National
Qualifications
2017

2017 History

Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

© Scottish Qualifications Authority 2017

The information in this publication may be reproduced to support SQA qualifications only on a non-commercial basis. If it is reproduced, SQA should be clearly acknowledged as the source. If it is to be used for any other purpose, written permission must be obtained from permissions@sqa.org.uk.

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

These marking instructions have been prepared by examination teams for use by SQA appointed markers when marking external course assessments. This publication must not be reproduced for commercial or trade purposes.

SQA ©

General marking principles for Higher History

This information is provided to help you understand the general principles you must apply when marking candidate responses to questions in this paper. These principles must be read in conjunction with the detailed marking instructions, which identify the key features required in candidate responses.

(a) Marks for each candidate response must always be assigned in line with these general marking principles and the detailed marking instructions for this assessment.

(b) Marking should always be positive, ie marks should be awarded for what is correct and not deducted for errors or omissions.

(c) If a specific candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed marking instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your Team Leader.

(d) Where the candidate violates the rubric of the paper and answers two parts in one section, both responses should be marked and the better mark recorded.

(e) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of hand writing or a confused start.

(f) Use the full range of marks available for each question.

(g) The specific marking instructions are not an exhaustive list. Other relevant points should be credited.

(h) (i) For credit to be given, points must relate to the question asked. Where candidates give points of knowledge without specifying the context, up to **1 mark** should be awarded unless it is clear that they do not refer to the context of the question. eg *Some soldiers on the Western Front suffered from trench foot as they were unable to keep their feet dry.* (**1 mark for knowledge**, even though this does not specify that it relates to the Scottish soldiers)

(ii) Where marks are awarded for the use of knowledge, each point of knowledge must be developed, eg by providing additional detail, examples or evidence.

(iii). There are four types of question used in this Paper, namely:

A. Evaluate the usefulness of Source

B. Compare the views of Sources

C. How fully does Source

D. Extended response questions using a range of stems, including 'how important', 'how successful', 'how valid', 'to what extent'. These require candidates to demonstrate knowledge and understanding and to apply their skills of analysis and evaluation in order to answer the question asked.

(iv). For each of the question types (in iii above), the following provides an overview of marking principles and an example of their application for each question type.

A Questions that ask candidates to *Evaluate the usefulness of a given source as evidence of* . . . (6 marks)

Candidates must evaluate the extent to which a source is useful by commenting on evidence such as the author, type of source, purpose, timing, content and omission.

Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 6 marks:

- a maximum of **4 marks** can be given for evaluative comments relating to author, type of source, purpose and timing

- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for evaluative comments relating to the content of the source
- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for evaluative comments relating to points of significant omission

Example:
Source A is useful as evidence of Scottish involvement on the Western Front because it is from a diary of an officer from the Black Watch who will be well informed about the Scots military involvement at the Battle of Loos. ***(1 mark for origin: authorship)*** *As it is a diary it is also useful as it will give an eyewitness view of the battle.* ***(1 mark for origin: purpose)*** *The source was written at the end of October 1915 which makes it useful because it was in the immediate aftermath of the battle.* ***(1 mark for origin: timing)***
The content is about the men his battalion lost in the attack. This is useful as the deaths of 19 officers and 230 men shows the losses Scots took. ***(1 mark for content)*** *It is also useful as the Black Watch were part of 30,000 Scots who attacked at Loos, showing a lot of Scottish involvement.* ***(1 mark for a point of context)***
However, the source does not give other ways in which Scots were involved on the Western Front. General Douglas Haig who was Scottish made a large contribution to the war as he was Commander in Chief of British Forces after 1915. ***(1 mark for a point of significant omission)***

B **Questions that ask candidates to *Compare the views of two sources* (5 marks)**
Candidates must interpret evidence and make direct comparisons between sources. Candidates are expected to compare content directly on a point-by-point basis. They should also make an overall comparison of the viewpoints of the sources.
Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 5 marks:
Each point of comparison will be supported by specific references to each source and should be awarded **1 mark**.
An overall comparison which is supported by specific references to the viewpoint of each source should be awarded **1 mark**. **A second mark** should be awarded for a development of the overall comparison.

Example:
Sources A and B agree that Cressingham was killed and skinned by the Scots after the battle. Source A says Cressingham, a leader amongst the English knights, was killed during the battle and later skinned. Source B agrees when it says 'the treacherer Cressingham was skinned following his death during the battle'. ***(1 mark for a point of comparison supported by specific reference to each source)***
Sources A and B agree that William Wallace and Andrew Murray were leaders of the Scottish army at Stirling and that the Scots were victorious. ***(1 mark for overall comparison)*** *However, they disagree about the importance of the English mistakes made by Warrenne.* ***(a second mark for developing the overall comparison)***

C **Questions that ask *How fully does a given source explain/describe . . .* (9 marks)**
Candidates must make a judgement about the extent to which the source provides a full description/explanation of a given event or development.
Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 9 marks:
- candidates should be given **up to 3 marks** for their identification of points from the source that support their judgement; each point from the source needs to be interpreted rather than simply copied from the source
- candidates should be given **up to 7 marks** for their identification of points of significant omission, based on their own knowledge, that support their judgement
- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for answers in which no judgement has been made

Example:
Source B gives a fairly good explanation of the reasons why people left Scotland. The source mentions the potato famine in the Highlands in 1846 which led to large numbers of people leaving rather than starving. **(1 mark for interpreting the source)** *It mentions specifically how landlords evicted crofters to make way for sheep farming in order to make their land profitable.* **(1 mark for interpreting the source)** *It also talks about the terrible living conditions which drove people to look for a better life abroad.* **(1 mark for interpreting the source)**
However, the source does not mention all the reasons why people left Scotland. It fails to mention the decline of the kelp industry which forced many Scots to look for work elsewhere. **(*1 mark for a point of significant omission*)** *The problems of the fishing industry led to hardships for many Scots. When the herring industry declined due to loss of markets after the war, people left Scotland.* **(*1 mark for a point of significant omission*)** *Others, such as handloom weavers from the Western Isles, left as they couldn't compete with the new factories in the towns and cities of the Central Belt.* **(1 mark for a point of significant omission)**

D Extended response questions (20 marks)
Historical context
Marks can be awarded for answers which describe the background to the issue and which identify relevant factors. These should be connected to the line of argument.

Conclusion(s)
Marks can be awarded for answers which provide a relative overall judgement of the factors, which are connected to the evidence presented, and which provide reasons for their overall judgement.
Eg *This factor was clearly more significant in bringing about the event than any other factor because ….*
While conclusions are likely to be at the end of the essay, they can also be made at any point in the response.

Use of evidence
Marks can be awarded for evidence which is detailed and which is used in support of a viewpoint, factor or area of impact.
For knowledge/understanding marks to be awarded, points must be:
- *relevant to the issue in the question*
- *developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)*
- *used to respond to the demands of the question (ie explain, analyse, etc)*

Analysis
Analysis involves identifying parts, the relationship between them, and their relationships with the whole. It can also involve drawing out and relating implications.
An analysis mark should be awarded where a candidate uses their knowledge & understanding, to identify relevant factors such as political, social, economic, religious, etc (although they do not need to use this terminology), or which explore aspects within these, such as success vs failure; different groups, such as elderly vs youth; or different social classes **and** clearly show at least one of the following:
- links between different components
- links between component(s) and the whole
- links between component(s) and related concepts
- similarities and consistency
- contradictions and inconsistency
- different views/ interpretations
- the relative importance of components
- understanding of underlying order or structure

Examples of relationships between identified factors could include:

- Establishing contradiction or inconsistencies within factors
  Eg *While they were successful in that way, they were limited in this way*
- Establishing contradiction or inconsistencies between factors
  Eg *While there were political motives for doing this, the economic factors were against doing this*
- Establishing similarities and consistencies between factors
  Eg *In much the same way as this group were affected by this development, this group were also affected in this way*
- Establishing links between factors
  Eg *This factor led to that factor.* OR *At the same time there was also...*
- Exploring different interpretations of these factors
  Eg *While some people have viewed the evidence as showing this, others have seen it as showing …* OR *While we used to think that this was the case, we now think that it was really ...*

Evaluation

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria. Candidates will make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, for example:

- The extent to which the factor is supported by the evidence
  Eg *This evidence shows that X was a very significant area of impact*
- The relative importance of factors
  Eg *This evidence shows that X was a more significant area of impact than Y*
- Counter-arguments including possible alternative interpretations
  Eg *One factor was … However, this may not be the case because …*

OR

  However, more recent research tends to show that …
- The overall impact/significance of the factors when taken together
  Eg *While each factor may have had little effect on its own, when we take them together they became hugely important*
- The importance of factors in relation to the context
  Eg *Given the situation which they inherited, these actions were more successful than they might appear*

Marks can be awarded for developing a line of argument which makes a judgement on the issue, explaining the basis on which the judgement is made. The argument should be presented in a balanced way making evaluative comments which show their judgement on the individual factors and may use counter-arguments or alternative interpretations to build their case.

	Mark	0 marks	1 marks	2 marks
Historical context	**2**	Candidate makes one or two factual points but these are not relevant.	Candidate establishes **two out of three** from the background to the issue **OR** identifies relevant factors **OR** a line of argument.	Candidate establishes all three. The background to the issue, identifies relevant factors and connects these to the line of argument.
Conclusion	**2**	No overall judgement is made on the issue.	Candidate makes a summary of points made.	Candidate makes an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.

Use of knowledge	**6**	No evidence is used to support the conclusion.	**Up to a maximum of 6 marks**, 1 mark will be awarded for each developed point of knowledge used to support a factor or area of impact. For a knowledge mark to be awarded, points must be: • relevant to the issue in the question • developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence) • used to respond to the demands of the question (ie explain, analyse, etc)			
Analysis	**6**	There is a narrative response.	**Up to a maximum of 6 marks, 1 mark** will be awarded for each comment which analyses the factors in terms of the question. **A maximum of 3 marks** will be awarded for comments which address different aspects of individual factors.			
Evaluation	**4**	No evidence of an overall judgement being made.	**1 mark** should be awarded where the candidate makes an isolated evaluative comment on an individual factor that recognises the topic of the question.	**2 marks** should be awarded where the candidate makes isolated evaluative comments on different factors that recognise the topic of the question.	**3 marks** should be awarded where the candidate connects their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue.	**4 marks** should be awarded where the candidate connects their evaluative comments to build a line of argument focused on the terms of the question.

Section 1 – Scottish

Marking instructions for each question

PART A – The Wars of Independence, 1249 - 1328

1. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 5 marks****.*

Possible points of comparison may include:

Source A	Source B
Overall: Both sources agree that events in late 1290 led to a contest for the throne revolving around two candidates Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale and John Balliol, Lord of Galloway. Both sources also agree that the prospect of civil war led Bishop Fraser, one of the Guardians to ask Edward for help. Both sources also highlight that in writing to Edward, Bishop Fraser took the opportunity to make known his preference for John Balliol as Scotland's future king. **Source B** places slightly greater emphasis on the threat to peace posed by Robert Bruce.	
Source A	**Source B**
Tragic events in late September 1290 set in motion a struggle for the throne between a number of claimants of whom two were of outstanding importance: Robert Bruce and John Balliol.	It was a second royal death, which heralded the eruption of the rival campaigns of the Bruce and Balliol families to secure the Scottish throne.
While the nobles were gathering at Perth, Robert Bruce, in his seventieth year or thereabouts, had arrived unexpectedly with a strong body of armed men.	At a meeting between the Scots and English ambassadors at Perth Robert Bruce of Annandale arrived with a great following.
It looked as though the question of the succession would be settled by open war between the two claimants and their supporters.	He was also concerned at the terrible prospect of "the shedding of blood" between the rival candidates and their allies.
Bishop Fraser went so far as to write to the English king in October 1290 suggesting that if John Balliol was to come to Edward, the king would be well advised to reach an understanding with him, as the likely king of Scots.	At the same time, one of the Guardians, William Fraser, the bishop of St Andrews wrote to Edward recommending Edward "deal" with John Balliol, whom he believed to be the best claimant to the throne.

2.	**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • John Balliol travelled south to Newcastle where on 26 December 1292 he paid homage to Edward I for his kingdom. • Even as he began to assert his authority it was undermined by Edward's intention to accept appeals from King John's Court. • When the case of Macduff of Fife came before the Court of King Edward at the November parliament, John was subjected to the most public humiliation. • King John was made to promise Scottish participation in Edward's proposed expedition against Philip IV of France. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • King Edward's determination to exercise his authority as overlord undermined and weakened John's authority as King of Scotland throughout his three and a half year reign. • John swore fealty (loyalty) to Edward at Norham shortly after being awarded the kingship. • John's inauguration as King of Scots on 30 November 1292 at Scone was attended by English officials. • Balliol was summoned by Edward to pay homage in December 1292 at Edward's court in NE England. John was summoned, more than once, to Northern England by Edward and crumbled in face of demand he renew his homage. • Edward's influence was shown when John had to agree to some English members of his government. The new chancellor, Master Thomas of Hunsingore came from Yorkshire and John's chief financial officer was described as a treasurer rather than chamberlain. • Edward insisted he hear appeals as supreme judge from Scottish courts at Westminster, despite the promises made in the Treaty of Birgham-Northampton that Scottish legal cases would not be heard outside Scotland. • It was only a week into John's reign when a Burgess of Berwick appealed to Edward, as his Superior Lord, over a court decision made by the Guardians that John had upheld. Edward undermined John's legal authority by overturning one of the verdicts given in the Scottish courts. • On 30 December Edward declared that any promises made between 1286 and John's enthronement was no longer applicable. On 2 January 1293, under pressure John released Edward from the terms of the Treaty of Birgham, with its guarantees of Scottish independence. • Edward appeared to use the legal appeals, concerning judgements given in the Scottish courts, as one way of reminding John that he, Edward had ultimate authority over the king of Scots. • In June 1294 Edward I demanded military service from John, 10 Scottish barons and 16 Scottish barons for his war with King Philip IV of France.

	• In 1295, twelve new Guardians were elected by the Community of the Realm to help John stand up to Edward I. • In October 1295 an alliance was made with France, Edward I's enemy. • In rebellion against Edward's treatment of John and the Scottish kingdom, the Scottish host assembled in the Borders in March 1296 and attacked villages around Carlisle before retreating back to Scotland. • Edward laid siege to Berwick, Scotland's largest and most wealthy port, in revenge. • After a Scottish army was defeated at Dunbar, Edward and his army advanced north, marching as far as Elgin. • John entered into negotiations with Anthony Bek but was ultimately made to endure a number of humiliations. At Kincardine Castle he was forced to confess his rebellion; on 7th July at Stracathro he was made to formally renounce the treaty with France; finally, on 8 July at Montrose John was made to resign his kingdom to Edward. • John was brought before Edward and ceremoniously stripped of his royal regalia. The royal coat-of-arms embroidered on his tabard was torn off (Toom Tabard) and his crown, sceptre, sword and ring removed. • John and his son were taken to England by ship where they spent three years under house arrest, being moved from castle to castle until they were handed over to the Pope. John retired to his estates in France. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

3.	**Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Monks of Westminster Abbey An English source.	The source is useful as it was written by medieval chroniclers/historians who would have been educated and well informed of important events such as the resistance of William Wallace. The source is less useful as it was written from an English point of view and is likely to be biased against William Wallace.
Type of source: A chronicle.	The source is useful as the chronicle records key local, national and international events and therefore would include details of Wallace's resistance.
Purpose: To record a narrative of contemporary events such as the execution of William Wallace.	The source is useful as this account and commentary on Wallace's execution provides an insight into how the English viewed Wallace's resistance and shows there was still strong feeling against Wallace in England as late as 1305.
Timing: 1305 A contemporary source.	The source is useful as it dates from the time when the Scottish resistance to Edward I had collapsed and Scotland was once more under Edward's rule. Wallace's execution in 1305 finally marked the English defeat of the Scottish resistance.

Content	Possible comment
• A certain Scot, by the name of William Wallace, collected an army of Scots in 1289 at the battle of Falkirk against the King of England.	Useful as it tells us details of how Wallace raised and strengthened a Scottish army and engaged in battle with an English army at Falkirk.
• For acts of treason against the English king, Wallace was dragged to a gallows where he was hanged.	Useful as this accusation of resistance is an insight into the English definition of resistance and treason. Edward's view was that Balliol's surrender of the kingdom of Scotland in 1296 made all the inhabitants of Scotland, and therefore Wallace, his subjects.
• For his sacrilege, the burning of churches in England, his heart, liver, and entrails were cast upon a fire.	Useful as it provides details of how Wallace led resistance against Edward's attempts to control Scotland by leading devastating and destructive raids into England.

	Possible points of significant omission may include: • Wallace killed William Heselrig, the English Sheriff of Lanark. • Wallace led a resistance movement amongst commoners in the south-west of Scotland, possibly backed by Scottish nobles. • Wallace, accompanied by Sir William Douglas, led an attack on Scone and attempted to kill the English Sheriff William Ormesby. • Wallace led attacks on castles and an assault on Dundee. • There was localised resistance to the English administration in Scotland, especially Cressingham's attempts to raise taxes. • Robert Wishart, Robert Bruce and James Stewart led a revolt in the south-west of Scotland before surrendering at Irvine. • Andrew Murray led resistance against Edward's rule in the North. Murray raised his standard at Avoch, in the Black Isle and led a guerrilla campaign, capturing Urquhart, Inverness, Elgin, Duffus, Banff and Aberdeen castles. By August 1297 Murray had succeeded in driving out the English garrison's north of Dundee. • Wallace along with Andrew Murray led the Scottish army to victory at the Battle of Stirling Bridge, 11th September 1297. • Wallace and Moray resisted by proclaiming Scotland's freedom from English rule in the Lubeck Letter of 11 October 1297. • Wallace continued to play a part in the Scottish resistance after the defeat at Falkirk, 1298 and the end of his period as Guardian. It is believed Wallace travelled to the court of Philip IV and later to Rome on diplomatic missions to petition the release of King John. • Wallace rejoined the resistance in 1303 and was involved in further guerrilla activity in Annandale, Liddesdale and Cumberland. • There was a rebellion of the McDougal family against the MacDonalds in the Western Isles. • John Comyn and Robert Bruce were named joint Guardians and carried on the resistance to Edward I. Bruce continued to play a part in the Scottish resistance until 1302. Comyn continued to resist until his surrender in 1304. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

PART B – The Age of the Reformation, 1542 - 1603

4.	**Possible points of comparison may include:**

Source A	Source B
Overall: Both sources agree about the breakdown of the relationship between the Protestant Lords and Mary of Guise. Both sources also agree that Scotland welcomed English intervention. While **Source A** speaks in a negative tone about hopes of reinforcement fading away **Source B** focuses on Scottish resistance.	
Source A	**Source B**
(In 1559) the Protestant Lords now styling themselves 'the Congregation' mobilised to defend themselves against her forces.	Military operations by the Lords of the Congregation against Mary of Guise began in the summer of 1559.
In January 1560, Queen Elizabeth granted the Lords help: a naval blockade of Leith, followed by an army.	While the arrival of an English fleet and army to assist the Lords between January and March 1560 was helpful, the fortress of Leith still held out.
Guise's forces were besieged in Leith from April till July 1560 and while they were able to repel assaults, their hopes of reinforcement were melting away.	Mary of Guise's French troops were based on a strongly fortified position at Leith, well placed to maintain communications with France and they fiercely resisted the Lords.
Worse, Guise herself was gravely ill with dropsy, and died on 11 June by which time France sent not an army but ambassadors to negotiate peace with the English.	It was Mary of Guise's death, on the night of 10-11 June which opened the way for peace arranged between the English and French commissioners.

5.	**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • As consort to the King of France, Mary's refusal to recognise the Reformation Parliament in Scotland made her position difficult. • The Catholics of Europe, the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and the Earl of Huntly saw her return as the beginning of a Scottish Counter-Reformation. • Mary made a deal with her half-brother Lord James Stewart, raising concerns when she became the only Catholic in Scotland entitled to hear Mass. • Mary was driven by her ambition to sit on the English throne and England fearing a revival of French influence in Scotland remained cautious of her. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • In 1560 Scotland was declared Protestant by Parliament. Mary remained in France. As a Catholic she did not accept the decision of Parliament • Mary had the difficult situation of being a Catholic monarch in a land which had become Protestant. • Mary faced pressures regarding her position towards religion within Scotland. Many Protestants suspected that she would restore Catholicism to Scotland. • On her return Mary did nothing to reverse the Reformation. Indeed, she gave no encouragement to Catholics and enforced the law against the celebration of Mass. • Mary was slow to return to Scotland – she did not come back until August 1561 – Francis' death was December 1560. • She often preferred to hide away with servants and favourites. Having been brought up in France she remained open to French influences. • As a young woman, working with dominant and ambitious nobles Mary was at an immediate disadvantage. • Mary became known for her lack of attention to matters of State. By 1564 her attendance at Privy Council meetings had dropped to only five out of fifty meetings. • When Mary accepted support from half-brother Lord James Stewart and other moderate reformers (she granted James the Earldom of Moray), she faced a revolt from her cousin, the Earl of Huntly. While the reformers guaranteed her personal religion, Mary demonstrated her strength by putting Huntly's corpse on trial and finding him guilty as a result of which his family lost their property. His son was executed. It was clear that being a Catholic did not excuse disobedience. This ambiguity was problematic for Mary. • On arrival to Scotland Mary showed tolerance to the Protestant church. • Nobles were to feel neglected by Mary which was one of the reasons for the Riccio murder. • Mary's marriages created difficulties for her and increased opposition amongst her nobles. Her marriage to Darnley was unpopular amongst nobles.

	• The Chaseabout Raid occurred as a result of Mary's marriage to Darnley. After the marriage in July, nobles complained that Mary was wrong to make Darnley 'King' because only a Parliament could do so. England gave refuge to a number of earls including the Earl of Moray after the raid. Mary lost good and trusted servants through this. • Once Mary had given birth to her son and heir, her opponents believed it easier to replace her. • Shortly after Darnley's death in 1567, she married Bothwell according to Protestant rites – an unpopular decision which led to the Confederate Lords taking up arms against her. • Mary believed herself to be the rightful heir to Queen Elizabeth of England. Elizabeth saw her as a threat and was suspicious of her. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

6.	**Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Black Acts were written by advisers to King James VI.	The source is useful as it was written by those in government (Earl of Arran) in consultation with King James. As such, it reflects the views of those influential in ruling Scotland at the time.
Type of Source: Act of Parliament.	The source is useful as it gives an outline of the views of the King as regards the role of bishops in the Kirk as well as asserting the authority of the sovereign over the Kirk.
Purpose: This Act asserts the authority of James VI over the Kirk. In particular, it demonstrates that James favoured a Kirk governed by bishops (and not presbyteries).	The source is useful as it is an assertion of the authority of the King over the Kirk.
Timing: 1584	The source is useful as it was produced during the period when the role of the monarch in the Kirk was subject to debate.

