?

The candidate evaluates the importance of Russia's military failure in World War One in causing the collapse of Tsarist authority, using evidence and arguments such as:

Army and WWI

For the three years that the Russians were in the war they had little success due to inefficient organization, huge casualties, and repeated defeats.

The failures of the war caused great discontent amongst the masses in the cities, with growing criticism of the Tsar's government. This therefore underlined the failings of the governing bodies, as a result any loyalty to Tsar.

The loss of support of the army was important because in the past they were ultimate upholders of the Tsarist system. They had become discontented and there was disaffection amongst the soldiers, eg in Petrograd.

The Generals were becoming critical of the Tsar and were no longer prepared to defend him by 1917.

The Tsar

Nicholas II was seen as having narrow vision and was poorly prepared to face problems. He was also indecisive but obstinate. He had a firm belief in autocracy and that it was his duty to uphold it. He was politically naïve and did not really accept the role of the Dumas created after 1905. Moreover, he made poor judgments in the appointment and dismissal of ministers.

He ordered the mobilization of the army in 1914 and led the army from the front therefore making himself personally accountable for Russia's poor showing in the war.

Alexandra and Rasputin

Alexandra was a big influence on her husband and was a firm believer in autocracy. She was German and this aroused great suspicion amongst the Russian people. Alexandra was strongly influenced by Rasputin, a monk or preacher, who claimed he could cure her son of haemophilia. Many of the supporters of the autocracy that were the natural supporters of the Tsar turned against him because of Alexandra and Rasputin – meddled in key areas of government – appointment of ministers. The Tsarist system was becoming discredited.

Working Class

The growing working class were working and living in poor conditions, with long hours and poor wages as well as overcrowded accommodation – the war simply made existing problems worse.

Food Shortages and Inflation

Food supplies grew steadily worse in the cities – production fell because of the huge numbers of peasants in the Army – food transport a problem, as railways concentrated on supplying Army. The price of basic foods increased rapidly, leading to growing discontent and anger.

The Peasants

Due to the rise in population and the failings of the Emancipation there was growing land hunger. The land question was still unsolved. Many of the soldiers were peasants and led the disaffection in the army with many leaving to claim land. Increased pressure on peasantry as they were highly taxed to pay for industrialization by paying "Surplus" grain. Stolypin's Agrarian reforms were too late and did not solve the problems.

Revolutionary Parties

Did not play a huge role in the February Revolution, although their propaganda helped undermine the loyalty to the regime amongst the soldiers and workers.

Middle Class opinion

Increasingly disaffected by incompetence of Tsarist state – Duma being ignored.

Any other relevant factors

Question 21: To what extent was the establishment and survival of the Soviet state between 1917 and 1921 due to the weaknesses and divisions of the Bolsheviks' opponents?

The candidate evaluates the importance of the weaknesses and divisions of the Bolsheviks' opponents in causing their victory by 1921, using evidence and arguments such as:

Lack of White Organisation

Uncoordinated series of groups whose morale was low. A collection of socialists, liberals, moderates etc who all wanted different things and often fought amongst themselves due to their political differences. They all shared a hatred of Communism but other than this they lacked a common purpose. No White leader of any measure emerged to unite and lead the White forces whereas the Reds had Trotsky and Lenin. Leaders motivated by personal ambition.

Red Army

Was better organized than the White Army and better equipped and therefore able to crush any opposition from the white forces.

Trotsky

Had a complete free hand in military matters. HQ was a heavily armed train, which he used to travel around the country. He supervised the formation of the Red Army, which became a formidable fighting force of three million men. Recruited ex-Tsar army officers and used political commissars to watch over them, so ensured experienced officers but no political recalcitrance. Used conscription and would shoot any deserters. Helped provide an army with great belief in what it was fighting for, which the Whites did not have.

Control of Central Areas by Bolsheviks

- By having all of their land and resources together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd – access to factories to supply weapons etc) – control of the railways.
- The Reds were in control of key areas of western Russia, which they could successfully defend due to the maintenance of their communication and supply lines.
- The two major cities of Moscow and Petrograd in their possession meant that the Reds had the hold of the industrial centres of Russia as well as the administrative centres. This gave them munitions and supplies that the Whites were unable to therefore obtain.

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 railheads.

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.
- The help of the foreign powers was not as great as was hoped for by the Whites as they did not provide many men.

Propaganda

- Bolsheviks were unable to take advantage of the brutality of the Whites to win support as they often carried out similar atrocities. The Whites were unable to present themselves as a better alternative to the Reds due to their brutality.
- The Reds kept pointing out that all of the land that the peasants had seized in the 1917 Revolution would be lost if the Whites won. This fear prevented the peasants from supporting the Whites.

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. This group carried out severe repression. The first victims were leaders of other political parties; 140 000 were executed by 1922 when Lenin was happy that all opposition had been suppressed. Use of Terror – Bolsheviks were determined to succeed in retaining and extending power.

Any other relevant factors

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]