Content	Possible comment
Patrick, Archbishop of St Andrews, and the bishops, shall direct and put order to all matters ecclesiastical by visiting the kirks and the ministers.	Useful as it displays James VI's view that bishops should have a prominent role in the Kirk. As a result, the role of Presbyteries was undermined.
Where they shall find persons worthy and qualified they should appoint them to parishes and where those appointed fail in their duties they will be tried by their bishops and lose their livings.	Useful as it recognised that the power of bishops should be extended to both appointing and deposing ministers.
None of his highness's subjects should gather together for holding of councils, conventions or assemblies, where any matter civil or religious is to be discussed, without his majesty's special commandment, and licence obtained to that effect.	Useful as it demonstrates further royal control of religious assemblies. All ministers were required to accept the 'Black Acts' abolishing Presbyteries and asserting royal authority over the Kirk.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- James's belief that kings should have control over the church led to a powerful struggle which was present throughout his reign.
- Although James had a Protestant education, the Kirk remained suspicious of the King. As the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, James was viewed with suspicion.
- James favouring of Catholic nobility further increased the suspicion of the Kirk.
- The Second Book of Discipline (1578) had proposed a Presbyterian Kirk which could make the church independent of the King and his nobility
- By 1581 plans to establish 13 Presbyteries appeared to challenge royal authority.
- In 1582, a group of Presbyterians sought to take control of the government by kidnapping the King. The 'Ruthven Raid', as it is known, was designed to increase their hold on power by controlling the King.
- In 1589 the King took action against the Catholic nobles who rebelled in March of that year, gaining support from the Kirk.
- James marriage to a Protestant princess, Anna, daughter of the Danish king in the same year also gained greater approval.
- From 1588 – 1590 harmony between the Kirk and the King increased.
- In 1592 the 'Golden Act' accepted the recovery of Presbyterian influence within the Kirk, but did not reduce the power of the King.
- Relations with the Kirk deteriorated after 1592, leading to conflict in 1596.
- Extreme Presbyterians like Andrew Melville were marginalised on account of James' views.
- James' belief in the divine right of monarchs clashed with Melvillians' view that the monarch should be accountable to the authority of the Kirk.
- James sought to extend the power of the monarch and bishops over the Kirk by having bishops recognised as moderators of Presbyteries.
- Elders were excluded from Presbyteries and the monarch had the power to determine the time and place of the General Assembly.
- James would ensure that the General Assembly would meet in Perth or Aberdeen where he could expect more ministers to support him.

	• 1597 riot in Edinburgh after a sermon preached against the King. James VI had the ministers of Edinburgh briefly imprisoned. The King ordered that no minister was to be appointed without his consent. • In 1597, Andrew Melville was deposed as rector of St Andrews. • James attended every General Assembly from 1597 to 1603, by which time assemblies were becoming more agreeable to the King's aims. • In his writings, James asserted that no human institution could limit the powers of a monarch. • James' preferred form of Church government was by bishops and in 1600 he appointed three bishops to Parliament. • Further detail of Trew Law and Basilikon Doron asserting James' views about royal authority. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

PART C – The Treaty of Union, 1689 - 1740

7.	**Possible points of comparison may include:**

Source A	Source B
Overall: Sources A and **B** agree that England and King William were at fault for the failure of the Darien scheme. Both sources suggest England was attempting to protect its own interests in its negative approach towards the Scots in Panama. Also, **Source A** emphasises that this led to anti-English riots in Edinburgh. **Source B** suggests that the scheme had a pitiful outcome.	

Source A	Source B
There was significant English political opposition to the scheme.	We lacked the political co-operation of England.
Because of the perceived threat to the English-owned East India Company.	Because the English wanted to protect their East India Company.
King William who viewed the Scots settlers as aliens.	The British king treated us as pirates and enemies, as if we were aliens.
Spanish military opposition to the Scots settlers in Central America.	English did not prevent us being exposed to the hostile rivalry of Spain.

8.	**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • Many MPs knew that the standing of Scotland in the British Parliament would not be that of a kingdom, but of a province of England. • Cornwall would send almost as many members to Parliament as the whole of Scotland. • The people cried out that they were Scotsmen and they would remain Scotsmen. • Scotland had always had a famous name in foreign courts, and had enjoyed privileges and honours there for many years, bought with the blood of their ancestors. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** **Arguments against union:** • British Parliament would favour English trade over Scottish. • Fear of loss of European trade. • Royal Burghs would be deprived of rights. • Manufactures may be ruined. • English currency, weights and measures to be introduced. • Public opinion against union. • Protestants feared a British Parliament dominated by Anglican Episcopalian church with bishops' seats in the House of Lords. • Reduction in status of Scottish nobility in British parliament. • Scots Episcopalians opposed union and Hanoverian Succession- only Stuart dynasty might restore Episcopacy to Scottish church. • The creation of 'Scotlandshire' was a genuine fear for opponents of union. • 45 Scots MPs in the House of Commons was felt to be under-representation. • Many cherished what Lord Belhaven called 'Mother Caledonia'. • Opponents of union wanted Scotland to remain an independent nation. **Arguments for union:** • Advantages in commerce and trade. • Economy would improve – national product would increase. • Scotland's trade would catch up with other European nations'. • Free trade with English colonies. • Protection of being in Great Britain. • Common interests already with England eg both Protestant countries, geographical proximity. • Advantages of Scottish politicians being part of the court of the king in London. • Hanoverian Succession offered security to Protestantism. • Threat from "Popery" reduced. • Property rights in England preserved for Scottish people who owned land in England. • Reduction in civil discord, poverty, oppression from bad ministries. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

9.	**Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Scottish Parliament	The source is useful as Scottish MPs debated the treaty in parliament for several months.
Type: Act of Parliament	The source is useful as it is official and accurate.
Purpose: To lay out the terms of union with England	The source is useful as the terms contained incentives for MPs to vote for the treaty.
Timing: 1707	The source is useful as this is exactly when union was passed.
Content	**Possible comment**
There shall be full freedom of trade from the United Kingdom to the Colonies.	The source is useful as it shows one of the economic incentives for voting for union.
Scotland shall be free from paying the Salt Tax for 7 years after the union.	The source is useful as it shows one of several last minute concessions made by the English parliament.
Three hundred and ninety eight thousand and eighty-five pounds and ten shillings shall be granted by the English parliament to Scotland before union, the Equivalent of debts owed to Scotland by England.	The source is useful as it shows the promise of payment to be made to Darien investors, including some Scottish MPs.

	Possible points of significant omission may include: • Votes of presbyterians will secure Union vote in way that it can never be undone. • Some will vote for Union because it ensures Hanoverian Succession and future security for Scotland. • Political management of Court Party. • Squadrone Volante's hold on the balance of power. • Role of Hamilton as weak leader of Country Party. • Hamilton's failure to lead planned walkout of parliament. • Divisions amongst opponents eg Jacobites, Cavalier party, Covenanters. • Economic assurances about tax rises made to MPs. • Trade incentives given to parliament. • Last minute concessions on wool and liquor. • Financial payments to individual Scots through Lord Godolphin. • £20,000 paid to Scottish MPs through the Earl of Glasgow. • Incentives for Scottish nobles such as legal protection to remain. • Act of Security for the Kirk guaranteeing Presbyterianism in Church of Scotland. • English spies; Daniel Defoe's role in informing English government about Scottish MPs' views. • Future stability and security. • Military argument regarding Scottish protection. • Scots feared English invasion as English forces were moving north towards end of 1706. • Scots law to remain. • Historical argument, all factors for Union in place at same time for the first time. • Royal Burgh rights to remain. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

PART D – Migration and Empire, 1830 - 1939

10.	**Possible points of comparison may include:**

Source A	Source B
Overall: Both sources agree that Scots migrated due to the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. The sources also both mention that subsidies encouraged people to emigrate. Both sources also agree that emigration allowed Scots to escape from depression and unemployment and finally, to become independent land owners. Both sources agree that Canada was perceived as a land of opportunity.	
Source A	**Source B**
In 1923, 600 Hebrideans took advantage of the year-old Empire Settlement Act to secure passage to Canada.	Rural populations of Canada and other parts of the British Empire were increased by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922.
The unprecedented subsidised state funding also encouraged lowland workers to emigrate.	Travel was possible as subsidies were paid to the emigrants who agreed to work the land for a certain amount of time.
This provided opportunity to escape from the depression and unemployment that blighted the heavy industries of the Central Belt after the First World War.	Both town and country workers also seized this opportunity to escape from the grip of depression and the lack of employment opportunities that existed in Scotland.
Rural lowlanders had been attracted to Canada precisely because it offered the prospect of changing from tenancy to independent ownership.	Many went to Canada where they were offered the chance to become independent landowners, something that there was little opportunity to achieve in Scotland.

11.	**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • Immigration from Lithuania was met with hostility as it was believed that foreigners had been brought into the Ayrshire coalfields to break strikes and dilute the power of the Unions. • Friction further intensified after 1900 as depression in the coal trade caused successive reductions in miners' wages while Lithuanian immigration into the labour market continued. • To enhance their economic advantage Lithuanians gave a convincing display of loyalty to the Trade Union which improved relations with Scots. • Due to their smaller numbers the Lithuanians were not viewed as a threat to the Scottish way of life. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • Lithuanian immigrants were largely employed in the coal industry. • Many Lithuanians changed their names to integrate more easily into Scottish society. • Members of Catholic Irish communities were involved in strikes, trades unions and trades union campaigns which was both welcomed and sought by Scottish workers. • In the 1830s and 1840s many Scots were repelled by the poverty and disease of Irish immigrants, Catholic and Protestant alike. • Mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants became more common as the century progressed, particularly in smaller communities where the choice of marriage partners was less. • The Catholic Church took steps to develop Catholic organisations and institutions (eg Celtic FC) to develop a distinct Catholic community. • Pius X's "Ne Temere" decree of 1908 on invalid marriages applied to every marriage of a Catholic, even when marrying someone who was not of his or her faith; this caused much heartache amongst non-Catholics who felt they were continually losing out. • The 1918 Education Act led to the establishment of Catholic schools. • In the 1920s the Church of Scotland became overtly hostile to Roman Catholicism. • As the Scottish economy collapsed in the 1920s and 1930s, workplace discrimination against Catholics grew. • In the 1920s and 1930s, a few anti-Catholic councillors were successful in local elections in Glasgow and Edinburgh (though many lost their seats at the first defence). • Anti-Catholic (rather than anti-Irish) disturbances in Edinburgh in 1935 were condemned by the press and punished by the courts. • The Protestant Irish assimilated more easily into Scottish society. • Italians were accepted into Scottish society fairly readily, providing a service through cafes etc.

	• Italians suffered hostility in the years before World War II as concerns grew about Mussolini's actions. • Jews settled in central Glasgow, typically setting up small businesses. As they prospered they moved to more affluent suburbs. • Most immigrant groups suffered minor harassment at various times, both from native Scots and from other immigrant groups. • Immigrants often settled initially in the poorest areas of towns and cities; in the nineteenth century this meant they suffered from deprivation in overcrowded slums. • Immigrants in Glasgow particularly suffered alongside the poorer sections of native society from the epidemics of mid-century. • By the 1890s, both Catholic and Protestant Irish were gaining apprenticeships and beginning to move up the social ladder. • The First World War and the ensuing slumps led to the collapse of the Scottish economy; this prevented further upward social mobility to a large extent. It also meant there was little further immigration, so that those near the foot of the social structure tended to stay there. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

12.	**Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Sir Charles Dilke	Useful as Dilke had travelled to India and experienced first-hand the significant impact of Scots on India.
Type of source: Diary	Useful as a personal account of his experience which reflects the broader impact of Scots on India. May be less guarded so source may be more useful.
Purpose: To recount the impact of Scots on India.	Useful as it is a record of the positive impact of Scots in India.
Timing: 1868	Useful as a contemporary account at a time when many Scots had an impact on India eg serving as soldiers and as civil servants.
Content	**Possible comment**
• The stories of the tea and jute industries begin with the Scots and their impact on these industries.	Useful as shows Scots were prominent in the development of tea plantations and the jute industry.
• I was struck by the importance of Scots within the business classes of one of India's largest cities, as Bombay merchants were all Scotch.	Useful as it illustrates the dominance of Scots in the business class of India.
• It is strange indeed that Scotland has not become the popular name for the United Kingdom, particularly with their impact on education, not only in India but across the Empire.	Useful as it illustrates many Indian educational institutions, such as elite schools, owed much to Scottish emigrants.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

Examples of Scots contributing to India:

- Scottish missionaries played an important role in the development of education in India. For example, Reverend Alexander Duff from Perthshire was linked to the founding of the University of Calcutta in 1857 as well as the establishment of the first medical school in the country.
- James Dalhousie used his time as Governor General of India (1848-56) to ban practices of suttee (human sacrifice) and thugee (ritual murder). He also pushed for changes in Indian attitudes to female education.
- In 1857, Scottish soldiers played an important role in crushing the Indian Mutiny. Sir Colin Campbell played a key role.

	Examples of Scots who contributed to the development of Canada: • Some had an impact on politics in Canada, eg John A. MacDonald became first Prime Minister of Canada. • Scots had a major impact on the development of transport systems in Canada, eg in the Canadian Pacific Railway, George Stephen at the Bank of Montreal helped finance it and Sanford Fleming was the main engineer. • Scots contributed to the religious development of Canada through the Church of Scotland. • Scots also influenced educational development in Canada, eg the world-famous McGill University was established with money from the estate of James McGill, a Glasgow emigrant. *Examples of Scots contributing to New Zealand:* • Scots had a major impact on banks and financial institutions. Scots merchants in Dunedin did much for the commerce and prosperity of the Otago region. • Scots influenced education in New Zealand, eg the 1872 Education Act formed the basis of the education system in New Zealand. Learmouth Dalrymple was behind New Zealand's first school for girls, opened in 1871. • Scots contributed to political development, eg Sir Robert Stout and Peter Fraser played significant roles. • Presbyterian settlers created the town of Dunedin, which became an important settlement in New Zealand. • Scottish settlers established a very strong Scottish community in the Otago region. • Some Scots had a positive impact on native Maori people, eg Donald Maclean from Tiree learned native language and became the first Native Minister from 1877-80. • Some Scots had a negative impact as they were involved in taking land from the Maoris. *Examples of Scots contributing to Australia:* • Scots made a major impact in farming in Australia. John MacArthur introduced the first merino sheep. • A considerable number of Scots came to Australia to invest in mining. Many Scots came for the Gold Rush and some gold camps had a distinctive Scottish character. • Scots excelled in shipping and trade. McIllwrath, McEacharn and Burns Phillips established a very successful shipping business. • Many of the pioneers of the sugar industry were Scots and they contributed to the sugar boom of the 1880s in Queensland. • The Church of Scotland played an important role in developing education in Australia. In Victoria there were a large number of Presbyterian secondary schools and Melbourne Academy was known as the 'Scotch College'. • Negative impact on native Aboriginal populations, eg Warrigal Massacre. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

PART E – The Impact of The Great War, 1914 - 1928

13.	**Possible points of comparison may include:**

Source A	Source B
Overall: Both sources agree that soldiers of the 16th Battalion, Highland Light Infantry were surrounded after an attack on Frankfurt Trench in what was the last phase of the Battle of the Somme. The sources also agree that the Scots held out with limited resources, despite German attacks, for eight days. Both sources highlight the action taken by the Scots showing a determined attitude and fighting spirit.	
Source A	**Source B**
The Glasgow Boys Brigade Battalion – officially the 16th Highland Light Infantry, who fought their way into the Frankfurt Trench where they were stranded.	The 16th Highland Light Infantry had been trapped by the German counter-attack and were lying low in Frankfurt Trench some distance behind the recaptured German line.
They set about barricading a section of the trench to repel the expected German counter attack.	The Scots who had blocked a stretch of the Frankfurt Trench.
It soon became painfully clear that the men of the 16th Highland Light Infantry were in no position to offer prolonged resistance – of their number only half were uninjured and they only had four Lewis guns with limited ammunition.	Far from being armed to the teeth however, all the Scots had, were four Lewis-guns and a small amount of ammunition.
Against the odds they managed to hold out until 25 November, over a week after the original attack.	It was now Tuesday 21 November and three days had passed but still the Scots soldiers had the fixed intention of defending their position: they held out until Sunday.

14.	**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • Scottish society had to reacquaint itself with mass mortality with the census of 1921 suggesting a figure of 74,000 for war related mortality, nearly 11 per cent of the Scots who enlisted. • Prior to 1914 the loss of a relative in battle was not a common experience for most Scottish families, but mounting losses now brought this to the forefront of Scottish life. • The dead of the Great War however were glorified and idealised by the culture of remembrance. • The Scottish landscape is littered with war memorials, in towns and villages and in places where the number of names on the memorial outnumbers the current population. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • The Scots responded in great numbers to the call to arms in 1914. The Daily Record reported that within two days of war being declared, six thousand men 'from all classes' enlisted in Glasgow alone. • By December 1914, 25% of the male labour force of western Scotland had signed up. • Recruitment levels in Scotland began to fall by the beginning of 1916. • The Military Service Act of January 1916 imposed conscription on single men in Scotland aged eighteen to forty-one, with exemption clauses covering those in ill-health, engaged in work of national importance, or acting as sole breadwinner with dependents. It also recognised the right of individuals to refuse military service on conscientious grounds. Such cases were to be heard by a local tribunal. In May 1916 the Military Service Act was extended to include married men. • The ILP, whose main aim was opposition to the war, gradually gained increased strength in Scotland. Branches of the ILP had also taken root in rural locations such as Inverurie, Buckie, Keith and Craigellachie during the war years. • The No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) had branches in various locations around Scotland by 1915. • The Union of Democratic Control (UDC) also opposed conscription and included influential Scottish anti-war protesters. • Thousands of Scots opposed the war on religious, ethical or political grounds, although only a very small percentage of the Scottish population were pacifists. • By the end of 1915, the ILP had begun its own register of conscientious objectors and claimed to represent 10,000 men in Scotland. • Scottish tribunals were not always consistent in their decisions. Glasgow tribunals, for example, were seen to be harsher than others due perhaps to the high number of cases they heard or as claimed by Forward, due to the fact that most COs in Glasgow were members of the ILP. • By 1917 many cases in Scotland on conscientious grounds were being rejected. Not all COs were treated harshly but those who chose prison rather than non-combat duties, accepted that their sentence would entail hard labour. • At first the Scottish public accepted increased government control and increased security under the terms of the Defence of the Realm Act, (DORA) as necessary to win the war.

	• Scots became increasingly tired of restrictions which were not seen as being directly linked to the war effort such as reduced opening times of pubs. • Many felt DORA was being used by the government to restrict individual freedoms such as speaking out against the war. DORA allowed the government to censor the press and imprison war protestors. • Many Scots resented how the government used DORA to make legitimate protest appear unpatriotic. In the reporting of strikes on Clydeside in 1915, the strikers were shown as undermining the war effort. • During the war years there was an increase in the number of Scottish women employed in the military and manufacturing industries and a temporary decline in employment in some service industries. • Before the war less than 4,000 women worked in heavy industry in Scotland. By 1917 over 30,000 women in Scotland were employed making munitions. The figure had risen to 31,000 by October 1918, with the vast majority employed in the industrial west. • A munitions factory at Gretna employed 9000 women workers and a women's police force to keep order. • Scottish women also worked as conductors on trams and buses, as typists and secretaries and nearly 200,000 women found work in government departments. • Many Scottish women were involved in the process of dilution, especially in munitions manufacture, strongly represented in the west of Scotland. • Many Scottish women did not keep their wartime jobs after 1918. • Some Scottish women were granted the vote in national elections in 1918. • Rent Strikes saw a prominent role played by women like Mary Barbour, Helen Crawfurd, Agnes Dollan and Jessie Stephens who helped form the Glasgow Women's Housing Association to resist rent rises and threatened evictions. • These women would even physically oppose sheriff officers ordered to carry out evictions of those who could not pay the increased rents. Their direct action helped win the passing of the Rent Restriction Act freezing rent levels and introducing state intervention in the private housing rental market for the first time. Scottish women became more politicised during the war. • Unofficial estimates of the Scottish war dead are much higher – at 110 000 deaths. • The Scottish people wanted their own memorial in tribute to their special sacrifice: Sir Robert Lorimer's Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle was opened in 1927 as a national symbol of Scotland's sacrifice and as an attempt to express a sense of indebtedness. Over 148,000 Scottish names are carved on the national war memorial. • In 1921 the British Legion and British Legion Scotland under Douglas Haig were created to help care for veterans. The Poppy Appeal started at the same time. • The act of remembrance with a silence at 11am on 11 November started in 1919. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

15.	**Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: The Ministry of Munitions.	The source is useful as it has been produced by the Ministry of Munitions who will have expert and detailed knowledge of the impact of the war on Scotland's industries.
Type of source: A report.	Useful because it is an official Government document which will be a factual and accurate account of the impact of war on Scotland's heavy industries. Less useful as it only focuses on the impact of war on Clydeside's heavy industries.
Purpose: To inform the Government of the amount of shells and ammunition being produced in Scotland.	Useful as it highlights the role of Scotland's industries during the war which provides an insight into how the war impacted Scottish industry and the economy.
Timing: 1916	Useful because it is a contemporary account from the time when there was a fear that there would be a serious shortage of shells on the Western Front.

Content	Possible comment
• The increase in the number of workers employed by these great establishments is suggestive of a substantial expansion in business with practically the whole of the output being for the purposes of the war.	Useful as it accurately states that the war gave a big temporary boost to Scotland's engineering industries and to Scotland's old traditional industries which had been facing problems in the years before the war.
• Mr Beardmore and Company, in addition, undertook the management of various National Projectile (shell) factories for the government.	Useful as it accurately illustrates how, during the war, Scottish industries, for example, engineering works were organised to supply the country's need for weapons. Useful as it explains how existing industries were given financial support by the government to manufacture shells.
• Existing works have been supplemented by entirely new factories established for the express purpose of supplying munitions.	Useful as it accurately shows that new factories had to be introduced in Scotland in order to meet the needs of war.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

Wartime effects of war on industry, agriculture and fishing

- Scottish shipbuilding benefited from an increased demand for warships and replacement orders for lost shipping.
- Wartime was good for the steel industry due to the increased demand to build weapons. Ninety per cent of plate armour was produced in the west of Scotland.
- Coal benefited during the war years due to increased demand to power the machinery and fuel the ships built on the Clyde.
- The Jute industry in Dundee benefited during the war due to the increased demand for sandbags and feedbags for horses.
- Scottish agriculture benefited through the government purchase of wool for uniforms and oats for horse feed.
- There was a shortage of farmworkers on many Scottish farms due to so many young men joining up. Women, boys, older men, prisoners and conscientious objectors were all used as farm workers during the war.
- The war resulted in increased mechanisation in Scottish farming as thousands of farm horses were taken for the war effort.
- The fishing industry suffered during the war due to Scotland's east coast ports being taken over by the Admiralty. Ports were at first almost totally closed to fishing although restrictions on fishing were lifted when food supplies became scarce.
- Many boats and crews were used as support to the navy as coastal patrols or for searching for mines.
- In 1918 the Scottish fishing industry faced rising fuel costs and the need to repair and equip boats after war service.
- Revolution in Russia and post war changes in Eastern Europe resulted in traditional export markets for herring in Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia being lost.

Price rises and rationing

- In March 1917, the Board of Trade Labour Gazette published an article on the steady rise of the price of food across Britain. In comparing the price of food from March 1916 to March 1917, the journal reported that there was an average increase of 32%. Potatoes had more than doubled in price; cheese and eggs were 45% more expensive; meat, bacon and butter rose by 30%-35%, flour, milk and sugar by 20%-25%; bread, margarine and fish by 13%-18% and tea by 7%. Those with money could afford the higher prices but ordinary working people suffered the most.
- By the end of the war almost all foods were subject to price control by the government.
- As the war continued, trade and the transport of goods with overseas countries were affected. Certain foodstuffs were in short supply, made worse by panic buying. In February 1918, the Ministry of Food approved a scheme for rationing butter, margarine and tea to maintain levels of distribution throughout the country.
- Full scale rationing was in force in Scotland by April 1918.

Post-war economic change and difficulties;

- The Scottish economy suffered as a result of the war due to the disruption of overseas trade. This trade was slow to recover.
- Shipbuilding went into decline when the war ended due to a number of factors including a return to competitive tendering, a decline in the demand for steel and for ships, foreign competition, labour disputes and a shortage of manpower. Between 1921 and 1923 the tonnage built on the Clyde declined from 510,000 to 170,000.
- Heavy industries like iron and steel also faced problems post war. The demand for iron decreased during the war years and although the demand for steel increased during the war other countries increased their steel making during the war years and Scots manufacturers could not compete. As a result, the iron and steel industries were severely affected by the downturn in demand from 1921 onwards.
- The fishing industry faced difficulties due to the loss of markets in Russia and Germany. European countries started to compete strongly with Scottish fleets and in 1920 the government removed the guaranteed price for the herring. The price of herring dropped dramatically; it was no longer profitable; and for twenty years the industry went into a steep decline.
- After the war the jute industry went into decline due to falling orders, worn-out machinery and direct competition from Calcutta in world markets. The price of goods collapsed resulting in mass unemployment, deep social misery and discontent especially in Dundee and several firms went into liquidation.
- Problems in agriculture continued as competition came after the war from cheap foreign imports of food like refrigerated meat from Argentina, frozen lamb and tinned fruit from Australia and New Zealand.
- Post-war Scotland suffered badly from the slump in the world economy.
- Industries like shipbuilding, mining and engineering were badly hit and because these were the main industries in Scotland, the economy suffered more than in the rest of Britain.
- Those returning from war faced poor prospects of getting jobs in agriculture, fishing and heavy industries and unemployment grew in the 1920s.
- Diversification of firms like Beardmores from shipbuilding to tanks to airships.

Post-war emigration

- The 1920s also saw significant emigration from Scotland by people seeking a better life elsewhere. In the inter-war period Scotland had the highest rate of emigration of any European country.
- Many Scots saw emigration as an escape from unemployment, overcrowding and poor housing, at home. In the 1920s three out of ten migrants to New Zealand came from Scotland, many from the depressed industrial areas of central Scotland.
- Many of the people who emigrated came from rural Scotland, where the on-going land issue and land raids continued to be problems.
- Thousands of Scots decided to emigrate helped by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, a government assisted migration programme.
- Many Scots were also persuaded due to the actions of Canadian government agents travelling around Scotland advertising the attractions of emigrating to Canada such as the availability of land and better employment opportunities.

	The land issue in the Highlands and Islands. • Propaganda, recruitment statements and speeches had made a firm link between the Highland men and their land. Some landowners made promises of gifts of land from their own estates to men who had joined up to fight. • Poverty, overcrowding and hunger in the Highlands, mainly due to the shortage of available land, were exacerbated by the post war decline in fishing especially the collapse of the herring trade which deprived many of seasonal work which had helped sustain many in the past. • The Land Settlement Act in December 1919 stated that land would be made available for men who had served in the war. It soon became clear however that due to adverse post war economic conditions, the government could not afford to purchase land from the previous owners. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

Section 2 - British

PART A – Church, State and Feudal Society, 1066 - 1406

16.	**Context** Feudalism is a term that is used to describe a society that is organised around relationships that emerge from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. There is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism. **The role of the landed classes** • Barons and other powerful magnates received land from the feudal overlords. These lands offered rights and privileges that in turn led to wealth and a comfortable lifestyle. • These privileges usually gave the barons judicial control and the right to bear arms, build castles and hold tournaments. This often supplemented their income. • Barons enjoyed a relatively leisured life, with pastimes such as hunting and hawking. • The main drawback for the landed classes was the requirement to provide military service. This was occasionally dangerous, even fatal. Many circumvented this by providing substitutes or making excuses for non-appearance. **Other factors** **The role of the peasant classes** • Peasants played an important part of feudal society, beyond the need for a productive class working in agriculture. It was expected that peasants would run their own day-to-day lives without the need for the feudal lord's presence. Local reeves and bailiffs, appointed by the peasants or the lord himself, would act in his stead. • Villeins had to organise themselves through the local manor court. The court dealt with sharing the land, fined those that broke the rules, and even brought murderers to trial. • The feudal term of villein or serf indicated a peasant who was not free to leave his home farm or village. They were bought and sold along with the land and were expected to work at least 3 days a week in the lord's lands without recompense and hand over the best of their produce in exchange for the rent of their farmland. • Peasants, or villeins, tended to work hard, mostly in the agricultural sector. All the work had to be done by hand and this resulted in long hours of backbreaking work. • Improvements in agricultural equipment and the use of ploughs drawn by horses instead of oxen speeded up the work and reduced the hours required in the field. • While work was hard the manor court ensured that everyone had a fair share of the good land to grow their crops. During bad times there were systems in place to share out food so that no one in the village went hungry • Not all peasants received the same amount of good farming land, and often it was the case that land was rotated amongst the peasants. This dissuaded them from attempts to improve the land; many did not put in the extra effort when next year their neighbour would reap the benefit.

	• Accommodation was often very poor, especially for the lower strata of peasant society. Many peasants lived in poorly constructed one-bedroom dwellings, which they shared with their animals. A single hearth provided all the heat, lighting and cooking facilities. • Firewood was at a premium; peasants were forced to pay a penny to their lord for the right to pick up fallen wood for the fires. • Food was basic and, in times of famine, starvation was a real threat. As the 12th century progressed famine became rare in England, since the manor system pulled in isolated communities and helped create new more viable villages throughout the kingdom. • Archaeological evidence points to homes occupied by small nuclear families, some with upper rooms that indicate a level of privacy previously thought impossible. Evidence of leisure activities included cards, chess pieces, musical instruments and even a football. **Social divisions** • Social stratification was relatively rigid, though it was possible for landowners to rise through the ranks of the nobility, through ability or exceptional service. • Some peasants famously left behind their humble beginnings, proving that social mobility was possible in the 13th and 14th centuries. William of Wykeham became bishop of Winchester but such rises outside the church were rare. **The changing role of knights – the development of chivalry** • The medieval knightly class was adept at the art of war, trained in fighting in armour, with horses, lances, swords and shields. Knights were taught to excel in the arms, to show courage, to be gallant and loyal. As time went by, the idea developed that they had a duty to protect the weaker members of society and women in particular. This ideal did not always extend beyond their own class. • Christianity had a modifying influence on the classical concept of heroism and virtue. The Truce of God in the 10th century was one such example, with limits placed on knights to protect and honour the weaker members of society and also help the church maintain peace. At the same time the church became more tolerant of war in the defence of faith, espousing theories of the Just War. **Any other relevant factors.**

17.	**Context** Henry was the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England. Matilda was involved in a dispute with Stephen of Blois, over who should rule, resulting in civil war. Stephen was appointed King of England by the Church and reigned, 1135-1154. However, on Stephen's death, Matilda's son, Henry became King of England. Henry's aims were to preserve the Angevin dominions, strengthen royal authority and increase royal revenues. **Need to develop the economy** • Henry II established the exchequer under Nigel of Ely to rein in sheriffs who failed to pay taxes and ensure scutage and other forms of aid and direct taxes were paid on time. Constant warfare during the Civil War between Stephen and Matilda meant barons and sheriffs had become increasingly lax in paying their taxes. • Nigel of Ely, a cleric, was installed by Henry to administer revenue eg feudal dues, scutage, justice, towns and land. • In general Henry oversaw a more settled age in England, which encouraged trade as did Henry's acquisitions abroad. This in turn helped Henry with revenue, but also stimulated Henry's positon in the international world eg his acquisition of Guienne stimulated the west-country ports. • The industrial centres of Flanders depended on English wool and welcomed grain from fertile East Anglian and Kentish fields. • There was a European demand for English metals. • Henry's England was at the centre of the Angevin Empire and the French speaking world. • The period saw an increase in literacy eg all of his sons (Richard, Geoffrey & John) had some education. **Other factors:** **Impact of the Civil War** • Civil War had developed during the disputed reign between Stephen and Matilda, after the death of Henry I. • Bulk of the fighting was in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and nearby private wars developed. • There was some devastation of land due to the Civil War eg 1143-4 Geoffrey de Mandeville laid waste to the Fens and in 1147 Coventry and surroundings was laid to waste by the king. • In financing the Civil War Stephen began with a full treasury, however, the Exchequer was disorganised and yields from land were low. During the Civil War barons and sheriffs had become increasingly lax in paying their taxes. So the development of the royal administration during Henry II's reign is due, in part to the need to increase the Royal finances eg this led to changes to the Exchequer, which improved the methods for receiving his revenues, as well as development of the Chamber and the use of sheriffs.

Growth of the nobility

- During the time of the Civil War in England the barons had increased in stature and political importance due to both sides vying for their support. As a result, barons built castles without royal permission, increased the numbers of knights beyond limits agreed by their charters, acquired land illegally and many hired large armies of Flemish mercenaries. Henry, as King of England exiled those barons who did not support him. He successfully restored order in England by dismantling illegally built castles.
- Changes in taxes were also needed to firm up revenue, but also to formalise Henry's relationship with his main tenants-in-chief.
- Many of his actions were to re-establish the authority of the king after the chaos of the Civil War and that meant action against those who had used the Civil War as an opportunity to extend their own power.
- Henry vigorously pursued the destruction of illegally built castles and the recovery of former royal strongholds that were now in baronial hands. For example, he took action against resistance from William of Amuale who refused to surrender Scarborough castle.
- Henry's introduction of scutage allowed him to get around the problem of 40 days' knight service.
- Many lesser nobles were employed as his royal administration expanded.

Cost of warfare

- In part royal government developed in order to fund warfare, which had become increasingly expensive in the 12th century.
- Henry recovered land lost during the Civil War between Stephen and Matilda eg Northumbria from the Scots, he forced Owen Gwynedd of Wales to do homage.
- Scutage was levied on the knight's service owed to the baron, rather than owed to the king. In the process it also enabled Henry II to ensure they had sworn allegiance to their king as well as their lord.
- Henry had various military needs, to defend his lands across the Angevin Empire, to recover lost territories, to keep vassals abroad in check and to crush uprisings across the extensive Angevin Empire. The Great Baronial Rebellion of 1173-4 also shook him, although they were won in Henry's favour. In short he needed an army at times and that had to be paid for.
- Previously direct taxation had been on landed property, but to get money for crusades Henry ordered a tax on moveably property and in 1188 a Saladin tithe [one tenth of the value of rents].
- By the end of the period there was a soundly organised field army with the administration to produce the money for this.
- Fortifications were also repaired and by the end of the period all Norman castles were part of a general defence plan.
- This increased organisation can be seen in the Assize of Arms of 1181 – a survey of resources.

Law and order

- Key appointments to the office of Justiciar, such as Richard de Lucy and Robert de Beaumont, helped run a more effective the legal system for Henry, dealing with land matters, criminal matters and overseeing the sheriffs of England.
- Henry favoured the extension of royal jurisdiction, partly for its contribution to the domestic peace and partly for its financial rewards to the crown, but also to extend control over his tenants-in-chief.

	• Henry II is remembered as the creator of Common Law. He inherited the 'Good Laws' from his grandfather Henry I. He had first used feudalism to enhance the power of the Crown. Henry II developed a central administration beyond previous lines. • There was a general need to rationalise law and marry the Anglo Saxon with the Norman practices in order to simplify the system and stop people playing the system. Change was gradual throughout Henry's reign and did not conform to some grand plan, but royal power did increase as a result of them. • Henry believed that too few offenders were put on trial or caught. He reasserted royal jurisdiction over major crimes and sought to improve the efficiency of the legal process. • Henry II extended the power of the Curia Regis, the royal court. Writs were issued. Royal officials gave judgements in local courts. In some areas Henry appointed local magnates to act as permanent royal justice. This gave Henry a notable increase in royal authority and the power of the crown. Restoring the law and order established by his grandfather, Henry I. • The Assizes of Clarendon (1166), modified by the Assize of Northampton (1176) for example, widened the scope of royal justice, now including indictment and prosecution of local criminals. • Regional inquest juries should meet periodically under the royal eye to identify and denounce neighbourhood criminals. • Extension of the king's justice into land disputes, which had once been dominated by the baronial courts, through the Assize of Novel Disseisin and Grand Assize. These rationalised a mass of local laws and customs into a uniform royal law – a 'common law' by which all subjects were ruled. They speeded up the judicial process, but also placed decisions in the hands of the king's own justices-in-eyre, going over the heads of the powerful local tenants-in-chief. • Henry II recognised the need to assert Royal Authority over Church Authority in matters of criminal law. Thomas Becket, Henry's loyal Chancellor, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. The Constitution of Clarendon listed the state-church relations. Henry's failure, and the death of Becket 1170, did little to harm his royal authority. **Effects of foreign influence** • Henry reigned for almost 35 years, but he spent 21 years away from England, in France. Henry II inherited Normandy from his mother and his father, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. In 1152 his marriage to Eleanor, saw Henry become Duke of Aquitaine. However, revolt from his sons and wife in 1173-4. Crushed, but further rebellion from young Henry over fears of Henry II favouring John. Ended when young Henry died of a fever. Succession passed to Richard. Henry II lost his authority before his death as Richard and King Philip II of France combined their forces against the dying English king. • The Angevin Empire ranged from the border with Scotland, to the border with Spain, and was united on only one sense, loyalty to Henry II. • Arguably, the demands of holding this disparate group of lands together led to the need for taxation and a capable army. • Foreign influence in England, especially from the Norman Lords who had extensive landholdings in both Normandy and England. • Some unity of government was necessary, however, and can be seen with the use of the Exchequer system throughout the Empire. • Use of the Seneschal's court – use of same legal procedure and interpretation of laws. **Any other relevant factors.**

18.	**Context** The decline of feudalism happened as the previous order of society where land was exchanged for economic or military service was challenged. Economic developments, which changed the relationship between peasants and lord as well as the development of new ways to trade and pay for labour/service led to its decline. **The Black Death** • The population decreased between 33% and 50 % during the Black Death. • The decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Wage levels in England roughly doubled. Indeed, the shortage of labourers is often seen as causing 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 for those that survived. **Other factors** **The Peasants' Revolt** • In England, the attempts of the Statute of Labourers in 1351 to force peasants back into serfdom were widely and strongly resisted. The extent of the revolt and the impressive way in which it was organised shows that the old feudal consensus had broken down. • There is an argument that the Peasants' Revolt was a reaction to the attempts to force peasants to return to the old ideas of labour services. • The use of the Poll Tax was a trigger to the revolt by secular leaders, John Ball and Wat Tyler. **The growth of towns** • Many found the freedom of burgh life allowed them to develop trade without the burden of labour services or restrictions in movement. • There was a movement from the countryside to the towns which saw a growth. • Economy in towns did not depend on the ownership of land, rather on the production and selling of goods. **The growth of trade/mercantilism** • With markets for their goods fluctuating considerably, many nobles came to understand their weak economic position. For some it was better to let their peasants become tenants who rented their land than to continue as their feudal protector. • Others discovered that sheep were a far more profitable resource than peasants could ever be. The monasteries in particular turned over large areas to sheep pasture to capitalize on the strong demand for wool. • Peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could propel themselves upwards on the social ladder. **Changing social attitudes** • Social mobility was increasing for a number of reasons, including the move to an economy based more on cash than service. In England the wars against France had brought riches to some, and enabled them to climb the social ladder. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART B – The Century of Revolutions, 1603 - 1702

19.	**Context** James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603. He had been used to absolute rule in Scotland and expected the same in England. However, the English parliament would not accept the Divine Right of Kings, and expected to wield some power itself. **Religious issues - Presbyterianism** • James I had a lifelong hatred of Puritanism; Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform. • The king feared moves towards Presbyterianism and rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying 'no bishops, no king', and vowing to maintain an Episcopalian Church of England. • Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform early in James I's reign. • In 1607 the House of Commons presented a Petition for the Restoration of Silenced Ministers, requesting the reinstatement of preachers who had been previously dismissed for their Puritan views. This set MPs in direct opposition in policy terms to the sitting monarch. **Religious issues – Roman Catholicism** • James I relaxed the Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics, which revealed that there were more Roman Catholics than many in the House of Commons had feared. • The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 increased tension and turned many against Roman Catholics. • Parliament was horrified that the king allowed his son to marry a Roman Catholic French princess and allow her to celebrate mass privately at court. • Furthermore, James I admired the religious power of the monarchies in France and Spain, both Roman Catholic countries and England's traditional enemies. • James conducted many negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, whose influence at court many Puritans resented. In 1604 they concluded a peace, bringing their nineteen-year war to an end with the Treaty of London. • Eventually the king issued the House of Commons with the Rebuke of 1621, a ban on discussing foreign policy so that he could forge stronger links with Spain. This generated much anti-Catholic feeling amongst James I's political opponents who disapproved of this developing relationship. **Other factors** **Economic issues** • James I wanted to exist financially independent of Parliament and manipulated the statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws which were designed merely to raise revenue. • Fiscal devices such as monopolies and wardships were unpopular. • The king alienated his natural allies in the House of Lords by selling honours and titles and appearing to devalue the status of the aristocracy. • Increases in customs duties led to the Bates Case in 1606 which James I won, although Parliament declared the duties illegal in 1610.

	Divine Right of Kings **Political issues** • Parliament had been encouraged since the days of Henry VIII to make policy, and therefore its members felt they could criticise the Crown freely; however, James I asserted the Divine Right of Kings as he claimed he had been accustomed to this in Scotland, which made his status as a foreigner more unattractive to the English Parliament. • The House of Commons opposed James I to such an extent that the stability of the nation was affected. • The king conceded defeat in the Goodwin Case which gave Parliament fresh impetus to challenge him further. • James I attempted to curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved. **Law** • James I attempted to control the court system by appointing judges who would favour the Crown; Parliament saw this as unfair and objected to the abuse of power. • The king imposed martial law in towns where troops were preparing to embark on foreign campaigns; Parliament opposed this. • The king billeted troops in the homes of civilians in order to enforce the law. **The difficulties of ruling both countries - England and Scotland** • Parliament in London rejected the king's proposed union between Scotland and England as they felt he was making no attempt to understand the English constitution, which accorded greater powers to Parliament in London than were accorded in Edinburgh. • James I sought to obtain greater taxation in Scotland, and employed members of loyal clans as government agents, at considerable expense, to extract payment of overdue taxes or fines. • James I exerted his influence in the Highlands with force, giving permission for certain clans to attack clans who had not professed loyalty to him. • As legitimate king of Scotland, James I (and VI) was carrying out a role into which he had been born; however, his position in trying to maintain rule over two kingdoms, and the dominance of England, meant Scotland proved to be more than a minor irritation in his attempts to achieve stability. **Any other relevant factors.**

20.	**Context** The English Civil War formally ended in January 1649, with the execution of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell ruled during the Interregnum. He abolished the monarchy and attempted at constitutional rule through including the Council of State, the Barebones Parliament, and the First and Second Protectorate Parliaments. **Foreign matters** • Faced with possible invasion, Cromwell was forced to fight several battles to control Scotland. • He had to put down rebellions in Ireland by Royalists and Catholics brutally, which caused further resentment and hostility. • War was waged on Holland to enforce the Navigation Acts. • In the mid-1650s war with Spain caused increased taxes. • Foreign affairs led to social issues such as coal shortages in winter 1652-3 not being addressed appropriately, and increasing instability in England. **Other factors** **Dependence on the army** • Army officers formed the Council of State with the Rump Parliament. Extremists in the army opposed Parliament's role in governing the country. • The creation of a military dictatorship from 1653 drew comparisons with the Stuarts' martial law, as did the formation of the first Protectorate in September 1654 and the drawing up of military districts under major-generals during the second Protectorate from October 1656. • Parliamentarians resented the influence of the army on constitutional affairs throughout the Interregnum. **Cromwell's dominance** • Cromwell dominated politics and was in a unique position to influence the direction of the country; however, he was a contrary character. • Cromwell espoused democratic principles but acted in a dictatorial manner, as he knew an elected government would contain his enemies. • Cromwell's roots were in Parliament but his rise to the rank of general during the Civil War meant he favoured the military during the Interregnum. • Cromwell was conservative but many policies were ahead of his time, such as relief for the poor and insane during the Barebones Parliament. • Cromwell was a Puritan but passed progressive reforms, such as civil marriages, which horrified many Puritans. **Parliament** • The Rump Parliament consisted of MPs who had failed to avert Civil War in 1642 and who now had to address the same problems in 1649. • Puritans amongst MPs viewed church reform as their priority. • Parliament was opposed to the role of the army, and wanted to have a greater say in drawing up the constitution. • Quarrels between MPs and army officers were a feature of the Interregnum. • Parliament opposed toleration, thus preventing religious wounds healing.

	Absence of monarchy • After Charles I's execution in 1649, the Council of State abolished the monarchy and declared a Republic, or Commonwealth; now there was no monarchical check on Parliamentary power. • In Scotland, Charles II was crowned king and some of his supporters wanted him to ascend the throne in England also. • Without a king in England, Cromwell ruled on his own during the Interregnum, drawing comparisons with Charles I's 11-year tyranny. **Unpopular legislation** • The Treason Law and Censorship Law were introduced in 1649; in 1650 the Oath of Allegiance was imposed for all men over 18. • The High Court was abolished in 1654, causing a backlog of 23,000 cases. • The Barebones Parliament was accused of introducing too many reforms in too short a space of time. • The constitution was drawn up solely by army officers. • Roman Catholics and Anglicans were excluded from voting by the First Protectorate, which also introduced strict moral codes that curtailed popular forms of entertainment and enforced the Sabbath. • The Commission of Triers and Committee of Ejectors, who appointed clergymen and schoolmasters, were unpopular with the church. • A 10% land tax was resented by the aristocracy; taxation in general was increased in order to fund wars with Spain. • Cromwell's approval of his son Richard as his successor led many to feel that Cromwell viewed himself as a monarchical figure. • Royalists accused Cromwell of regicide. • Army extremists pushed for greater martial authority. • Presbyterians impatiently demanded church reforms. **Inexperience** • The Barebones Parliament consisted of many well-intentioned but inexperienced figures who proved incapable of using power effectively. **Doomed from the start** • All the pre-Civil War problems — such as religious, political, legal and economic issues — plus additional foreign policy issues, meant that Cromwell was always going to encounter difficulties. **Any other relevant factors.**

21.	**Context** After the reign of Charles II, James II ruled between 1685 and 1688. His attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688-9. Parliament invited the king's daughter Mary and her husband William to become joint monarchs. A series of agreements made between 1689 and 1701, legalising the division of power between Parliament and the crown, became known as the Revolution Settlement. This included the Bill of Rights, limiting the power of the monarch. **Finance** • Parliament granted William III and Mary III £1,200,000 for court expenses in 1689, including £700,000 to pay civilians working for the state; these became fixed annual amount in the Civil List Act of 1697. • A Procedure of Audit was established for MPs to check royal expenditure; crown financial independence was no longer possible. • The 1689 Bill of Rights stated the monarch could no longer levy taxes without Parliamentary consent; House of Commons now agreed an annual Budget proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who between 1690 and 1695 was Richard Hampden; fiscal power now lay in the hands of Parliament rather than the crown. • However, the monarch benefited from no longer having to resort to unpopular methods of raising revenue; from now on it would be Parliament that incurred the wrath of citizens for increasing taxation. **Religion** • Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689: toleration of all Protestants except Unitarians, those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity, and Roman Catholics. Parliament ensured Roman Catholicism could no longer be accepted. • Although Non-Conformist Protestants could now worship freely, the new law maintained an Exclusion from Public Office clause, so they could not obtain teaching positions at universities or elected posts in towns or the House of Commons. • The Toleration Act insisted that Non-Conformists take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of their religious freedom. • Toleration Act stated the king was supreme Head of the Church of England. 400 Non-Jurors - priests and bishops refusing to acknowledge William III - were expelled from their posts by Parliament. • However, the king, as head of the church, now had the power to appoint bishops and archbishops. **Legislation** • 1689 Bill of Rights stated monarchs could no longer require excessive bail to be demanded from defendants nor ask judges to impose cruel punishments. • Ministers impeached by the House of Commons could not be pardoned by the crown. • In 1695 the Treason Act was altered to give defendants' rights to be told the indictment against them, to be defended by Counsel, to call witnesses in their defence, and to demand that there be two witnesses against them to prove a case instead of the previous one. • Act of Settlement 1701 stated judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this. • However, monarchs could still appoint judges.

Parliament

- William and Mary agreed to the Bill of Rights in December 1689, legalising new relationship between Crown and Parliament.
- Bill of Rights made it clear monarchs could no longer use royal prerogative to suspend or dispense with laws passed by Parliament, and could not interfere in Parliamentary elections.
- Bill of Rights also stated from now on MPs and peers could not be punished for exercising Parliamentary freedom of speech.
- Licensing Act was repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on freedom of the press to report Parliamentary criticism of Crown.
- Revolution Settlement provided for a Triennial Act passed in 1694. This was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion. Parliament was now more relevant to voters than ever before, although voters were still the landed classes.
- However, the Revolution Settlement still allowed monarchs executive power, so they could dismiss Parliament at will and also rule alone for up to three years, and could still appoint peers.

The succession

- Bill of Rights of December 1689 declared no Roman Catholic could become king or queen in the future, and all future monarchs should be members of Church of England.
- Act of Settlement 1701 stated if William and Mary had no heirs the throne would pass to Sophia of Hanover, Protestant daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, sister of Charles I. However, the Hanoverian Succession was desired by William anyway, and so the crown was getting its own way.

Scotland

- In April 1689, the Scottish Parliament passed the Claim of Right removing James VII (James II of England) from the throne and approving William II (William III of England) and Mary II as his successors. The new monarchs' acceptance of this suggests that in Scotland there was a contract between crown and the people.
- Scotland was to be allowed to have its own Presbyterian Kirk.
- Scottish Parliament would have a greater share in the government of Scotland and more say in the passing and enforcement of Scots law.
- However, the crown influenced Scotland by appointing ministers who would not challenge English policy.

Ireland

- Treaty of Limerick 1691 brought an uprising led by James II's French and Irish volunteers to an end and stated Irish Roman Catholics would enjoy same freedoms as under Charles II, and land confiscated from Roman Catholics by Oliver Cromwell was given back.
- The Treaty also stated Jacobite soldiers captured at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 were allowed to flee to France. 14,000 soldiers and their families left. However, promises to treat Roman Catholics better were broken by the Penal Laws of 1693-94, excluding Roman Catholics from the learned professions and elected public office.

	The status of the army • Bill of Rights stated the monarch could not maintain a standing army during peacetime. The Mutiny Act of 1689 legalised the army, and had to be passed annually by Parliament, forcing the king to summon Parliament. • However, the king controlled foreign policy, had the final say on the decision to send the army to war or to sign peace treaties, and used his patronage to appoint officers in both the army and navy. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART C – The Atlantic Slave Trade

22.	**Context** The Atlantic Slave Trade developed as West Indian plantation owners increasingly looked to the continent of Africa for a new supply of labour. The enslavement of millions of Africans was justified by racist beliefs that Africans were inferior to Europeans. **Racist attitudes** • The unequal relationship that was created as a consequence of the enslavement of Africans was justified by the ideology of racism – the belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans. • Entrenched racism among members of the merchant and landowning classes meant that enslaving African captives was accepted by colonists. • Many Europeans claimed that African captives would suffer if the slave trade was abolished eg criminals and prisoners of war would be butchered and executed at home. • Many colonists believed that slaves were suited to work on the plantations and were fortunate to be provided with homes, protection and employment, in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots. **Other factors:** **Military factors** • The European wars of the 17th and 18th centuries impacted on the development of the Atlantic Slave Trade. As result of these battles Britain came to play a dominant part in the Atlantic Slave Trade. • The Seven Years War was chiefly an imperial war fought between Britain, France and Spain and many of the most important battles of the Seven Years War were fought at sea to win control of valuable overseas colonies. Britain emerged from the war as the leading European imperial power, having made large territorial gains in North America and the Caribbean, as well as India. Slave labour was necessary to exploit these gains. As the number and size of Britain's colonies grew, so did the number of British plantation owners and slave traders. **Importance of West Indian colonies** • Crops such as sugar cane became highly profitable which led to planters buying enslaved Africans in growing numbers. Islands such as Jamaica which specialised in sugar production became one of the largest disembarkation points for slaves in the West Indies. • The slave trade generated finance – it was an important source of tax revenue and West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours. • Financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions emerged to support the activities of the slave traders. Slave traders became bankers and many new businesses were financed by profits made from slave trading.

Shortage of labour

- Large scale plantations became big businesses and required larger labour forces to sustain production.
- Huge profits made from the trade in tropical crops created a demand for labour to work on plantations in the colonies. Crops such as sugar cane required a large labour force to plant, look after, harvest and process crop in harsh conditions.
- There was a labour shortage in the West Indies due to the high death rate among native populations due to the lack of resistance to diseases brought by Europeans and the harsh conditions and ill-treatment at the hands of colonists.

Failure of alternative sources of labour

- The slave trade developed due to the rapid decline in the number of indigenous peoples who were first used as a source of labour in the West Indies. Poor diet and European diseases were largely responsible for this. Although compared to the later enslavement of Africans, the use of the native populations was on a small scale. The number of indigenous peoples on the islands was not large enough to meet the planters' demands. Few colonists were also willing to work voluntarily on the plantations as manual labour.
- There was a limit to the number of British criminals who could be sent as forced labour. Britain had very harsh laws in the 18th century with 300 capital crimes, examples would be pick pocketing more than 1 shilling, shop lifting 5 shillings or more, stealing a sheep or a horse, poaching rabbits. Transportation to the West Indies was seen as an alternative to hanging. Some of those transported were for political or religious reasons. For example, many Jacobites were treated in this way. As political upheavals subsided, the number of political prisoners declined.
- There was also a lack of indentured servants. These poor Europeans would sign a contract binding them to work for a fixed period, usually 3-7 years, in return for their passage abroad and food, clothes and shelter although it was not unknown for poor people in cities such as London and Bristol to find themselves on ships to Jamaica after being kidnapped or plied with drink. Some Europeans were classed as Redemptioners: they arranged with the ship's captain, to pay for their passage within a specified time after arrival or be sold to the highest bidder.
- Historian Eric Williams has argued that there were not enough indentured servants to replace those who had served their time and that escape was much easier for Europeans. As a result, for economic reasons plantation owners started to turn to African slaves for labour. Williams argues that the decisive factor was the fact that enslaved Africans were cheap and that while an indentured servant would be working for a limited number of years, the enslaved African would work for life. For a while European indentured labour existed alongside enslaved Africans but as African slavery increased, European indentured labour gradually came to an end.

Legal position

- The legal status of slaves as property, which meant they were considered commodities rather than humans, was long established.
- It took a series of court cases from the 1770s that dealt with the rights of former slaves within the British Isles to challenge the legality of slavery and the slave trade eg Granville Sharp's resolute campaign to prove the illegality of slavery in England that culminated in Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset ruling. However the legal position of African slaves remained unclear until the early 19th century.

	Religious factors • The Church of England had links to slavery through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary organisations which had plantations and owned slaves. The Church of England supported the laws not to educate enslaved Africans. • Some Bible passages such as the Curse of Ham from Genesis were used to justify slavery. Other Bible passages such as Exodus were banned in British colonies because they could be interpreted as being anti-slavery. • Many believed that Africans benefited from slavery as they became 'Christian'. This would result in the spread of 'civilization'. This however did not necessarily mean that they would be treated as equals. • Some clergy tried to push the idea that it was possible to be a 'good slave and a Christian' and pointed to St Paul's epistles, which called for slaves to 'obey their masters'. • However very little missionary work actually took place during the early years. Religion got in the way of a moneymaking venture by taking Africans away from their work. It also taught them potentially subversive ideas and made it hard to justify the cruel mistreatment of fellow Christians. **Any other relevant factors.**

23.	**Context** It has been estimated that at least 12 million enslaved Africans were forcibly transported to the West Indies as a result of the Atlantic Slave Trade. In addition, the long term implications of the slave trade for African societies affected many millions more. **The slave-sellers and European 'factories' on the West African coast** • Europeans seldom ventured inland to capture the millions of people who were transported from Africa as captives. African middlemen usually sold slaves to European factors who collected the slaves on the coast. In the areas where slavery was not practised, such as among the Xhosa people of southern Africa, European slave ship captains were unable to buy African captives. • European 'factories' were developed on the coast to control the slave trade. These 'factories' or forts held slaves until the arrival of the slave ships. **The development of slave-based states and economies** • Africans could become slaves as punishment for a crime, as payment for a family debt, or — most commonly of all — by being captured as prisoners of war. With the arrival of European ships offering trading goods in exchange for captives, Africans had an added incentive to enslave each other, often by abducting unfortunate victims. • Some societies preyed on others to obtain captives in exchange for European firearms, in the belief that if they did not acquire firearms in this way to protect themselves, they would be attacked and captured by their rivals and enemies who did possess such weapons. At the height of the Atlantic Slave Trade only states equipped with guns were able to resist attacks from their neighbours. The acquisition of guns by rulers also provided an edge over rivals and increased their drive to capture and sell slaves. This led to the growth of states such as Dahomey whose raison d'être was the slave trade. The mass importation of guns for slaves altered the conduct of warfare in Africa and changed the balance of power between kingdoms. • As the Atlantic Slave Trade developed, more African societies accommodated themselves to the trade in slaves. **The destruction of societies** • Rich and powerful Africans were able to demand a variety of consumer goods, including textiles, glassware, pottery, ironmongery and — in some places — even gold for captives, who may have been acquired through warfare or by other means, initially without massive disruption to African societies. • By the end of the 17th century, European demand for African captives — particularly for the sugar plantations in the Americas — became so great that they could only be acquired through initiating raiding and warfare; large areas of Africa were devastated and societies disintegrated. As the temptation to go to war increased, existing systems of rule based on kinship and consent were destroyed. • It is estimated that around 12 million people were transported from Africa over the 18th century. In addition, many captured Africans died during the journey from the interior to the coast which could take weeks and sometimes months. This was a huge drain on the most productive and economically active sections of the population and this led to economic dislocation and falls in production of food and other goods. • Europeans also brought diseases which contributed to the decline in population of African societies.

	The development of foreign colonies • West Africa was impoverished by its relationship with Europe while the human and other resources that were taken from Africa contributed to the economic development and wealth of Europe and the European colonies in the New World. • The transatlantic trade also created the conditions for the subsequent colonial conquest of Africa by the European powers. **The roles played by leaders of African societies in continuing the trade** • African slave-sellers grew wealthy by selling African captives to European traders on the coast. They were able to deal on equal terms with European traders who built "factories" on the West African coast to house captives before selling them onto the slave-ship captains, who in turn transported the captives to the colonies of the New World. • On the African side, the slave trade was generally the business of rulers or wealthy and powerful merchants, concerned with their own selfish or narrow interests, rather than those of the continent. At that time, there was no concept of being African — identity and loyalty were based on kinship or membership of a specific kingdom or society, rather than to the African continent. • States based on slavery, particularly Dahomey, grew in power and influence. The Asante (Ashanti) people who traded in gold and in slaves dominated the area known as the Gold Coast (Ghana). **Any other relevant factors.**

24.	**Context** In March 1807 Parliament finally ended Britain's involvement in the Slave Trade. The campaign in Britain to end the trading in enslaved Africans began in 1787 with the founding of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and was led in Parliament by the politician and spokesperson for the Society, William Wilberforce. **The role of Wilberforce** • Wilberforce put forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament for eighteen years. • Wilberforce's speeches in Parliament against the slave trade were graphic and appealing and were influential in persuading many others to support the abolitionist cause. • Wilberforce's personal qualities earned him the trust and respect of his fellow MPs. • Wilberforce's Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform and link the issues of factory reform in Britain and the need to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the British Empire. • Wilberforce was prepared to work with other abolitionists to achieve his aims, including the Quakers, Thomas Clarkson and Olaudah Equiano. • Despite campaigning inside Parliament over the course of two decades, his attempts to introduce bills against the slave trade were unsuccessful due to powerful opposition to abolition in Parliament. • It has also been argued that other abolitionists such as Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp deserve as much credit for their equally tireless efforts over many years. **Other factors** **The decline in the economic importance of slavery** • Effects of wars with France – slave trade declined by two-thirds as it was seen as harming the national interest in time of war. • The slave trade had become less important in economic terms – there was no longer a need for large numbers of slaves to be imported to the British colonies. Profits made by plantation owners varied. On the other hand the use of slave labour continued after 1807 until it became illegal. • There was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it. • Sugar could be sourced at a lower cost and without the use of slavery from Britain's other colonies eg India. • Industrial Revolution: technological advances and improvements in agriculture were benefiting the British economy.

	Effects of slave resistance • Successful slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue led to an exaggerated, general fear of slave revolts. It was argued that Britain began to plan for an exit from the slave trade as a result of this revolt which shook the whole system to its foundations. Already on Jamaica a substantial number of runaways lived outside the control of the authorities. • There was an argument that if conditions were not ameliorated by, for example, the abolition of the slave trade, further revolts would follow. **Military factors** • Napoleon's efforts to restore slavery in the French islands meant that the abolitionist campaign would help to undermine Napoleon's plans for the Caribbean. Abolitionists were no longer regarded as being pro French and the abolitionist campaign revived as a result. • The act banning any slave trade between British merchants and foreign colonies in 1806 was intended to attack French interests as a way to win the Napoleonic war. This act cleared the path for an end to Britain's participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade. **The religious revival** • Many of the first Christian opponents of the slave trade came from non-conformist congregations such as Quakers, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists. • Many of the early leaders were Quakers (the Society of Friends), who opposed slavery on the grounds that Christianity taught that everyone was equal. When the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed in 1787, 9 of its 12 original members were Quakers. • The main thrust of Christian abolitionism emerged from the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century based on its beliefs on morality and sin. • The Methodist founder John Wesley questioned the morality of slavery which influenced many Christian abolitionists including the former slave trader turned clergyman, John Newton. • Evangelical Christians included Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp, who fought for the freedom of a young African, Jonathan Strong. • Clergymen such as James Ramsay who had worked in the Caribbean were influential in exposing the facts of plantation slavery and in pointing out that many Africans died without hearing the Gospel. • However, some Quakers continued to have links with the slave trade eg David and Alexander Barclay set up Barclays Bank, Francis Baring set up Barings Bank. • The Church of England had links to the slave trade through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) missionary organisations which owned slave plantations in Barbados. • Scottish churches were amongst the key drivers in the abolitionist movement, although the Church of Scotland did not petition Parliament to end the slave trade.

	Campaign of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade • Thomas Clarkson visited ports such as Bristol and Liverpool to collect evidence from sailors who worked on the slave trade. He obtained witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches. Clarkson also collected objects associated with slavery-handcuffs, whips and branding irons to use as evidence on his tours around the country. • Books and pamphlets were published eg eyewitness accounts from former slaves such as Olaudah Equiano, 'The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano'. • Campaigns to boycott goods produced by slaves in the West Indies such as sugar and rum. Around 300 000 British people took part in sugar boycotts. • Petitions and subscription lists, public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of slave trade eg John Newton whose sermons became famous. Churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda, artefacts and illustrations eg Wedgwood pottery. • Lobbying of Parliament by abolitionists to extract promises from MPs that they would oppose the slave trade. Effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions. **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	**Context** In 1851 political power was in the hands of a small number of land owning men. By 1928 this had totally changed and Britain could be described as a democratic country. This happened for a variety of reasons. **The effects of industrialisation and urbanisation** • Urbanisation and growing class identity within an industrial workforce and the spread of socialist ideas led to demands for greater voice for the working classes. Also the growth of the Labour party offered a greater choice. • Demographic change, including rapid urbanisation, sparked demands for redistribution of seats. • The growing economic power of middle class wealth-creators led to pressure for a greater political voice. • Basic education, the development of new cheap, popular newspapers and the spread of railways helped to create an awareness of national issues. • After 1860 the fear of the 'revolutionary mob' had declined. Skilled working men in cities were more educated and respectable. That was an argument for extending the vote in 1867. **Other factors** **Changing political attitudes** • Political reform was no longer seen as a threat. In the USA and in Europe struggles were taking place for liberty and a greater political say for 'the people'. Britain tended to support these moves abroad, making it logical for this to happen in Britain too. • The growing influence of the Liberal Party in challenging older vested interests. The Liberal Party opposed the power of the old land owning aristocracy eg the secret ballot to assist working class electorate to use their 'political voice' to promote social reforms. • Politicians combined acceptance of changes which they suspected were unavoidable while ensuring that their own party political interests would be protected. • The death of former PM Palmerston represented the changing tone of politics as the reactionary ideas of early 19th century gave way to new ideologies. • The veto of the unelected House of Lords was removed in the 1911 Parliament Act partly as result of the 1910 elections fought on the issue of 'peers v people' and the financing of social reform to help the poor, especially in urban areas.

	Party advantage • In 1867 the Conservative Party became the government after 20 years out of power. To an extent the Reform Act could be seen as 'stealing the Liberals' clothes' to gain support. • The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 limited the amount of spending on elections; the Liberals believed the advantage held by wealthier Conservative opponents would be reduced. • By placing the reforms of 1883 and 1884 close to the next election, the Liberals hoped to gain advantage from grateful new voters in towns more fairly represented after the redistribution of seats. **Popular attempts to gain the franchise** • The Hyde Park demonstration 23rd July 1866 organised by the Reform League. • The 1867 Reform Act was passed amongst considerable popular agitations. **Pressure groups** • The Suffragists and Suffragettes were influential in gaining the franchise for women. • The Reform League and Reform Union were active in pushing for franchise change. **The effects of the First World War** • The war necessitated more political change. Many men still had no vote but were conscripted to fight from 1916. As further reform for males was being considered, fears of a revival of the militant women's campaign, combined with a realisation of the importance of women's war work led to the Reform Act of 1918 which gave votes to more men and some women. **The effects of examples of developments abroad** • In a number of foreign countries there was a wider franchise than in Britain; in others women could also vote. Neither development had threatened the established social order. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**Context** Government intervention to help the poor before 1906 was very limited. Attitudes towards the poor were characterised by beliefs in laissez-faire and self-help. However, these attitudes were changing due to a number of factors. **Fears over national security** • The government became alarmed when almost 25% of the volunteers to fight in the Boer War were rejected because they were physically unfit to serve in the armed forces. There was concern whether Britain could survive a war or protect its empire against a far stronger enemy in the future if the nation's 'fighting stock' of young men was so unhealthy. • Link between national security concerns and national efficiency concerns; financial or economic security. **Other factors** **The rise of Labour** • In 1893 Keir Hardie set up the Independent Labour Party, he was one of two MPs elected in 1902. • By 1906 Labour had 29 MPs rising to 42 by 1910. • By 1906 the newly formed Labour Party was competing for the same votes as the Liberal Party. It can be argued that the reforms happened for the very selfish reason of retaining working class votes. • Lloyd George talked about stopping 'this electoral rot' as the party lost seats to Labour in the 1910 elections. **Concerns over poverty - the social surveys of Booth and Rowntree** • The reports of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree demonstrated that poverty had causes such as low pay, unemployment, sickness and old age. These were largely out with the control of the individual. • The extent of poverty revealed in the surveys was also a shock. Booth's initial survey was confined to the East End of London, but his later volumes covering the rest of London revealed that almost one third of the capital's population lived in poverty. York was a relatively prosperous small town but even their poverty was deep-seated. • Previous evidence of poverty had been relatively piecemeal, but Booth and Rowntree produced extensive surveys backed up by impressive data. It was difficult to argue against such evidence. **Municipal socialism** • By the end of the century some Liberal-controlled local authorities had become involved in programmes of social welfare. The shocked reaction to the reports on poverty was a pressure for further reform. • In Birmingham particularly, but in other large industrial cities, local authorities had taken the lead in providing social welfare schemes. These served as an example for further reforms.

	Foreign examples • In Germany a system of welfare benefits and old age pensions had been set up in the 1880s. This raised the issue whether Britain was no longer a major European nation. • Lloyd George was particularly impressed by the advances made in Germany as a result of Bismarck's social legislation and a direct link to its national strength. **National efficiency** • By the end of the 19th century Britain was facing serious competition from new industrial nations such as Germany. • It was believed that if the health and educational standards of Britain's workers got worse then Britain's position as a strong industrial power would be threatened. **The rise of the New Liberalism** • New Liberals argued that state intervention was necessary to liberate people from social problems over which they had no control. • New Liberal ideas were not important issues in the general election of 1905. Only when 'old liberal' Prime Minister Campbell Bannerman died in 1908 was the door opened for new 'interventionist' ideas championed by the likes of David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. **Party advantage** • Since 1884 many more working class men had the vote and the Liberals had tended to attract many of those votes. Social reform was a means of appeasing this constituency. **Any other relevant factors.**

27.	**Context** In his report in 1942, William Beveridge identified 5 giants of poverty: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. In the aftermath of the Second World War there was a desire to build a better Britain for all. Reforms based on Beveridge's report were passed by the new Labour government. **Want** • 1946 the first step was made: The National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities. • It was said to support people from the "cradle to the grave" which was significant as it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives. • This was very effective as it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, this act can be criticised for its failure to go far enough. • Benefits were only granted to those who made 156 weekly contributions. • In 1948 the National Assistance Board was set up in order to cover those for whom insurance did not do enough. • This was important as it acted as a safety net to protect these people. • This was vital as the problem of people not being aided by the insurance benefits was becoming a severe issue as time passed. Yet, some criticised this as many citizens still remained below subsistence level showing the problem of want had not completely been addressed. **Disease** • The establishment of the NHS in 1948 dealt effectively with the spread of disease. • The NHS was the first comprehensive universal system of health in Britain. • Offered vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain's most deadly illnesses. • It also offered helpful services to Britain's public, such as childcare, the introduction of prescriptions, health visiting and provision for the elderly, providing a safety net across the whole country: the fact that the public did not have to pay for their health meant that everyone, regardless of their financial situation, was entitled to equal opportunities of health care they had previously not experienced. • NHS could be regarded as almost too successful. The demand from the public was overwhelming, as the estimated amount of patients treated by them almost doubled. Introduction of charges for prescriptions, etc.

	Education • Reform started by the wartime government: The 1944 Education Act raised the age at which people could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc. • Labour introduced a two-tiered secondary schooling whereby pupils were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. The pupils who passed the "11+ exam" went to grammar and the rest to secondary moderns. • Those who went to grammar schools were expected to stay on past the age of 15 and this created a group of people who would take senior jobs in the country thus solving the skills shortages. Whilst this separation of ability in theory meant that children of even poor background could get equal opportunities in life, in practice the system actually created a bigger division between the poor and the rich. In many cases, the already existing inequalities between the classes was exacerbated rather than narrowed. • Labour expanded university education: introduction of grants so all could attend in theory. **Housing** • After the war there was a great shortage of housing as the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes; and the slum cleaning programmes of the 1930s had done little to rectify the situation which was leading to a number of other problems for the government. • Tackling the housing shortage and amending the disastrous results of the war fell upon Bevan's Ministry of Health. • Labour's target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. 157,000 pre-fabricated homes were built to a good standard, however this number would not suffice and the target was never met. • Bevan encouraged the building of council houses rather than privately funded construction. • The New Towns Act of 1946, aimed to target overcrowding in the increasingly built up older cities. By 1950, the government had designed 12 new communities. • In an attempt to eradicate slums the Town and Country Planning Act provided local communities more power in regards to building developments and new housing. • By the time Labour left government office in 1951 there was still a huge shortfall in British housing. **Idleness** • Unemployment was basically non-existent so the government had little to do to tackle idleness. • The few changes they did make were effective in increasing the likelihood of being able to find work, because they increased direct government funding for the universities which led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945-46 and 1950-51, which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This provided more skilled workers and allowed people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue a higher education, aiming to keep unemployment rates down. • Labour government also nationalised 20 percent of industry – the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This therefore meant that the government were directly involved with people employed in these huge industries which were increasing in size dramatically. • This tackled idleness by the government having control which meant that employees were less likely to lose their job through industries going bankrupt and people were working directly to benefit society. **Any other relevant factors.**

28.	**Context** Local self-government for Ireland in the late nineteenth century had created a number of politically experienced leaders. This, coupled with land reform, gave political nationalism an economic base from which to demand self-government. There was also an increasingly radical edge to this, albeit at the margins, through James Connolly and the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Tension was exacerbated by the reaction from the Protestant dominated north of Ireland. **The British position over Ireland – the results of the 1910 elections** • After 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise; they passed the third reform bill. In 1908 Campbell-Bannerman had been replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who in 1909 had declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule. • With the support of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, a Bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a Bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a Bill for two years. As a result, the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed. **Other factors** **The Irish cultural revival and the re-emergence of Irish Republicanism** • In 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up 'for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes.' Games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular. In 1883 the Gaelic League was also set up whose aim it was to revive, and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature. • Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1904 to boycott all things British and to press for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would cause the British Government to collapse. The IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. Both these groups wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both willing to use force. **Redmond and Home Rule** • Redmond claimed that the Home Rule Bill would lead to greater unity and strength in the Union, ending suspicion and disaffection in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland. It would show Britain was willing to treat Ireland equally, as part of the empire. Redmond's Party was consistently strong throughout Southern Ireland, where there was strong support for Home Rule. **Differing economic and religious features of the Northern Counties** • Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government led by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Northern Ireland based on Catholic faith; this they were opposed to. • Ulster people were worried they would lose the economic benefits they enjoyed from being part of the British Empire, such as the linen industry and the shipbuilding industry.

	The Home Rule Bill – the responses of Unionists, and of Nationalists • The roles of Carson and Craig: Sir Edward Carson's theatrical political performances caught the public imagination and brought the case of the Unionists to the nation. At the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Belfast at Town Hall, to the world's press, 250,000 Ulstermen pledged themselves to use 'all means necessary' to defeat Home Rule. • Setting up of the UVF. • Curragh Mutiny: British officers stationed in Ireland declared they would not use force against the Unionists. • The Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up as a reaction. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Fein and the IRB all joined hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80,000 members. • In 1913, a third private army was set up, the Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly, a socialist. It had two clear aims - to gain independence for Ireland and set up a socialist republic, for working class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives. **Any other relevant points.**

29.	**Context** The Civil War was a direct consequence of the Anglo-Irish Treaty which was itself the result of the Irish War of Independence. The terms of the treaty were opposed by many Irish Republicans, who objected to an oath of loyalty to the British Crown, to give one example. Disagreements within the Irish Republican movement eventually led to Civil War between pro and anti-Treaty factions. **Divisions in the Republican movement** • The treaty was hotly debated in the Dail. Collins and much of the IRA supported the treaty, as Ireland now had an elected government. De Valera opposed it and felt it should be resisted even if it meant Civil War. They represented the two wings of the Republican movement. • Also influential were the widows and other relatives of those who had died; they were vocal in their opposition to the Treaty. • The Treaty was particularly disappointing to left-wing republicans who had hopes of establishing a socialist republic. • The treaty was accepted by 64 votes to 57 by the Dail Eireann on the 7th January, 1922. • Collins and De Valera tried to reach a compromise to avoid war but none was reached. Some of the IRA units supported the treaty, whilst others opposed it. Some of the anti-treaty IRA took over some important buildings in Dublin eg Four Courts. • This division, crystallised by the murder of Sir Henry Wilson (security adviser for the Northern Ireland Government), forced Michael Collins to call on the official IRA to suppress the 'Irregular IRA'. **Other factors** **The Anglo-Irish Treaty** • Ireland was to be the 'Irish Free State', governing itself, making its own laws but remaining in the Empire. A Governor General was to represent the king: Britain was to remove its forces but keep the use of its naval bases. Trade relations were settled. Lloyd George threatened the Irish delegation with war if they did not sign. **Partition** • Government of Ireland Act, split Ireland in two, with six counties in the North and 26 in the South. In Northern Ireland, Unionists won 40 of the 52 seats available. A third of the Ulster population was Catholic and wanted to be united to the South. • The 26 counties in the South had a separate parliament in Dublin. The Council of Ireland was set up. The IRA refused to recognise the new Parliament and kept up its violence. Sectarian violence increased in Ulster; without partition this could have been much worse. Ulster Special Constabulary, Special Powers Act, Local Government Emergency Powers Act. • In the South, the Government of Ireland Act was ignored. Sinn Fein won 124 seats unopposed. Partition was a highly emotive issue, and it alone would have caused discord.

	Dominion status • Under this agreement Ireland became a Dominion of the British Empire, rather than being completely independent of Britain. Under Dominion status the new Irish State had three important things to adhere to: • The elected representatives of the people were to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. • The Crown was to be represented by a Governor General; appeals in certain legal cases could be taken to the Privy Council in London. • This aspect of the treaty was repugnant to many Irish people, not just Republicans. **The role of Collins** • Collins negotiated the treaty with Churchill, but was pressured to sign it under a threat of escalation of the conflict. He recognised that the war was unwinnable, both for the IRA and the UK government. Collins claimed Ireland had its own, elected government, so Britain was no longer the enemy. Collins defended the treaty as he claimed it gave Ireland 'freedom to achieve freedom'. **The role of De Valera** • De Valera refused to accept the terms of the treaty as they were in 'violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of the nation'. De Valera claimed that treaty meant partition of Ireland and abandonment of sovereignty. De Valera felt he should have been consulted before the treaty was signed. • De Valera voted against the treaty and resigned as President, to be replaced by Griffith and Collins became Head of the Irish Free Government. **Any other relevant factors.**

30.	**Context** The civil rights movement of the mid to late 1960s saw a backlash against it from elements of the unionist community, including the largely Protestant RUC. The Provisional IRA emerged as 'protector' of the Northern Ireland nationalist community. The two sides: Nationalist and Unionist, were increasingly polarised through the period with communities dividing, socially and politically, along sectarian lines. The deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and imposition of Direct Rule saw the conflict widen. **Economic differences** • From 1973, the Common Agricultural Policy changed the decision making environment for food prices and farm economics, and employment in the farming sector continued to decline. Traditionally this sector had been dominated by the unionist community. • Discrimination against Catholic applicants for employment declined steadily during this period as Catholics in the province began to enjoy the same civil rights enjoyed by the population of the rest of the UK. **Other factors** **Religious and communal differences** • The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a Church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it very difficult for both communities to come together. • These divisions further enhanced by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the 'marching season', which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport, language. • Many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority. • The speeches and actions of unionist and nationalist leaders such as Reverend Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province, and emphasised the divisions between both communities. **Hardening attitudes – the role of terrorism** • Paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation. • In late 1969, the more militant 'Provisional' IRA (PIRA) broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. PIRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and would use violence to achieve its aims. • Unionist paramilitaries also organised. The UVF was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971. • Examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year.

- PIRA prisoners protest at loss of special status prisoners leading to hunger strikes. Second hunger strike in 1981, led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes called off in October 1981.
- Sinn Fein won the by-election following Sands' death in June 1983. These electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Fein could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.
- Indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion turned against PIRA.
- In 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been.

British government policies – Internment

- New Prime Minister Brian Faulkner reintroduced internment ie detention of suspects without trial, in 1971 in response to unrest. The policy was a disaster, both in its failure to capture any significant members of the PIRA and in its sectarian focus on nationalist rather than loyalist suspects. The reaction was predictable, even if the ferocity of the violence wasn't. Deaths in the final months of 1971 reached over 150.

Direct Rule

- A number of reforms had followed on from the Downing Street Declaration, i.e on allocation of council housing, investigate the recent cycle of violence and review policing, such as the disbanding of the hated 'B Specials' auxiliaries.
- The British government, now led by Prime Minister Edward Heath, decided to remove control of security from the government of Northern Ireland and appointed a secretary of state for the province which lead to the resignation of Stormont government. Direct rule imposed.
- Despite attempts to introduce some sort of self-rule, such as the Sunningdale agreement of 1973, which failed in the face of implacable unionist opposition and led to the reintroduction of direct rule. It would last for another 25 years.

The role of the British Army

- The so-called 'Battle of Bogside' in 1969 only ended with the arrival of a small force of British troops at the request of Chichester Clark. An acknowledgement that the govt. of Northern Ireland had lost its grip on the province's security.
- By 1971 policing the province was fast becoming an impossible task, and the British Army adopted increasingly aggressive policies on the ground.
- On 30 January 1972, the army deployed the Parachute Regiment to suppress rioting at a civil rights march in Derry. Thirteen demonstrators were shot and killed by troops, with another victim dying later of wounds. Appalling images of 'Bloody Sunday; led to increased recruitment by Provisional IRA.
- The British Army's various attempts to control the PIRA, such as house-to-house searches and the imposition of a limited curfew, only served to drive more recruits into the ranks of the paramilitaries.

The role of the Irish government.

- Irish government's role in The Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed in November 1985, confirmed that Northern Ireland would remain independent of the Republic as long as that was the will of the majority in the north. Also gave the Republic a say in the running of the province for the first time.
- The agreement also stated that power could not be devolved back to Northern Ireland unless it enshrined the principle of power sharing.

Any other relevant factors.

Section 3 – European and the World

PART A – The Crusades, 1071 - 1204

31.	**Context** In 1095 Pope Urban III called on thousands of knights to unite against the infidel. Pope Urban III's famous speech at Clermont also made detailed reference to the violence committed by Christians against fellow Christians. As a man of God, Urban III viewed a crusade as an opportunity to heal the evils of civil war in Europe and to deflect the violence onto the Muslims in the east. **Papal desire to channel the aggressive nature of feudal society** • Urban's appeal specifically targeted the nobility of France and northern Europe in an attempt to divert the violence of the warring European kingdoms. The nobility were regularly drawn into wars with their neighbours to take extra land or to settle disputes between rivals. Urban wanted to divert this violence in order to create peace within Europe. • Pope Urban II preached a holy war and called on thousands of knights to fight in the Muslim Middle East. Due to the custom in Europe of a father's lands being shared among his sons on his death, land was divided into smaller portions. This increased both the number of knights and the likelihood of violent land disputes. By the eleventh century, knights often terrorised their own neighbourhoods in their attempts to increase their power. Even when enforcing the law, knights often imposed vicious physical punishments. While such brutality helped to make knights highly effective warriors, it was considered a sin for knights to use their skills in anger. Pope Urban had long considered how he could turn the nature of the Western knights to a less aggressive, less damaging activity. • The Church was determined to reverse what it perceived as the breakdown of society in many parts of Western Europe. The culture of violence disturbed the entire local society: peasants became foot soldiers and farming and trade were disrupted. As a man of God, Urban II saw a crusade as an opportunity to avoid the evils of civil war in Europe. • The Church had already successfully introduced the Peace of God movement which attempted to stop the violence. Attempts included forbidding fighting on certain days of the week and sparing churches and non-combatants in any conflict. Urban saw the Crusade as a way to channel this aggression out of Europe and into the Middle East which would be of benefit to Christianity. **Other factors:** **The threat to Byzantium** • The Seljuk Turks had been threatening the Empire for decades. The Byzantines had been defeated in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. Between 1077 and 1092 the Byzantines had been driven out of the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Turks were now encroaching further west towards the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. There was fear in Europe that if Byzantium was allowed to fall then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into central Europe would be inevitable.

- The Byzantine Emperor, Alexius was seen as a bulwark against this eventuality and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously.
- The threat to Byzantium was perhaps exaggerated by the Emperor Alexius who had negotiated a treaty with Kilij Arslan in 1092 and was hiring more and more mercenaries from Europe to protect the Empire.

Fear of Islamic expansion

- Founded by the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic religion had exploded onto the world in the late seventh century, advancing across the Christians principalities of North Africa, through Spain and into southern France, where it had been halted in the eighth century and pushed back into Spain.
- Pope Urban used the fear of Islamic expansion in his famous speech at Clermont in 1095. He pointed to the successful Reconquista in Spain. El Cid had only captured Valencia from the Moors in 1094.
- He pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God'.
- He detailed claims of Turkish activities such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration.

The threat to Mediterranean trade

- The development of trade within the Mediterranean Sea had been in the hands of ambitious cities in Italy, notably Venice, but also Pisa and Genoa. By 1095 Venice had bound its future to Byzantium.
- Their preferential trade agreements with Constantinople for silk, spices and other luxury goods meant that they were keen to see Byzantium saved from the expansion of the Turks.

Attempts to assert Papal authority

- The new style of pope, influenced and trained at the monastery of Cluny, heralded a shift in the emphasis of Christianity. The papal reforms influenced by the Cluniac establishment demanded actual, as well as spiritual, power. No longer were popes to be subservient to the monarchs or warlords of Europe. A Cluniac reformer himself, Pope Urban II was keen to build on the reforms of previous popes.
- The papacy was anxious to re-join the two halves of the Christian church. Since the Great Schism of 1054, where the Pope of Rome and Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated each other, it had been the goal of every pope to become head of the Greek Orthodox Church and to extend Roman influence into the eastern Mediterranean. Now the Crusade seemed to offer Pope Urban the opportunity to achieve this.

The ongoing struggle between church and state - the Investiture Contest

- Popes now actually challenged kings and demanded the right to appoint priests, bishops and cardinals as they saw fit. This led to the development of the Investiture Contest, a prolonged war between Pope Gregory VII and the German Emperor, Henry IV. A low point was reached in 1080 when Henry appointed a separate Pope and attacked Rome with his armies. This power struggle had damaged the reputation of the papacy and directly affected Urban, possibly influencing his decision.
- A crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors.
- It is believed the Investiture Contest may have delayed the calling of a crusade.
- There may have been a crusade to drive back the Seljuk as early as the mid-1070s but Gregory's struggle against the German Emperor meant he was too weak to see it through.

	The emergence of a knightly class - the idea of chivalry • The introduction of Norman feudalism across Western Europe had created a knightly class. Their dedication to learning the arts of war had created a culture based around the skills of fighting. Even the tournaments had come to be seen as an integral part of the culture and as entertainment. Urban knew that his appeal would arouse the enthusiasm of the warrior knights of France and Germany. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context** In July 1187, the Muslim leader, Saladin wiped out the crusader army at the Battle of Hattin, in Syria. Weeks later the Holy City of Jerusalem surrendered to the Islamic forces. Contributing to the fall of Jerusalem was a continual shortage of men and a lack of support from the West. **The lack of resources of the Christian states** • There was a lack of support from the Byzantine Empire. The crusader states had been strengthened by a closer relationship with the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Manuel I. In 1180, the Byzantine Emperor died and the new Emperor Andronicus I showed little interest in supporting the Latin rulers of the Near East. After 1184 Saladin made a treaty with Byzantium, leaving the Holy City without Byzantine support. • European monarchs showed similar disinterest in the crusader states. In 1184 three of the most important men in the crusader states – the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars – were sent to Europe seeking support, but neither Philip II of France nor Henry II of England felt able to lead a new crusade to the Holy Land. • The Crusaders had sought to redress their military inferiority by constructing powerful fortifications. Without the army to protect the kingdom even the massive fortifications could not withstand Saladin's forces. • Even the combined armies of the Crusader States were not strong enough to successfully win a war, especially in the long run. It is arguable that it was inevitable for the Crusader States to fall to a united Islamic state. **Other reasons** **The death of Baldwin IV** • Baldwin died in March 1185, taking his strategy of non-aggression towards Saladin with him. He was replaced for a short time by his nephew, Baldwin V. However, a short power struggle after the boy's death in August let Guy de Lusignan assume the throne, abetted by Sibylla. The marriage of Guy and Sibylla triggered factionalism and dissent among the nobles. **Divisions amongst the Crusaders** • Two factions had struggled for power within Baldwin IV's court, those of Guy de Lusignan and Baldwin's close advisor Raymond III of Tripoli. In 1180 Guy married Sibylla, Baldwin's sister. Guy tended to favour an aggressive policy. • The activities of Reynald of Chatillon helped to destabilise the fragile peace treaty between Baldwin IV and Saladin. • The Knights Templar, unlike the Hospitallers, were firmly in the camp of the hawks (warmongers). They wanted nothing more than to carry on with the crusading ideal and rid the Holy Lands of Muslims. Treaties and compromise were unacceptable to them.

	The unification of Islamic states under Saladin • In 1171 Saladin secured his control over Egypt. • Saladin then began to establish his control over Syria through patient diplomacy. Following Nur-ad-Din's death, Saladin wrote to Nur-ad-Din's son, al-Salih, expressing his loyalty. Saladin gained further legitimacy by marrying Nur-ad-Din's widow. In the first years of Saladin's rule, he established his authority over other Muslims in the name of al-Salih. • Saladin began to unite the Muslim Near East by occupying Damascus. • By 1174 several of Syria's warlords had switched their support to Saladin. • In 1183 Saladin finally brought Aleppo under his control. • Saladin had managed to successfully unite the Muslims of Syria and Egypt behind his leadership. This effectively surrounded Jerusalem and left them with a very weak military position. • After years of fighting Muslims as a precondition of waging jihad and after a severe illness in 1185-86, Saladin became more determined to recapture Jerusalem and successfully used the idea of a religious war against the Christians to hold the separate Islamic groups together. • By way of balance, Saladin himself had his critics within the Muslim ranks, saying he was more interested in maintaining his position than defeating the Christians. It was seen by many that his stance on the Kingdom of Jerusalem was weak. After Guy assumed the throne and Reynald continued his attacks the pressure on Saladin to respond grew. This encouraged him to act aggressively. **The Christian defeat at Hattin** • King Guy led the armies of Jerusalem to save Count Tiberius's wife as Saladin's forces had surrounded her castle. Tiberius himself had a few worries about the safety of his wife. His fortress could have withstood a siege. Saladin's forces lacked the required siege engines to make a successful attack. Additionally, Saladin could not keep his disparate forces in the field for any length of time. Tiberius' advice to Guy was to hold his forces back to protect Jerusalem. • However, figures such as Reynald had persuaded Guy that to leave the Countess of Tripoli besieged would be un-chivalric and that Guy would lose support if he did not ride out. • The army could find little water to sustain them in the desert. Their only option was to make for Hattin and the oasis there. This was an obvious trap; Saladin surrounded them with burning brushwood and dry grass. Trapped on the Horns of Hattin the Christian army suffered badly from the sun and lack of water. • Eventually they were forced to attack before they lacked the strength to do so. The Christian horses were too weak for a prolonged struggle and their infantry were surrounded by Saladin's horse archers and cut off. • Saladin ordered the slaughter of all members of the militant orders, but Guy and many of his followers were allowed to surrender and enter captivity. **Any other relevant factors.**

33.	**Context** At Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II preached a holy war to recover Jerusalem from Muslim rule. However material motivations and the use of the Crusaders against Venice's political enemies in the Fourth Crusade showed just how far the ideals of the crusade and the religious zeal of the crusaders had declined by 1204. **Co-existence of Muslim and Crusading states** • There were many attempts at peace between Muslim and the Crusading States during the reign of Baldwin IV, before his death and the fall of Jerusalem. • Other examples include the treaty of mutual protection signed between King Alric of Jerusalem and the Emir of Damascus prior to the Second Crusade. **Corruption of the crusading movement by the Church and nobles** • There are many examples of nobles using the Crusade for their own ends. Examples include Bohemond and Baldwin in the First Crusade and arguably Richard in the Third Crusade. The greed of many nobles on the Fourth Crusade was a far cry from the religious ideals of the early crusaders. • At the end of the Fourth Crusade, the Pope accepted half of the spoils from the Crusaders despite his earlier excommunication of them. **The effects of trade** • Trade links directly into the Fourth Crusade and the influence of Venice. • The Italian city-states (Genoa, Pisa and Venice) continued to trade with various Muslim powers throughout the crusading period. • Pisa and Genoa both had a lot of influence in events during the Third Crusade; they both had favoured candidates for the vacant throne of Jerusalem for example and used trade rights as a bargaining chip to get what they wanted. **The Fourth Crusade** • The initial inspiration of the Fourth Crusade had a strong crusading ideology behind it. Pope Innocent III was a highly effective pope. He had managed to settle the problem of the Investiture Contest with Germany, and hoped to sort out the issue of the Holy Lands as well. Innocent believed that the inclusion of medieval monarchs had caused the previous two Crusades to fail, unlike the First Crusade that was nominally under the command of Bishop Adhemar. This Crusade would fall under the command of six papal legates. These men would hold true to the ideal of the Crusade and not be bound by earthy greed of politics. • However, the Fourth Crusade has also been described as the low point of the crusading ideal. Hijacked by the Venetians, the Crusade instead became a tool for their growing political and economic ambitions. • While attacking Zara, Alexius, son of the deposed emperor of Byzantium, arrived with a new proposal for the Crusaders. He asked them to reinstate his father, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and if they agreed they would be handsomely rewarded. He also promised to return control of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The Church was against such an attack on another Christian city, but the prospect of wealth and fame led the Crusade to Constantinople.

	• When the Crusaders discovered that Alexius and his father could not, or would not, meet the payment as agreed, the Crusaders stormed the city. The murder, looting and rape continued for three days, after which the Crusading army had a great thanksgiving ceremony. • The amount of booty taken from Constantinople was huge: gold, silver, works of art and holy relics were taken back to Europe, mostly to Venice. Most Crusaders returned home with their newly acquired wealth. Those that stayed dividing up the land amongst themselves, effectively creating several Latin Crusader States where Byzantium had once stood. **The role of Venice** • By 1123 the city of Venice had come to dominate maritime trade in the Middle East. They made several secret trade agreements with Egypt and North African emirs, as well as enjoying concessions and trade agreements within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium however, remained a constant rival for this dominance of trade and in 1183 Venice was cut off from the lucrative trading centres of the empire. • Venice's participation in the Crusade was only secured when the Pope agreed to pay huge sums of money to Venice for the use of its ships, and supplies as well as half of everything captured during the Crusade on land and sea. • Venice's leader, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, had sold the Crusaders three times as much supplies and equipment as required for the Crusade. The Crusading leader, Boniface of Montferrat, found that he was unable to raise enough money to pay, and the Crusaders were all but imprisoned on an island near Venice. Dandolo's proposal to pay off the Crusaders' debt involved attacking Zara, a Christian city that had once belonged to Venice but was now under the control of the King of Hungary, a Christian monarch. Thus the Crusade had become a tool of the Venetians. • The Fourth Crusade's intended target, Egypt, was totally unsuitable from a Venetian perspective. Thus when the Pope's representative approached the Venetians in 1201 they agreed to help transport the Crusaders, hoping to divert the Crusade to a more useful target for the Venetians. The final target for the Fourth Crusade was therefore determined by politics and economics. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART B – The American Revolution, 1763 - 1787

34.	**Context** By 1763, Britain had ruled the thirteen American colonies for over a century. The harmony with Britain which colonists had once held had become indifference during Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s. The ascendancy of George III in 1760 was to bring about further change in the relationship between Britain and America. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, the King strengthened Britain's control over the colonies. Factors contributing to colonial resentment included George III, the Navigation Acts, the old colonial system, political differences between the colonists and the British, and British neglect of the colonies. **Navigation Acts** • The Navigation Acts stated that colonists in any parts of the British Empire could only sell their goods to British merchants, they could only import goods from British traders, and they could only use British shipping in the transportation of goods in and out of the colonies. • This meant that colonist merchants were being denied access to European markets for their produce such as tobacco or whale products, reducing their potential income and creating opposition to this aspect of British rule. • Moreover, although colonists had ignored the acts during the Whig Ascendancy, the laws were re-enforced by Prime Minister Grenville after the Seven Years War ended in 1763. • This caused deep resentment, since the presence of the Royal Navy, patrolling the Eastern Seaboard for rogue Dutch, French or Spanish ships, restricted the trading ability of the colonists who felt their enterprising spirit was being penalised. • It could, however, be argued that the Navigation Acts gave the colonists a guaranteed market for their goods. Generally though, the Navigation Acts were disliked by those wishing to trade freely with European merchants. **Other Factors** **George III** • George III increased the number of British soldiers posted to the colonies after the Seven Year War ended in 1763. • One function of the King's Proclamation of 1763 was to protect the colonies from future threats posed by foreign powers. However, all colonies and even some larger towns and cities within the colonies had their own militia already, and felt that the British Army in fact posed a threat to the colonists' freedom to defend themselves. • In addition, George III ensured there was a highly visible Royal Navy attendance on the Atlantic coast, whose job it was to patrol for smugglers importing from Holland, France or Spain and ensure compliance with the Navigation Acts. • This measure, to support the Revenue Bill proposed in Parliament 1763 was seen as equivalent to foreign invasion by many colonists who had acted in an independent spirit during Whig Ascendancy. • On the other hand, it can be debated that George III was aiming to guarantee the protection of the colonies by maintaining British military presence and that together with Parliament he was planning a sensible economic strategy to raise money from the colonists to pay for their own security. • However, cynics in America argued that the King was merely working to ensure continued revenue for Britain, whose national debt had grown from £75 million to £145 million between 1756 and 1763.

The old colonial system

- The thirteen colonies in North America had been used by Britain for almost two centuries as a source of revenue and convenient market.
- Valuable raw materials such as timber or cotton or fur were plundered from the continent and then used to manufacture goods which were then sold in Europe and around the world. This meant that the profits from North American goods were being made by British trading companies, which was resented by those colonists whose labour produced the raw materials to make goods such as fur-trimmed hats or rifles.
- In addition, colonists in the more populated New England and Middle Colonies objected to being used as a dumping ground for British goods.
- Poverty led to minor rebellions by tenant farmers against their landlords throughout the 1740s, including the Land Riots in New Jersey and the Hudson River Valley Revolt in New York.
- Elsewhere, wealthy Southern plantation owners, who considered themselves the aristocracy of the continent, objected to members of British government attempting to control them through trading restrictions on sugar, cotton and molasses.
- Some historians would point out that being part of the British Empire meant British Army protection for the colonists against the threat of the French and Indians; the British had fought the Seven Years War which prevented the colonies being ruled by France. Despite this advantage, colonists greatly resented the efforts of Britain to restrict their movements and economic development.

The Proclamation of 1763

- Also, the Proclamation Line drawn up by Parliament in 1763 led to Frontiersmen feeling frustrated at British attempts to prevent them from settling beyond the Appalachian Mountains.

Political differences

- The colonies were more enlightened politically than Britain, as each had its own elected Assembly which had passed local laws and raised local taxes since the 1630s.
- Britain appointed a Governor for each colony, but the Governor was paid by the colony, which ensured a slight element of control for colonists over whoever was in the post.
- Lack of representation for the colonists in the British Parliament which sought to control their lives, however, frustrated many.
- In addition, radical proposals in the colonies were rejected by the British authorities, such as the abolition of slavery, favoured by the Massachusetts Assembly led by lawyer James Otis and brewer Samuel Adams but continually vetoed in the early 1760s by the British Governor Hutchinson.
- Nevertheless, some understood that the British Empire provided an order to the existence of the colonies, and Britain acted out the role of Mother Country in a protective manner. This did not stop many colonists from wishing to have a greater say in their own daily lives.

British neglect

- During the Whig Ascendancy from 1727 to 1760, colonist Assemblies had assumed the powers which should have been exercised by Governors, such as the settlement in new territories acquired during that time including the Ohio Valley and Louisiana. Although they objected to Parliament's attempt to reverse this after the Royal Proclamation of 1763, they were politically impotent and could not prevent it.
- In addition, individual colonists and land companies expanding west into the Michigan area unwittingly violated agreements between Britain and Native American Indians such as the 1761 Treaty of Detroit.

	• Therefore, quarrels arose as it appeared that the British government, and in particular Secretary of State William Pitt, was ignoring colonist aspirations to explore new regions in the continent. • One school of thought suggests that Britain's policies highlighted the status of the colonies as lands to be fought over with imperial powers like France and Spain who viewed America as potential possessions, and that British legislation maintained colonist security under the Union Jack. • However, colonists such as planter and lawyer Patrick Henry of Virginia believed by 1763 that, whilst the right of the King to the colonies was indisputable, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for them was highly contentious. **Any other relevant factors.**

35.	**Context** After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Britain and the 13 American colonies went to war for five years on land and another two at sea. British troops surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, and Britain recognised American independence in 1783. **Franco-American Alliance** • France entered the war and took the conflict to Europe. • Britain was forced to re-assign its military resources to defend itself and the Empire. • French contribution to the colonists' cause took many forms — men, ammunition, training, supplies, and uniforms, fighting Britain around the world. • However, France was not persuaded until February 1778 to make its alliance with America, by which time the Continental Army was already starting to make progress in the war in the colonies. **Netherlands declaring war on Britain** • The Dutch went to war with Britain in November 1780. • Britain's navy was stretched even further and it became increasingly difficult to focus on the war in the colonies. • European nations were now competing for parts of Britain's empire around the world. • Dutch forces in Ceylon attacked British interests in India. • However, the war between Britain and the colonists on land was not directly affected by Dutch involvement. **Spanish declaring war on Britain** • Spain declared war on Britain in June 1779. • Britain was forced to pull troops and naval forces back from the American continent. • The Spanish Armada now threatened British shores as well as challenging the Royal Navy around the world. • Spanish troops came from Mexico to the Mississippi area to challenge the British army. **The League of Armed Neutrality** • This grouping of Russia, Sweden and Denmark gave extra cause for concern to Britain, as they were willing to fire on any Royal Navy ships which interfered with their merchant fleets. • However, the League was not actively involved in the war, merely endeavouring to protect its own shipping. • Portugal, Austria, Prussia and Turkey all later joined. **Control of the sea** • The battle for control of the sea drew massively on the resources of all countries involved and significantly drained Britain's finances. • However, the war at sea continued after the surrender at Yorktown, and the British recognised the Treaty of Versailles despite regaining control of the sea, suggesting the war on land was more significant to the outcome for the colonists.

	German mercenaries • Britain used over 7,000 of these in the colonies. • Prussian soldiers represented the only continental European involvement in the war on Britain's side. **Canadian dimension** • Congress had made an appeal to Canada before 1776 for support through official Addresses which had met with rejection. • Some American colonists who did not support the revolution were known as Empire Loyalists and many of these left for Canada where some joined British army led by General Burgoyne. **Any other relevant factors.**

36.	**Context** The American War of Independence took place between 1776 and 1781, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and the threat of enslavement. The United States Constitution of 1787 was an attempt to avoid problems similar to those created by British rule. **Separation of power** • The colonists built in a separation of powers to the Constitution, providing checks and balances. • This was driven through by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison who had disapproved of the too-powerful Continental Congress. • The separation of powers is considered to be the most revolutionary aspect of the Constitution. • No branch of government should ever be subordinate to any other - the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary had to remain apart. • The President could not take a seat in Congress, Congressmen could not be part of the Supreme Court, and members of the Supreme Court could only be appointed by an agreed confirmation between President and Congress. • The President and his Cabinet, Congressmen and Supreme Court judges could all lose their jobs if they acted improperly. • Each strand of government acted independently of each other. **Executive** • Executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet. • The first President, George Washington, was elected in February 1789, and could make all key decisions and establish policy. • Members of the Executive, including the President, or Thomas Jefferson, who became the USA's first Secretary of State, could be removed from office by the electorate in four-yearly elections. **Legislature** • Legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and Representatives. • The Senate was set up with each state equally represented and the House of Representatives was set up with states represented proportionately to size and population. • The job of Congress was to pass laws and raise taxes. • In addition, Congress was given responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations.

Judiciary

- The newly formed Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine judges, would hold judicial power in the United States.
- The Supreme Court was formed in order to prevent legal matters becoming entwined with political ones.
- The Supreme Court could be called upon to debate the legality of new laws enacted by Congress. It also acted as the highest court of appeal in the United States.
- Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President upon advice from his Cabinet and political staff. New appointments had to be ratified by Congress after a rigorous vetting process.

Bill of Rights

- The Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1791 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, after several states refused to ratify the Constitution as it stood.
- These states' delegates at Philadelphia wanted greater protections for citizens against the federal government. Therefore, the Bill of Rights became an important document that set out the limitations of the power of Congress.
- The Bill of Rights established liberty for individual citizens in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states.
- Central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration.
- The Bill of Rights stated that neither Congress nor the government could pass laws which established religion as a part of state institutions, for example within the education system. School prayer was, therefore, prohibited.
- The Bill of Rights protected the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceable assembly. Also it set out the rights of citizens who were under investigation or being tried for criminal offences; for example, no-one could be compelled to give evidence which might incriminate them.
- Any powers which had not been written into the Constitution as being delegated to the federal government would be delegated to state governments.

Democratic ideals

- The Constitution stated that "all men are created equal" and that everyone was entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".
- From now on, people would be asked to ratify many of the stages within democratic processes at state and national level.
- However, women and black people were excluded from the franchise, and in reality only one-fifth of eligible voters turned out for national elections.
- The Philadelphia Convention introduced an elitist system of electors in Presidential elections voting for an electoral college. The electoral college consisted of educated men who would vote for the President, a system which still exists today.

The experience of rule by Britain

- As part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by King and British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law. As a result, there had been no checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial processes.
- The notion of "No Taxation without Representation" had been a source of much of the original resentment towards British colonial policy.
- During their experience of being ruled by Britain, colonists had learned to be suspicious of all forms of government, and they feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch.

	• They designed the Constitution to thwart any future attempts of American heads of state to act in a similar manner as George III. **Other features** • The Articles of Confederation had been written in 1776, signed in 1781, and acknowledged in 1787, to declare that states would retain individual sovereignty and provided for state representatives to Continental Congress. • In relation to religion, the Church was separated from the State in order to ensure equality was extended to include freedom of belief for everyone. • Regarding the question of slavery, in Northern states measures were taken for the practice, already declining, to be gradually abolished, although pro-slavery sentiment in the South intensified simultaneously. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART C – The French Revolution, to 1799

37.	**Context** Despite attempts by French monarchs to centralise the organisation of the state, France remained a patchwork of different administrative systems by 1789. The Ancien Régime was inefficient and unfair in its taxation policies and access to political power. At a time of economic change and increasing literacy and wealth amongst the middle classes the system proved inflexible to the demands for change. **Corruption** • Absolutist nature of the monarchy **-** Marie-Antoinette. Decadence of the court. • Financial problems - arguably the biggest threat to the Ancien Régime. Created in part by France's involvement in wars – most recently the American War of Independence – brought France to bankruptcy. • Failure to reform. **Other factors** **Taxation** • Unfair nature of the system - privileged orders of the First and Second estate. Unfair taxation system – cumbersome administration – tax collected by the Farmers General, who had a vested interest in collecting as much as they could. **The position of the clergy** • The clergy was split into the upper and lower clergy, the latter identifying more closely with the Third Estate. The church hierarchy was resented by the lower clergy; parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality but the upper clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation. • The Church owned a large amount of land and paid relatively little taxation. The upper clergy were concerned to protect their privileges. **The role of the nobility** • Like the clergy, the upper nobility were concerned to protect their privileged status, particularly access to posts at court and in the army, and their exemptions from taxation. Natural supporters of the monarchy, they saw some threat from the rise of the bourgeoisie. • There were also tensions between the traditional nobility (of the sword) and the newly ennobled nobility (of the robe) wherein the 'old' sought to hold onto their control of key positions of the State, the Army and the Church, much to the annoyance of the 'new'.

	The complaints of the Third Estate: **Grievances of the bourgeoisie** • Rise in the importance of the bourgeoisie – increased wealth – wish for increased participation. • Influence of 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 Régime Government. They were critical of many aspects of the Ancien Régime 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. **Grievances of the peasantry** • The bulk of French society - range of taxation and feudal rights imposed on them. • The peasantry was becoming increasingly discontented with the disproportionate burden of taxation which fell on them. • Pent-up resentment at their lot became clear in the Cahiers. **The urban workers** • The urban workers endured exploitation by bourgeois masters and suffered through restrictions on trade. • They were particularly affected by bad harvests and food shortages. **Any other relevant factors.**

38.	**Context**
	The Terror is associated with the Committee of Public Safety, which was set up by the National Convention to oversee the protection of the new Republic from internal and external attack. As these threats were dealt with it increasingly became the tool to attack counter-revolutionaries, or perceived enemies of the increasingly radical Revolution.
	
	The threat of counter-revolution
	• One of the Convention's major concerns at the start of 1793 was to eliminate counter-revolutionary activity which intensified, particularly in the provinces after Louis' execution. At this point the Convention was still controlled by the relatively moderate Girondins.
	• The Convention sanctioned a range of counter-revolutionary legislation such as:
	  – the creation of the Committee of Public Safety; The Committee of General Security
	  – Revolutionary tribunals to try opponents of the Republic and impose the death penalty if required and Surveillance Committees established in local areas to identify counter-revolutionary activity.
	• Thus, most agree that most of the essential institutions of the Terror were actually in place before the Jacobins and Robespierre came to power. The moderates in the Convention had set up the structure of the Terror by the spring of 1793.
	
	Other factors
	
	The outbreak of war
	• The war put pressure on the Convention to execute the war against the Republic's émigré and foreign opponents as ruthlessly and as effectively as possible. The nation's resources were mobilised to this end. The early military reverses raised alarms about sabotage and possible treason in the new armies.
	
	The threat of invasion
	• The initial defeats suffered raised the spectre of invasion.
	• External dangers France faced radicalised the revolution. It occasioned a witch hunt for enemies within. The war led to the concept of the 'nation in crisis'. This had to be enforced, violently if necessary.
	• It was pressure from mass demonstrations in Paris which intimidated the Convention into adopting terror as 'the order of the day' ie a method of government control. This was more to do with the exigencies of the foreign and civil wars which were threatening the Republic at this point than with Robespierre's philosophising over the nature of the Republic and the role of terror within it.
	
	Political rivalries
	• The Jacobins were one of a number of political groupings contending for power. The struggle became increasingly bitter with time. Similarly, a number of other prominent individuals had sought to control the course of the revolution. Some had already died violently. The Terror was a legitimised means of the Jacobins eliminating their political rivals –' a revolution always consumes its children'.

	The role of Robespierre
	• Robespierre believed that the 'general will' of the sovereign people both created and sanctioned policy-making within the nation. The will of the people could only prevail within a Republic. Any individual who sought to oppose this was, by implication, guilty of treason against the nation itself. In such circumstances death – the ultimate weapon of Terror – was entirely appropriate. Hence Robespierre's belief that 'terror is virtue' – that to create and maintain a 'virtuous' nation which enshrined the revolutionary principles of liberty and equality, it was necessary to violently expunge any counter-revolutionary activity.
	• Robespierre became a member of the Committee of Public Safety in July 1793 and came to control its operations. Until his own execution in July 1794, the Committee became the main instrument for the application of terror in defence of Robespierre's ideal of a 'Republic of Virtue'. During this period Robespierre sanctioned the use of terror against:
	  – the monarchy and émigré opponents of the Republic eg Marie Antoinette executed
	  – provincial counter-revolutionaries particularly in the Vendee
	  – Hebertists, whose anti-Christian stance Robespierre found both distasteful and dangerous
	  – Dantonists who challenged the authority of Robespierre and who were therefore (since Robespierre's government represented the 'general will') guilty of treason.
	• With the imposition of the infamous Law of 22nd Prairial (June 1794), Robespierre was given virtually unlimited powers to eliminate opponents of his Republic of Virtue and during the period of the Great Terror in June and July 1794, over 1500 were executed.
	• Had Robespierre lived beyond Thermidor there is no doubt the death toll would have risen even higher. However, while Robespierre must bear responsibility for the intensification of the Terror during 1793-1794, the use of terror as an instrument of state policy was by no means confined to Robespierre.
	
	Religious and regional differences
	• The uprising in the Vendee was supported by priests and former nobles. It also secured British support. It was brutally suppressed. Many women and children were drowned in the Loire at Nantes.
	• There were also demands in the south for greater autonomy.
	• Under the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, priests had to swear an oath of loyalty to the state. Many refused and became leaders of resistance.
	
	Any other relevant factors.

39.	**Context** The French Revolution is widely considered to be one of the most important historical events in human history. Its effects within France were profound and lasting. In particular, the impact on the French Aristocracy and Clergy was long lasting as was the enduring French liking for Republicanism. **Impact on the Third Estate** **The peasantry** • In contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution. The ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the Cahiers des Doleances presented to the Estates-General in 1789. • The revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of church lands in November 1789, had transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their obvious advantage. It should be noted, however, that not all peasants benefited equally from this. Only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase the Church lands which had been seized by the National Assembly. **The impact of the Revolution on the bourgeoisie** • The Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the bourgeoisie. • The ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change (eg facilitating the development of capitalism) whilst the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in the month did the same for political life. In both cases the main beneficiaries were the bourgeoisie. • Successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the 1790s favoured the bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications, whilst the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class. • France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where increasingly merit was what counted. It was the educated bourgeoisie who were best placed to benefit from this profound change in French society. **The urban workers** • At key points throughout the Revolution overt demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses - particularly in Paris - impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing the mob. However, any modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard. • The passing of the Chapelier Law in May 1791, by a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions and thereafter the Revolution brought few tangible economic or political gains for urban workers.

	The impact of the Revolution on the First Estate • The Catholic Church was a key pillar of the Ancien Régime. The Upper Clergy (usually drawn from the ranks of the traditional nobility) enjoyed considerable wealth and status based on a raft of privileges and tax exemptions. These privileges and exemptions were swept away by the Revolution and the position of the Catholic Church within France by 1799 was far less assured than it had been under the Ancien Régime. • The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) polarised attitudes towards the place of the Catholic Church within French society and promoted conflict between opposing factions through the rest of the period to 1799. In November 1789 Church lands were nationalised, stripping the Church of much of its wealth. The net result of all of this was that the Church never regained its primacy within the French state and can be seen to have lost far more than it gained. **The impact of the Revolution on the Second Estate** • The aristocracy had enjoyed similar privileges and tax exemptions to those of the Catholic Church under the Ancien Régime. Advancement in the key positions of the State, the Army and, indeed the Church, depended more often on birth than merit. The traditional nobility monopolised these key positions and sought at all times to defend its favoured position. Again, the Revolution swept away aristocratic privilege even more completely than that of the clergy. • The ending of feudalism in August 1789 marked the prelude to a decade when the status of the nobility in France effectively collapsed. In 1790 outward displays of 'nobility' such as titles and coats of arms were forbidden by law and in 1797, after election results suggested a pro-royalist resurgence, the Convention imposed alien status on nobles and stripped them of French citizenship. • The Revolution brought in a regime where careers were open to talent regardless of birth or inheritance and the traditional aristocracy simply ceased to exist. Having said that, some nobles simply transformed themselves into untitled landlords in the countryside and continued to exercise significant economic and political power. **Any other relevant factors**

PART D – Germany, 1815 - 1939

40.	**Context** In 1815 'Germany' was not a unified state but a loose confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. However, economic development after 1815 created a greater feeling of unity and led to a growth of nationalism. **Economic factors** • Urbanisation and industrialisation of the German states — political fragmentation — can be argued to be the most important obstacle to German economic development. • Middle-class businessmen called for a more united market to enable them to compete with foreign countries. They complained that tax burdens were holding back economic development. • Prussian economic expansion - drift in power away from Austria and towards Prussia as the latter began to build on rich resources such as coal and iron deposits. • Prussia's gain of territory on the River Rhine after 1815 meant it had good reason to reach an agreement with neighbours to ensure relatively free travel of goods and people between its lands in the East and the West. • Prussia created a large free-trade area within Prussia itself. • Railway/road development — post-1830s the development of railways/roads ended the isolation of German states from each other. This enabled the transport and exploitation of German natural resources. Economic cooperation between German states encouraged those seeking a political solution to the issue of German unity. **Other Factors:** **Cultural factors** • Main unifying force was language — 25 million Germans spoke the same language and shared the same culture and literature. • Writers and thinkers (eg Heine, Fichte, Goethe, Brothers Grimm, Schiller and Hegel) encouraged the growth of a German consciousness. • Post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities. • Growth of Burschenschaften pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil — zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task. • The Hambacherfest and student demonstrations — little was accomplished by the students. • Early 19th century was a time of great change in all European states and it has been suggested that the political changes of the time can be partly explained by an understanding of the cultural developments of the time.

	The Zollverein • Zollverein — the 'mighty lever' of German unification. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic free-trade area (Austria excluded). Members of the Union voluntarily restricted their sovereignty (even if only for selfish interests) to allow for economic gain through joining the Prussian-led Customs Union. • German nationalists in the late 1830s saw it as a step towards a wider political union. **French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars** • Ideas of the French Revolution appealed to the middle classes in the German states. • Impact of Napoleonic wars — many Germans argued that Napoleon/France had been able to conquer German states pre-1815 due to their division as separate, autonomous territories. German princes had stirred national feeling to help raise armies to drive out the French, aiding the sense of a common German identity with common goals. **Political factors** • 1848 revolutions in Germany raised consciousness greatly even though they failed. • Many Liberals were middle-class and were also receptive to nationalist ideas. **Military weakness** • The French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the German states were weak. • French troops had marched across Germany for over 20 years, and had humiliated Prussia, the strongest 'German' state at Jena and Auerstadt. Germany had been carved up by Napoleon, the North Sea coast being incorporated into France itself, and the Confederation of the Rhine set up as a puppet state. Divided, the German states could not defend their territorial integrity. • Germany had been used as a recruiting ground by Napoleon: Germans had died to protect France. Even the enlarged post-Vienna states would be powerless, with the exception of Prussia, to prevent this happening again. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**Context** The growth of nationalism and Prussian dominance among the German states led to pressure for unification of Germany. Historians are divided on why unification was achieved. Many argue that unification was a natural process due to favourable economic circumstances. However, it can be argued that Otto von Bismarck's policies took advantage of these conditions to achieve unification. **Prussian economic strength** • Growth in Prussian economic power eg development of railways, transport links, roads; importance of the Rhineland and the Saarland to Prussian economic development. Able to finance and equip Prussian army. • The Zollverein, the Prussian-dominated free-trade area; its significance to German political unification — the 'mighty lever of German unification'. • The Zollverein drew the German states together and stimulated their economic growth, at the same time firmly establishing Prussia as the economic leader in Germany. • The Nationalverein — aim was the creation of a united Germany; composed of intelligent and economically important section of German society — businessmen; identified Prussia as leader of a united Germany. **Other factors:** **The role of Bismarck** • Bismarck's aim was to increase the power of Prussia by whatever means necessary. • His 'realpolitik'/diplomacy in the '3 wars' against Denmark, Austria and France. • Bismarck took the initiative, as opposed to Austria, in the war against Denmark; his 'solution' to the Schleswig-Holstein question. • His 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. • The exploitation of the weaknesses of European statesmen/rulers, eg Napoleon III; mistakes made by Bismarck's adversaries. • Bismarck's skill in isolating his intended targets (diplomatically). **Prussian military strength** • Significance of military reforms of Moltke and Roon — creation of modern powerful army which Bismarck used. • The Prusso-Danish War 1864 and Schleswig Holstein. The Danes were easily beaten. • The Austro-Prussian War 1866. The war was a stunning success for the Prussians. • The Franco-Prussian War 1870. The war followed a similar pattern to the first two. The Prussian Army was aided by soldiers from the other German States.

	The attitude of other states • Foreign concerns over the idea of a united Germany. None of the Great Powers wanted to see the creation of a strong Germany which might upset the balance of power. • Attitudes changed after 1850: Britain was increasingly pre-occupied with her Empire, particularly India (mutiny, 1857). **The decline of Austria** • The decline in Austrian power and influence — economically and militarily — during the 1850s particularly. • Distraction of Austria due to commitments in Italy. **The actions of Napoleon III** • Napoleon III wanted France to remain Europe's greatest power. He was however no match for Bismarck. His hopes of territorial gain as a result of French neutrality in the Austro- Prussian War were dashed by Prussia's swift victory. The outcome of the Luxembourg question also deprived France of territorial gain. • Napoleon overreacted over the Hohenzollern candidature. Viewing Leopold's candidature as totally unacceptable, Napoleon instructed the French ambassador in Berlin, to go to the spa town at Ems, to put the French case that Leopold's candidacy was a danger to France and to advise William I to stop Leopold leaving for Spain if he wanted to avoid war. Despite the fact that the affair appeared to have been settled in France's favour, Napoleon overplayed his hand by demanding an official renunciation from William I on behalf of Leopold, which gave Bismarck the opportunity to doctor the Ems Telegram and provoke war. • Napoleon III's military leadership in the Franco-Prussian War was poor and fatal mistakes were made. He allowed himself to be surrounded and captured at Sedan, effectively ending the war **Political factors** • Influence of Napoleon Bonaparte — reduction of number of German states; growth of a national consciousness. • The 1848 revolutions in German states — importance of Frankfurt Parliament/ decisions taken regarding a unified Germany; Prussia was a potential leader; Austria was excluded from Germany ('kleindeutschland'). **Cultural factors** • Growth of German cultural nationalism/Romantic Movement — Burschenschaften, eg writers, music, leading to an increased German national consciousness among the educated classes. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**Context** The Nazis used a variety of methods to stay in power. These ranged from economic policies that pleased the German people to the development of State terror. **Propaganda** • Nazi propaganda was important in maintaining control, spreading Nazi beliefs and in persuading people to support the regime. • A Ministry of Propaganda headed by Josef Goebbels, an expert in propaganda, was created and took complete control of all aspects of the media. • Newspapers were censored and used to spread Nazi government news. • Radio became one of the most important tools for indoctrination and was used to broadcast Hitler's key speeches. The sale of cheap radios to the German population encouraged this. • Mass rallies, for example the spectacular Nuremburg Rallies, strengthened commitment to the Nazi regime and created feelings of wishing to belong to the Nazi movement. • Newsreels were used as propaganda in cinemas and films, such as Triumph of the Will were made to encourage involvement in the regime although most films were pure entertainment to maintain support for the Nazi regime by diverting people's attention away from unpopular policies. • Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda developed the Hitler Myth in which Hitler was portrayed as Germany's all powerful Fuhrer which contributed to Hitler's personal popularity. **Other factors** **Economic policies** • The immediate aims of Nazi economic policy were to tackle the Depression and to restore Germany to full employment. The other priority was to prepare Germany for war. • Under Hjalmar Schacht as Minister of Economics, the Nazi government increased government spending and invested in a massive programme of public works which included the construction of the motorway network, the Autobahnen. Increased employment and a small rise in living conditions helped to gain the support of workers. • Despite economic recovery being underway in 1932, Hitler was given the credit for drastically reducing unemployment which helped to win popular support. • To maintain workers' loyalty, the Nazis set up organisations such as Strength through Joy (designed to reward loyal workers with rewards such as cruises and vacations at Nazi holiday camps) and Beauty of Work (designed to persuade employers to improve working conditions). • From 1936 rearmament and conscription helped to create almost full employment which was popular with the army and big business. • Hitler attempted to maintain the support of the Mittelstand (shop keepers and skilled craftsmen) by banning the opening of new department stores. • As part of the Nazi belief in 'Blood and Soil' a number of measures were introduced to help farmers. The Nazis increased tariffs on imported food and attempts were made to cancel farmers' debts. The Reich Entailed Farm Law prohibited the sale of small farms. The Reich Food Estate was created to run the rural economy, fix wages and prices, establishing food quotas.

- Goering's Four Year Plan (1936) stressed autarky (self-sufficiency) and rearmament, which created tension between the demand for guns or butter. By 1936 workers were becoming increasingly discontented and in addition the promises to lower middle class groups remained unfulfilled.

Establishment of a totalitarian state

- Following the Reichstag Fire, the Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State (28th February 1933) suspended constitutional civil rights.
- The Enabling Act (24th March 1933) passed under pressure by the Reichstag gave Hitler dictatorial powers for four years.
- The Law for the Reconstruction of the State (30th January 1934) abolished state (local) governments and Nazi Gauleiters (leaders of local branches of the Nazi Party) were appointed to run states.
- When Hindenburg died (2nd August 1934) Hitler combined the posts of Chancellor and President which secured Hitler's grip on power.
- Within eighteen months of being appointed Chancellor, Hitler had established a legal dictatorship.

The crushing of opposition

- Hitler's first actions were against opposition political parties and organisations. Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists were imprisoned in the weeks after the Reichstag Fire.
- Trade Unions were abolished (2nd May 1933) and replaced by the German Workers' Front (DAF).
- The SPD were banned (22nd June 1933) and the other political parties dissolved themselves soon after.
- Under the *Law Against the Formation of New Parties* (14th July 1933) Germany became a one-party state.
- Hitler avoided potential opposition from the churches by reaching a Concordat with the Catholic Church (20th July 1933) and the creation of a Reich Church to co-ordinate all Protestant churches.
- The Night of the Long Knives (30th June 1934) removed internal opposition from the SA, and earned the gratitude of the Army.
- The army took an oath of personal loyalty to Hitler in August 1934 which resulted in opponents within the army being torn between their consciences and their loyalty.
- Opposition was not strong enough to pose a real threat to the Nazi regime eg the lack of cooperation between the Social Democrat or SPD and the Communist underground opposition which remained bitterly divided.

Fear and state terrorism

- Violence and terror was crucial in Hitler's rise to power and continued throughout the time of the Nazi regime and played a vital role in strengthening the Nazi dictatorship.
- The SS, the state's internal security service and the Gestapo, the Secret State Police, expanded in power and their brutal acts of repression ensured there was an atmosphere of fear that the Nazis used to control the people.
- The SS defended the Nazi dictatorship from enemies of the state and took over responsibility for running the concentration camps.
- The Gestapo, the Secret State Police, were feared due to their reputation for the use of torture to gain confessions from suspects. The use of informants was vital to maintain fear.

	Social controls • The 'Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service' allowed for the dismissal of anti- Nazi members. • Anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis. Cases involving treason were to be heard by a People's Court led by Nazi judges. • The passing of the all-embracing law 'Acts Hostile to the National Community' (1935) allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a 'legal' way. **Successful foreign policy** • Much of Hitler's popularity after he came to power rested on his achievements in foreign policy, especially when he appeared to be reversing the humiliations of the Treaty of Versailles. • A series of major foreign policy successes: the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (1936), the Anschluss with Austria (1938) and the takeover of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, were hugely popular and increased support for the regime. **Social policies** • The Nazis attempted to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community) in which the German people would act together and support the Nazi regime. • The Nazis' vision of a Volksgemeinschaft also involved the exclusion of 'outsiders'. Nazi propaganda won people over to the persecution of Jews and other minority groups viewed by the Nazis as a threat to the regime. • To indoctrinate the young, Nazi youth organisations were set up, for example the Hitler Youth to prepare boys for military service and the League of German Girls to prepare young women for motherhood. • Also with the aim of controlling Germany's youth, the Nazis made changes to the education system. Anti-Nazi teachers were removed and the school curriculum was redesigned with stress put on physical exercise and subjects such as History and Biology used to promote nationalism and racism. New Nazi schools, NAPOLOAS, to train future leaders were set up and run by the SS. • The Nazi view of women could be summed up in the slogan Kinder, Kirche, Kuche (Children, Church, Kitchen). Nazi policies towards women including marriage loans, increased welfare services and the setting up of women's organisations were viewed positively by many women. • Although many Germans were not committed Nazis, they accepted the Nazi regime as for many, life was better than under the Weimar Republic. **Any other relevant factors.**

43.	**Context** The origins of Italian nationalism can be traced back to the Renaissance and the writings of Machiavelli who urged Italians to seize Italy from the 'barbarians'. However, the ideas of Mazzini and his anti-Austrian views led to the development of a more political nationalism in the 19th century. **Secret societies.** • By the time of the French invasions, secret societies, dedicated to freeing Italy from foreign rule, were already in existence. After 1815 their chief enemy was Austria. • The growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners), led to revolts in 1820, 1821, 1831. Also 'Young Italy' and their revolts in the 1830s. • They had support throughout Italy, mostly drawn from the middle classes – doctors, teachers, lawyers, etc. along with a few army officers. • These groups were patriotic idealists rather than practical politicians: men prepared to risk their lives for their cause. Some wanted an Italian Republic while others looked for constitutional reforms. **Other factors** **Cultural factors** • The Risorgimento was inspired by Italy's past. Poets such as Leopardi glorified and exaggerated past achievements kindling nationalist desires. Poets and novelists like Pellico inspired anti-Austrian feelings amongst intellectuals as did operas such as Verdi's 'Nabucco' and Rossini's 'William Tell'. • There was no national 'Italian' language- regional dialects were like separate languages. Alfieri inspired 'Italian' language based on Tuscan. The poet and novelist Manzoni wrote in 'Italian'. Philosophers spread ideas of nationalism in their books and periodicals. • Moderate nationalists such as Gioberti and Balbo advocated the creation of a federal state with the individual rulers remaining but joining together under a president for foreign affairs and trade. Gioberti's 'On the moral and civil primacy of the Italians' advocated the Pope as president whilst Balbo, in his book 'On the hopes of Italy', saw the King of Piedmont/Sardinia in the role. **Economic factors** • Economic factors were not important directly. Wealth lay in land (landowners were often reactionary) and trade (where the educated bourgeoisie were more receptive to ideas of liberalism and nationalism). • The election of a new, seemingly reformist Pope, Pius IX, in 1846 inspired feelings of nationalism particularly amongst businessmen and traders as he wished to form a customs union.

	Military weakness • The French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak. • The fragmentation of Italy in the Vienna Settlement restored Italy's vulnerability to foreign invasion. **Effects of French revolution and Napoleonic wars** • 'Italian' intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship. • Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism – he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in single system of weights and measures; improved communications; helped trade, inspiring desire for at least a customs union. Napoleon's occupation was hated – conscription, taxes, looting of art. **Resentment of Austria** • After the Vienna Settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena, Tuscany. Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers. Conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion in the police, civil service and army only for German speakers was resented. • Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that 'Italians' could never forget that they were under foreign control and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state. **Role of Mazzini** • Radical nationalist Mazzini not only inspired dreams of a united, democratic Italian republic through his written works, but also formed an activist movement 'Young Italy' whose aim was to make these dreams a reality. **Any other relevant factors.**

44.	**Context** The nationalist reaction to the rule of Napoleon across Europe unleashed forces which eventually led to the unification of Italy. In Italy this process was dominated by the state of Piedmont, although the role of individuals like Garibaldi and the declining power of Austria also need to be taken into account. **Decline of Austria** • Austria's position was in decline in economic and military terms, particularly in regard to Prussia. Italy's relative weakness was redressed by her alliance with Prussia. • Austria's exclusion from the Prussian-led Zollverein meant she did not share in the same economic growth as other Germanic states. • Austria's diplomatic position also declined in the 1850s, and she was increasingly isolated. Partly this was self-inflicted. Russia never forgave Austria for her lack of support during the Crimean War. • Austria's army failed to modernise compared to other main European states. **Other factors** **The rise of Piedmont** • Piedmont was the most powerful of the independent Italian states. She was the natural leader of the unification movement. • Piedmont was also the most economically advanced of the Italian states. Industry developed around Turin and a railway network was built. • The army of Piedmont was advanced by Italian standards. **Role of Cavour** • He played a vital role – modernisation of Piedmont; diplomacy before War of Liberation. • Cavour made a secret agreement to help Prussia in the war against Austria 1866. • Prussian war against France gave the Italians the chance to take Rome. • Provocation of Austria; encouragement of National Society especially in Duchies/Romagna and his handling of the plebiscites. • The war of 1859 inspired rebellions in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Romagna and demands for union with Piedmont. Napoleon III was not happy, but was persuaded to accept by British diplomacy and Cavour's renewed offer of Nice and Savoy. • Cavour's diplomacy and manoeuvring over Garibaldi's expedition; the invasion of Papal States forced unification on Piedmontese terms. **Role of Garibaldi** • He was a committed nationalist; he fought in the War of Liberation for Victor Emmanuel. His role was crucial in forcing north/south unification – the role of 'the thousand'; military success in Sicily and Naples; handing his 'conquests' to Victor Emmanuel at Teano. He tried but failed to take Rome. **Role of Victor Emmanuel II** • The King was supportive of Cavour. Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont/Cavour realised foreign help needed to drive Austrians from Italy. • The King 'managed' Garibaldi very well in 1866, preventing a diplomatic crisis.

	Attitudes and actions of Napoleon III • Crimean War/Paris Peace provided opportunity for Cavour to remind Britain and France of Italy's 'unhappy' state. Following the Orsini Plot, Napoleon III held a secret meeting at Plombieres, July 1858 with Cavour. The result was a formal treaty in January 1859. Napoleon III promised 200,000 men to fight for Piedmont if Austria attacked. This would prove crucial. • Napoleon did not intervene over Garibaldi's expedition. He made a secret agreement accepting Cavour's proposed invasion of the Papal States to stop Garibaldi reaching Rome. This allowed the Piedmontese to defeat the Papal Army, taking The Marches and Umbria. In 1866 Austria handed Venetia to France who gave it to Italy. • The Italians took Rome after the defeat of Napoleon in 1870. **The importance of foreign intervention** • War of Liberation of 1859 – the two main victories Magenta and Solferino were French. At Villafranca Austria handed Lombardy to France who gave it to Piedmont. Garibaldi acknowledged the importance of French help. • Britain was involved in diplomacy over Duchies. British naval presence helped Garibaldi land at Marsala. Britain refused a joint naval blockade with France to stop Garibaldi crossing the Strait of Messina – crucial for Garibaldi's success. • Britain was the first power to officially recognise Kingdom of Italy. **Any other relevant factors.**

45.	**Context** Between 1922 and 1939 Mussolini was the fascist leader of Italy. Did Italians support Mussolini because of effective propaganda or did most Italians accept and even support the regime that gave them work and food and promises of a powerful Italy? **Foreign policy** • Mussolini was initially extremely popular, as evidenced by huge crowds who turned out to hear him speak. • Foreign policy successes in the 1920s, such as the Corfu Incident, made him extremely popular. He was also able to mobilise public opinion very successfully for the invasion of Abyssinia. • Mussolini's role in the Munich Conference of 1938 was his last great foreign policy triumph. • As Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. His intervention in Spain proved a huge drain on Italy's resources. The invasion of Albania was a fiasco. **Other factors** **Fear and intimidation** • Mussolini favoured complete State authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party. • The squadristi were organised into the MVSN *Milizia Voluntaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces causing fear with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil. • After 1925-6 around 10,000 non-fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals. • The secret police, OVRA was established in 1927 and was led by Arturo Bocchini. Tactics included abduction and torture of opponents. 4000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison. • Penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape. • Opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad. • The death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death. **Establishment of the fascist state** • Nov/Dec 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) – gave him support if the army turned against him – and Fascist Grand Council – a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship began: • 1926 - opposition parties were banned. A one party state was created. • 1928 – universal suffrage abolished. • 1929 – all Fascist Parliament elected. **Crushing of opposition** • Liberals had divided into four factions so were weakened.

	• The Left had divided into three – original PSI, reformist PSU and Communists – they failed to work together against fascists. • Pope forced Sturzo to resign and so PPI (Catholic Popular Party) was weakened and it split. • Acerbo Law passed. 1924 elections – fascists won 66% of the vote. • Opposition parties failed to take advantage of the Matteotti crisis. By walking out of the Chamber of Deputies (Aventine Secession) they gave up the chance to overthrow Mussolini; they remained divided – the Pope refused to sanction an alliance between PPI and the socialists. The King chose not to dismiss Mussolini. • Communists and socialists did set up organisations in exile but did not work together. Communist cells in northern cities did produce some anti-fascist leaflets but they suffered frequent raids by OVRA. • PPI opposition floundered with the closer relationship between Church and State (Lateran Pacts). **Social controls** • Workers were controlled through 22 corporations, set up in 1934; overseen by National Council of Corporations, chaired by Mussolini. • Corporations provided accident, health and unemployment insurance for workers, but forbade strikes and lock-outs. • There were some illegal strikes in 1930s and anti-fascist demonstrations in 1933 but these were limited. • The majority of Italians got on with their own lives conforming as long as all was going well. Middle classes/elites supported fascism as it protected them from communism. • Youth knew no alternative to fascism, were educated as fascists and this strengthened the regime. Youth movements provided sporting opportunities, competitions, rallies, camps, parades and propaganda lectures – 60% membership in the north. **Propaganda** • Press, radio and cinema were all controlled. • Mussolini was highly promoted as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy - heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, incorruptible. **Relations with the Papacy** • Lateran treaties/Concordat with Papacy enabled acceptance of regime by the Catholic majority. • Many Catholics supported Mussolini's promotion of 'family values'. **Economic and social policies.** • Fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives eg the 'Battle for Grain'. While superficially successful, they did tend to divert resources from other areas. • Development of transport infrastructure, with building of autostrade and redevelopment of major railway terminals eg Milan • One major success was the crushing of organized crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939. • Dopolavoro had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training; sports provision, day-trips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the fascist state's most popular institution. **Any other relevant factors.**

46.	**Context** The Tsarist state was never seriously challenged before 1905. The main reasons for making this possible were the 'Pillars of Autocracy'. Each of these 'Pillars' strengthened the Tsar's position, and made it almost impossible for opposition groups to challenge the state. **'Pillars of Autocracy'** • **The Fundamental Law** 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** was controlled by the officers who were mainly upper-class, conservative and loyal to the Tsar. They ensured that the population, and the peasantry in particular, was loyal to the Tsar. They crushed any insurgence and were used to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar. • **The secret police (Okhrana)** 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. • **The 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 and controlling meetings which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate. • **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. **Opposition groups** • Opposition groups, eg Social Democrats (supported by industrial workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British-style parliament), were fairly weak. However, these groups were not powerful or popular enough to effect change. • There were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (supported by peasants seeking land reform). Moreover, these groups were further weakened by the fact they were divided and disorganised. • The leaders were often in prison or in exile. **Censorship** • This controlled what people could read, what university lecturers could say, access to schools, and limited the number and type of 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.**

47.	**Context** Previous limited reform was not enough to save Tsarist rule from the stresses of fighting in World War 1, highlighted by their early defeats. The war further exposed the weaknesses of the Tsarist rule and undermined loyalty to the Tsar. **The First World War – military defeat** • The war did not go well for the Russian armed forces and they suffered many defeats. Russia also lost control of Poland in 1915, which was a severe blow to Russian pride. • The Russian army lacked vital resources, including adequate medical care, and this led to high fatality and casualty rates. There were claims of defeats caused by incompetent officers who refused to co-operate with each other, as well as communication difficulties. This led to low morale and desertions; the Tsar began to lose control and the support of the armed forces. The Generals forced his abdication at Pskov. **Other factors:** **Social and economic problems — bourgeoisie, working and peasant class** • The war put a tremendous strain on the already fragile Russian economy. There was long-term discontent among both peasants and industrial workers. The inadequate transport system was unable to cope with the supply demands of the military as well as the needs of the Russian economy and society. There was a lack of food, made worse by the transport problems and the scorched earth policy; as a result there were long queues and bread riots in the cities, culminating in the International Women's Day protest in Petrograd. • The war was costing 17 million roubles a day and Russia had to get loans from Britain and France. Economic problems such as heavy taxes, high inflation and price rises meant that many were living in poverty. • The people had expected the war to be won by Christmas 1914 so they were war-weary by 1917 and suffering from grief, anxiety and low morale. They wanted the war to end but they knew the Tsar would not agree to that and they became so unhappy and frustrated they protested and went on strike which led to the February Revolution as the army sympathised with them and consequently sided with them against the Tsarist system. **Tsar Nicholas II** • The Tsar was seen as a weak ruler as he was so easily influenced by the Tsarina, Rasputin and his ministers. At times the Tsar appeared to be more interested in his family than in the issues facing Russia. He was stubborn as he ignored advice and warnings from Rodzyanko and he failed to understand the severity of events in February 1917. • In September 1915 the Tsar took personal control of the armed forces, which left him personally responsible for any defeats. This also meant that he left the Tsarina in charge, which was not welcomed in Russia as she was German and her relationship with Rasputin was viewed with suspicion. • By February 1917 the Tsar had lost control of the armed forces as well as the support and loyalty of the Russian people, which contributed to the February 1917 revolution.

	Political problems — autocracy • There had been long-term discontent with the Tsar's autocratic rule as he seemed unwilling to share his power despite promises (October Manifesto and Fundamental Laws). The Dumas had limited power and the Tsar dissolved it and changed the franchise. • War exacerbated existing problems with the Tsar leaving the Tsarina to run the country in his absence. Frustration grew at the incompetence of the Tsar and his ministers, Rasputin's influence and not having a say in how the country was being run and this led to protests and ultimately to the February Revolution. **Any other relevant factors.**

48.	**Context** In order to secure power, the Bolsheviks had to fight a vicious Civil War with their opponents. That they won was due to the weaknesses of their White opponents, as well as the role of Trotsky. **Disunity among the Whites** • The Whites were an uncoordinated series of groups whose morale was low. • The Whites had a collection of different political beliefs who all wanted different things and often fought amongst themselves due to differences. All of the Whites 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 eg. Yudenich, Wrangel, Kolchak and Denikin. Whereas the Reds had Trotsky and Lenin. **Other factors** **Unity of the Reds** • Unified political leadership. • Unity of land controlled. • Co-ordinated military action. **The role of Trotsky** • Trotsky had a completely 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 an army of three million men. • He recruited ex Tsarist army officers and used political commissars to watch over them, thus ensuring experienced officers but no political recalcitrance. • He used conscription to gain troops, and ordered deserters to be shot. • Trotsky helped provide an army with great belief in what it was fighting for, which the Whites did not have. **The organisation of the Red Army** • The Red Army was better organised than the White armies and better equipped and therefore able to crush any opposition from the White forces. • Use of ex-officers from old Imperial Army. • Reintroduction of rank and discipline. • Role of Commissars. **Superior Red resources** • Once the Reds had established defence of their lines they were able to repel and exhaust the attacks by the Whites until they scattered or surrendered. • By having all of their land together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd) the Reds had access to factories to supply weapons etc. and to move due to their control of the railways. • Control of the railways meant they could transport troops and 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. • The Reds were in control of a concentrated area of western Russia, which they could successfully defend due to the maintenance of their communication and supply lines.

	• Having the two major cities of Moscow and Petrograd in their possession meant that the Reds held the industrial centres of Russia as well as the administrative centres. • Having the two major cities gave the Reds munitions and supplies that the Whites were never able to access. **Use of Terror (Cheka)** • The Cheka was set up to eradicate any opposition to the Reds. • There was no need for proof of guilt for punishment to be exacted. • 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. • The Cheka carried out severe repression. • Some of the first victims of the Cheka were leaders of other political parties. **Effects of foreign intervention** • The Bolsheviks were able to claim that the foreign "invaders" were imperialists who were trying to overthrow the revolution. • The Reds were able to stand as champions of the Russian nation from foreign invasion. • The help received by the Whites from foreign powers was not as great as was hoped for. • The foreign powers did not provide many men due to the First World War just finishing and their help was restricted to money and arms. **Propaganda** • Whites were unable to take advantage of the brutality of the Reds 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. **Leadership of Lenin** • Introduction of 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. • The White armies were not as well supplied and fed as the Red army. • Skilled delegation and ruthlessness. **Any other relevant factors.**

49.	**Context** In the 1920s the attitudes of Americans towards immigration began to change. Rather than celebrating America's open door policy, many Americans became increasingly concerned about the millions of 'new' immigrants arriving from eastern and central Europe. Contributing to such changes in attitudes was prejudice and racism. **Prejudice and racism** • Attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears concerning the changing nature of immigration. Up until the 1880s most immigrants to the USA came from northern and western Europe from, for example, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. After 1880 the majority of immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe, from countries such as Russia, Poland and Italy. Descendants of the more established immigrants, known as WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were concerned there would be a flood of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe which they believed would threaten their way of life. Some new immigrants continued to wear traditional dress which was not viewed as being 'American'. • Many new immigrants were Catholic or Jewish which led to the belief that the arrival of new immigrants would threaten the Protestant religion. • Many new immigrants were unfamiliar with democracy. This was viewed as a threat to the American constitution. • 'Nativists' who believed immigrants brought new and threatening ideas into the USA, were most prevalent in the mid-western and southern states. **Other factors** **Isolationism** • Attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s were in some respects a development of existing attitudes towards immigration apparent in the 19th century. Before the 1920s, the USA's 'open door' policy did not apply to everyone. Before 1900 the USA had reduced Asian immigration. The first significant law to restrict immigration into the USA was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which banned Chinese immigration. • The first general Federal Immigration Law in 1882 imposed a head tax of 50 cents on each immigrant admitted and denied entrance into the USA of "any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge". • The Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 to oppose 'undesirable immigrants' from southern and eastern Europe who, it was believed, threatened the American way of life. • The 1913 Alien Land Law prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from owning agricultural land or possessing long term leases. This particularly affected Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean immigrant farmers. • At the beginning of the First World War, American public opinion was firmly on the side of neutrality and wanted to keep out of foreign problems and concentrate solely on America. When the war ended, most Americans were even more in favour of a return to the USA's traditional policy of isolationism.

- Despite Woodrow Wilson's support of a League of Nations to sort out future disputes between countries, in November 1919 and March 1920 the US Senate voted against US membership of the League of Nations, and refused to accept the terms of the League of Nations covenant. The USA was determined not to be involved in Europe's problems or become dragged into another European war. The USA was now firmly committed to a policy of isolationism.

Fear of revolution

- Attitudes towards immigration changed due to the 'red scare' which increased suspicion of immigrants. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had established the first Communist state in Russia which was committed to spreading revolution and destroying capitalism. As many immigrants to the USA came from Russia and eastern Europe, it was feared that these immigrants would bring communist ideas into the USA.
- In 1919 there was a wave of strikes in the USA. Many of the strikers were unskilled and semi-skilled workers and recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. People opposed to the strikes linked the strikes with communism as it was believed that revolution was imminent.
- The American public's fear of red revolution appeared to be confirmed when the US Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's house in Washington, DC, was blown up and letter bombs were sent to government officials. The red scare reached a peak of hysteria in January 1920 when, one night, Palmer ordered the arrest of 4000 alleged communists in 33 cities in what became known as the Palmer Raids.

Social fears

- Attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears that immigration would lead to competition for housing and jobs. White working class Americans experienced rising rents due to the high demand for housing.
- The majority of new immigrants settled in cities in the north - east of the USA and often congregated with people from their own culture in ghettos. Some Americans felt this was a threat to their way of life.
- There were also fears that immigrants would increase the already high crime rates in cities. Such fears were heightened by the existence of organised crime gangs such as the Mafia with its Italian roots. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were two Italian immigrant anarchists who were convicted of robbery and murder. Their trial linked crime, immigration and 'un – American' political revolutionary ideas in the minds of many Americans.
- The activities of Al Capone, the son of Italian immigrants, also reinforced the stereotype that all Italian immigrants were in some way linked to crime.

Economic fears

- Attitudes towards immigration changed due to increased fears that the jobs of 'Americans' would be threatened. Due to new production methods employers realised they could make huge profits by employing immigrants and paying them low wages. Trade unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages.
- New immigrants were also used as 'strike breakers' as long hours and low wages in the USA were often better than what they were used to. There was huge resentment towards immigrant strike breakers which led to an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country.

	The effects of the First World War • Many immigrants during the First World War had sympathies for their mother country which led to resentment within the USA. • A large part of the US immigrant population was of German or Austrian origin. Many of these immigrants had supported the German side in the war and society was split when the USA joined the war against Germany. Anti-German propaganda containing stories of German atrocities increased dislike and suspicion of immigrants from Germany and the old Austrian Empire. • Irish Americans were suspected of being anti-British. • Many citizens felt hostile to anything foreign. During the war, many Americans resented having to become involved in Europe's problems. After the First World War the USA was even more in favour of an isolationist policy. By 1918 the USA wanted to leave Europe behind especially after the November armistice, when ships began to bring the wounded back to the United States from the European Western Front. Many Americans therefore did not want new waves of immigrants bringing 'European' problems to the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

50.	**Context** As the Depression continued to deepen, the new President of the United States Franklin Delano Roosevelt promised to give the American people a 'New Deal'. The New Deal introduced a series of acts and new government agencies to increase the role of government in an attempt to end the Depression and bring recovery to America. **The First New Deal 1933-34** • A number of new government departments or agencies, nicknamed the 'Alphabet Agencies' were set up to tackle the Depression. The aims of the Alphabet Agencies were to provide both immediate and longer term help to people suffering in the Depression. During the first 100 days of Roosevelt's presidency, agencies providing relief and work included the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) which aimed to help the very poor by setting up soup kitchens and providing money for clothes and school costs, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) which aimed to build dams and power plants to provide electric power to rural areas along the Tennessee River in seven states, in addition to giving work to thousands of unemployed construction workers, and the Public Works Administration (PWA) which also provided work through the building of hospitals, dams, bridges and schools. • The Economy Act cut wages of state employees by 15 per cent. It also cut the budgets of government departments by 25 per cent, in order to balance the budget. • Economic prudence was shown by spending the savings on relief programmes. • The unpopular prohibition was ended to raise revenue and to boost grain production. **The Second New Deal 1935-1937** • The Second New Deal introduced reforms to improve living and working conditions for many Americans through legislation. • The National Labour Relations Act ('Wagner Act') (1935) protected the rights of workers to collectively bargain with employers. Employers were prevented from discriminating against workers who joined trade unions. • The Banking Act (1935) established the Federal Bank Deposit Insurance Corporation that insured deposits up to $5,000, and later, $10,000. • The WPA (Works Progress Administration) (1935) launched a programme of public works across America. By 1938 it provided employment for three million men and some women, building roads, schools and tunnels, for example. • The Rural Electrification Act (1936) provided loans to provide electricity to rural areas of America. • The Social Security Act (1935) provided a state pension scheme for old people and widows, as well as help for the disabled and poor children.

	The role of Roosevelt and 'confidence-building' • A number of confidence-building measures were introduced. The Emergency Banking Act (1933) allowed the closing and checking of banks to ensure they were well-run and credit-worthy. Only 'sound' banks were allowed to reopen. It was hoped these measures would restore public confidence in the banks and stop people from withdrawing all their savings. • By the end of 1933, many small banks had closed or were merged. • Most depositors regained much of their money. • Roosevelt also gave 'fireside chats': over 30 from March 1933. • Roosevelt declared that 'the only thing we have to fear is fear itself' and his fireside chats on the radio, a great novelty, did a great deal to help restore the nation's confidence. **The role of the Federal government** • The New Deal increased the role of the federal government in American society and, in particular, the economy. • The Federal government played a role in strengthening the power of organised labour. • The Federal government also played a role as regulator between business, labour and agriculture. • There were however challenges in the Supreme Court to the Federal government's increased intervention. • There was also opposition from State governments, especially in the South who believed the Federal government was becoming too powerful and was taking away individual states' rights to run their own affairs. Employers groups who formed the Liberty League opposed the New Deal. Some groups believed the New Deal was 'un-American'. **The economic effects of the New Deal** • The economic effects in terms of relief and recovery have been debated. The New Deal certainly helped in terms of providing basic relief. • Roosevelt's first term in office saw one of the fastest periods of GDP growth in US history. However, a downturn in 1937–38 raised questions about just how successful the policies were. • Although it never reached the heights of before the Depression, the New Deal did see a couple of positive results economically. From 1933 to 1939, GDP increased by 60 per cent from $55 billion to $85 billion. The amount of consumer products bought increased by 40 per cent while private investment in industry increased five times in just six years. • However, unemployment continued to be a problem, never running at less than 14 per cent of the working population. • The importance of re-armament in reducing unemployment and revitalising the American economy was considerable, particularly after the mini-slump of 1937. **Any other relevant factors**.

51.	**Context** With the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 followed by a Voting Rights Act a year later it appeared that the Civil Rights Movement had achieved its aims. However, for many black Americans forced to live in the ghetto areas in the cities of the north and west, social and economic hardships and inequalities remained. **Aims of the Civil Rights Movement** • The aims were mainly pacifist and intended to bring Civil Rights and equality in law to all black Americans. • The Black Radical Movements had more radical segregationist aims. **Roles of NAACP** • NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) were involved in the court case 'Brown v Topeka Board of Education',1954 which decided that segregated schools were unequal and that schools should be desegregated. • NAACP was also involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955 which successfully pressured the bus company into desegregating the buses. **Roles of CORE** • CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) organised sit-ins and during 1961 members of CORE organised the Freedom Rides, which aimed to ensure that segregation really had ended on interstate highways. • CORE helped organise the March on Washington in August 1963. • CORE helped established Freedom Schools, temporary free schools for black Americans, in towns throughout Mississippi. **Roles of SCLC and Martin Luther King** • Martin Luther King rose to prominence during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. In 1957, King was instrumental in forming the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) which supported Martin Luther King's beliefs in peaceful, non-violent protest. • Martin Luther King's involvement in the events at Little Rock, Arkansas. The national publicity influenced the introduction of the Civil Rights Act in 1957. • Martin Luther King believed in peaceful, non-violent protest as exemplified by the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides. • In 1963 Martin Luther King and the SCLC staged a huge demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama. The demonstrators, including children and students, were subjected to extreme police violence. The police chief, 'Bull' Connor used water cannons and dogs to attack the peaceful protesters. The bad publicity and hostility from white Americans forced Kennedy to order an end to segregation in Birmingham. • Martin Luther King with other civil rights leaders organised a march on Washington, to gain publicity and support for a new Civil Rights Law. Martin Luther King gave his now famous 'I Have a Dream' speech. • Martin Luther King believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 'gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote it was dignity without strength'. King believed that it was vital that black Americans were also able to vote freely. • In March 1965, King led a march from Selma to Montgomery to publicise the way in which the authorities made it difficult for black Americans to vote easily. Once more, scenes of police attacking marchers shocked TV audiences across the USA. In August 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which removed a number of barriers to voting.

	Changes in Federal Policy • Truman used Executive Orders to make black appointments and order equality of treatment in the armed services. Kennedy signed the 1962 Executive Order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing. • Eisenhower sent in federal troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African-American students enrolled in Central High School, Little Rock. Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student James Meredith. • The 1964 Civil Rights Act passed during Johnson's presidency made racial discrimination and segregation illegal. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 made it easier for black Americans to vote. By end of 1965 over 250,000 Black Americans newly registered to vote. **Social, economic and political changes** • The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted in big changes in the South but were mostly irrelevant to the cities of the North where segregation and discrimination had never been the main problems. The Civil Rights Movement split due to disagreements regarding the movement's next steps. The main goals to end segregation and discrimination in the South had been met. Some black Americans no longer supported Martin Luther King's methods and aims and became disillusioned by the failure of the southern-based Civil Rights campaign to improve conditions in the cities of the North. • Economic issues, unemployment, poor housing, high rents and poverty, were more important in the North. • The problems facing black Americans in urban ghettos resulted in violent riots in Watts, Los Angeles in 1964. Other race related riots across urban America. • Martin Luther King attempted to help with the problems of Chicago. In 1966 King and the SCLC proposed the Chicago Plan, a non-violent action plan to improve the Chicago area. Martin Luther King's failure to prevent the riots, which broke out, however suggested that his methods were irrelevant to black Americans in the late 1960s. • Martin Luther King was criticised by many people due to the failure of his campaign to make any real difference to life in the ghettos in the main cites of the North and West. Urban poverty and de facto segregation were still common.

	The resultant rise of black radical movements • In 1966 a new leader emerged within the SNCC - Stokely Carmichael who called for a campaign to achieve Black Power as an alternative to King's non-violent protest methods. According to Stokely Carmichael 'Black Power' involved black Americans taking control of their political and economic future without relying on white support to 'give' black Americans their civil rights. • Another radical group who rejected white help were the Black Panthers who supported the anti-White, Black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The Panthers gained a reputation for violence due to supporting the use of guns and gunfights with the police. • The Black Panthers were involved in self-help projects in the ghettos to help black communities out of poverty. • Malcolm X, a leader of the Nation of Islam, also known as the Black Muslims, publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America. • In 1968, Johnson set up an investigation into the urban riots called the Kerner Commission. Its findings that US society remained divided with one white society and one black society – one rich and one poor, shocked people across the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART H – Appeasement and the Road to War, to 1939

52.	**Context** Fascist belief was founded on the idea of national unity. It totally opposed the idea of internal class division. In the cases of Italy and Germany it was also expansionist in outlook. Mussolini looked to create a new Roman Empire while Hitler sought living space for the 'excess' German population. A number of factors led to this. **The British policy of appeasement.** • Appeasement was intended to solve genuine foreign policy grievances that had arisen from the 1919 peace treaties, through negotiation. • British public opinion broadly supported the policy of appeasement, though there were voices raised in dissent. Many felt that Germany had genuine grievances which deserved to be settled. • British appeasement to an extent encouraged both Germany and Italy to increase their demands and do so increasingly forcefully. They certainly reinforced fascist belief in the weakness of democracies. • British attempts to keep Mussolini away from Hitler's influence during the Abyssinian crisis resulted in the Hoare-Laval Pact, which produced a popular outcry when the terms were leaked. Mussolini saw that Britain and France were not opposed in principle to gains for Italy in East Africa and he was able to defy sanctions and keep Abyssinia. • Hitler knew of British reservations about some terms of the Versailles Treaty and was able to play on these, increasingly realising that he would not be stopped eg rearmament, the reoccupation of the Rhineland and then the Anschluss. **Other factors** **The Peace Settlement of 1919** • Determination to revise/overturn Paris Peace Settlement – German resentment of Article 231 which made Germany accept guilt for starting the war, hatred of the reparations bill of £6,600,000,000, disarmament clauses were also a cause of resentment as the German army was reduced to 100,000 men and was not allowed heavy weaponry, lost territory, in particular in the east to Poland was bitterly resented. • German desire to get revenge for defeat in WWI. Hitler called the treaty a Diktat; a dictated treaty forced on a helpless Germany. • Italy came into the war on the side of the Allies in 1915. She suffered during the war, but hoped to gain land at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in particular the Dalmatian coast. In fact, Italian territorial gains were small scale. It was felt that the Italians had suffered and gained little. • Mussolini in Italy promised to make Italy great again and wipe out the embarrassment of the peace treaties when he gained power in 1922.

	Fascist ideology • Fascism was nationalistic in nature; emphasising the importance of loyalty to country [and superiority over others]. • Fascism is often defined by what it dislikes. One fundamental belief was a pathological hatred of communism which led to an anti-Soviet crusade as well as contempt for the 'weak' democracies. • Fascism as seen through Nazism was racist. This belief in the superiority of the 'German/Aryan' people, through a crude Social Darwinism, allowed Nazis to perpetuate the idea of a racial mission to conquer the world and cleanse it of 'weaker' races. • Fascism was militaristic in nature – Fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions/ harking back to the glories of the Roman Empire in Italy. • Fascist foreign policies were driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own belief, but also their personalities and charismatic leadership. • Irredentism or the intention to reclaim and reoccupy lost territory, eg Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within the Reich. • Fascism between the wars was expansionist. Mussolini's 'Roman' ambitions in the Mediterranean and Africa; Hitler's ambitions for lebensraum or living space in Eastern Europe and Russia. **Economic difficulties after 1929** • In 1929 the US economy crashed leading the world into economic recession. This had a particularly dramatic effect on Germany as unemployment soared to 6 million. • By 1929 Italy's Fascist economic policy was failing; an aggressive foreign policy was useful in distracting the people at home. • An aggressive foreign policy was also useful in gaining resources for the Fascist powers eg Italian invasion of Abyssinia and Hitler's obsession with lebensraum. • Germany also developed policies to use their economic and political power to make the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans dependent on Germany. Germany would exploit their raw materials and export manufactured goods to them. It was not a big step to invasion. **Weakness of the League of Nations** • Purpose of the League was to ensure world peace through collective security and disarmament. The League conspicuously failed to do this, allowing Fascism to grow unchecked. • The League was divided politically. Its main supporters had their own domestic audiences which dictated their policies, which led to confusion and inconsistency in the international response to aggression. • British policy of appeasement and concerns over their Empire. • French political divisions between the Left and Right. • The USA retreated into isolationism. • There was suspicion of Communist Soviet Russia from the democracies. • The peace treaties created many small states in Eastern Europe which were difficult to defend. • Determined aggression worked as the League failed to stop the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Even when the League did act, by putting mild sanctions on Italy they were too little, too late. **Any other relevant factors.**

53.	**Context** Britain was keenly aware of a domestic context that was not fully prepared for war. Therefore, Britain's foremost aim was the maintenance of peace in Europe. Up to March 1938 (and later), this was achieved. **British Foreign Policy Aims** • The maintenance of peace was Britain's foremost aim, and up to March 1938 (and later), this was largely achieved. • Conflicts that did occur (Abyssinia, Spain) were on the periphery of Europe/the Mediterranean. **Relations with Italy: Abyssinia** • Mussolini's plans for a new Roman Empire in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and North Africa were a blow to British foreign policy in hoping to convert Mussolini into an ally. • Stresa Front (1935) initially seemed successful in binding Mussolini to the democracies. • Italian invasion of Abyssinia [modern-day Ethiopia] in 1935. • Mussolini's Italy had broken the rules of the League of Nations by using aggression and invading one of the only independent African nations and deserved to be punished under League rules. • However, the British and French wanted to keep Mussolini friendly so attempted to contain Italy by offering concessions and land in Africa. • The British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and French Foreign Minister, Pierre Laval, came up with a plan to effectively try to buy off the Italians by offering them some of Abyssinia's land from the south of the country [Abyssinia was not consulted] • Public revulsion to Franco-British connivance at Italian aggression led to Hoare's resignation. • The imposition of limited economic sanctions on Italy alienated Mussolini, thereby driving him closer to Hitler, yet failing to save Abyssinia. **Relations with Germany: Naval Agreement** • The Anglo German Naval Agreement (1935) successfully limited German naval strength to 35% of British, however, it also allowed for the construction of submarines, up to British strength. • Rearmament: Hitler was successful in reintroducing conscription and rearming from 1935, but there were significant economic restraints and by the late 1930s Germany's potential enemies were rearming at a faster rate. However, by 1939, Germany had significant military assets, even if they were over exaggerated by the Germans and over estimated by the British and French. **The Rhineland** • The Rhineland had been demilitarised as part of the Treaty of Versailles. No military installations were permitted there. • 22,000 German troops marched into the Rhineland on 7 March, 1936.

	• Remilitarisation broke the Peace Treaty of 1919, yet no action was taken by Britain or France due to differing attitudes towards Hitler's actions. France was polarised politically and would not act without British support. Britain denounced the action, but there was also considerable sympathy for Hitler's actions. The Rhineland was part of Germany and why should she not have armed forces there? • No war occurred as a result of the Rhineland crisis, but the lesson Hitler learned was that the democracies were divided. He took this to mean weakness. **The Spanish Civil War: non-intervention** • The Spanish Civil War took place between 1936 and 1939 between forces that defended the democratically elected Republic and forces that opposed it called Nationalists. • The policy of non-intervention was sponsored by Britain and France through the Non-Intervention Committee; it also guaranteed that Britain would be on good terms with the victors. • The policy was openly breached by Germany and Italy who sent significant military aid to Franco's Nationalist forces, and to a lesser extent the Soviet Union who sent help to the Republic. • There was also intervention by volunteers of the International Brigades who fought for the Republic, but withdrew towards the end of 1938 • Attacks on non-Spanish shipping ended after the British and French navies were ordered to destroy attacking foreign submarines and aircraft. • The Spanish Civil War did not turn into a wider European conflict. In this the policy of non-intervention was successful, but at some cost as the dictators tested the weaponry and tactics that would be so successful in WWII. **Austria: The Anschluss of March 1938** • The joining together of German speaking Austria and Germany was banned by the Treaty of Versailles. • Anschluss: failure of attempted Nazi coup in 1934 due to Italian opposition, but there was growing German influence over Austria from 1936 when they agreed to consult each other over foreign policy. • The Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg met with Hitler in 1938. Hitler seized the opportunity demanding jobs for Austrian Nazis in the Government • When Schuschnigg proposed putting this to a vote of the Austrian people Hitler acted, demanding his resignation and replacement with the Austrian Nazi, Seyss-Inquart. • German troops and tanks then rolled into Austria on 12 March, 1938. • The invasion itself was chaotic and inefficient from military point of view. • War did not break out as a result of the Anschluss. Britain was sympathetic to German actions to a large extent and the enthusiastic welcome given to the German troops by the Austrians seemed to confirm it was a genuinely popular action. • Hitler gained resources and again had got away with aggressive actions. He now turned his attention to Czechoslovakia. **Any other relevant factors.**

54.	**Context** The Nazi occupation of the Sudetenland could be justified in the eyes of Appeasers as Hitler was absorbing fellow Germans into Greater Germany. However, subsequent actions by the Nazis could not be supported in this way and any illusion of justified grievances evaporated as Hitler made demands on powers such as Poland. **The invasion of Poland** • On 1 September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland stating one of his reasons for the invasion was because of "the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter." • France and Britain had a defensive pact with Poland. This forced France and Britain to declare war on Germany, which they did on September 3. **Other factors:** **The occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia** • British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of Munich Agreement and invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich. • Promises of support to Poland and Rumania. • British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted. • Prime Minister Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis. **Changing British attitudes towards appeasement** • Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the middle of September 1938, when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied. However, most press and population went along with it, although level of popular opposition often underestimated. • The anti-appeasement movement gained more support as Hitler's intentions became clearer. • Events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain. • German annexation of Memel [largely German population, but in Lithuania] further showed Hitler's bad faith • Actions convinced British government of growing German threat in south-eastern Europe. • Guarantees to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence. **Importance of Nazi-Soviet Pact** • Pact – diplomatic, economic, military co-operation; division of Poland. • Unexpected – Hitler and Stalin's motives. • Put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland. • Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts. • Hitler's belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance. • Hitler now felt free to attack Poland.

	• But, given Hitler's consistent, long-term foreign policy aims on the destruction of the Versailles Settlement and Lebensraum in the east, the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be seen more as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather than as one of its underlying causes. • Hitler's long-term aims for destruction of the Soviet state and conquest of Russian resources - Lebensraum. • Hitler's need for new territory and resources to sustain Germany's militarised economy. • Hitler's belief that British and French were 'worms' who would not turn from previous policy of appeasement and avoidance of war at all costs. • Hitler's belief that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany. **British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union** • Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia. • Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany. • Britain refused as they feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler. • In August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. Owing to travel difficulties it took five days to reach Leningrad. • The Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused, knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down. • This merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions regarding the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich agreement, and they would leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This led directly to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Germans seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and offering peace and land. **The position of France** • France had signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia offering support if the country was attacked. However, Hitler could all but guarantee that in 1938, French would do nothing as their foreign policy was closely tied to the British. • French military, and particularly their airforce, allowed to decline in years after 1919. • After Munich, French more aggressive towards dictators and in events of 1939 were keen on a military alliance with the Soviet Union, however despite different emphasis on tactics were tied to the British and their actions. **The developing crisis over Poland** • Hitler's long-term aims for the destruction of Versailles, including regaining of Danzig and Polish Corridor. • British and French decision to stick to their guarantees to Poland. **Any other relevant factors.**

55.	**Context** The wartime alliance had always been one of convenience owing to the common enemy of Nazism. America had not recognised the Soviet Communist government's legitimacy until 1933. As the Second World War came to an end the inherent tensions between a Capitalist America and her allies and Communist Russia became all too clear. **Ideological differences** • Impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the Western powers: Soviet withdrawal from WWI, involvement of West with anti-Bolshevik Whites: ideological differences between Communism and Capitalism. • Fears in the West that Communism was on the march led President Truman to the policy of containment as well as the Marshall Plan: British power was in retreat: WWII had been expensive so the British aimed to reduce their world commitments, specifically in Greece where civil war raged between Communists and Royalists. Fear of similar problems in Italy when allied troops left; activities of Mao in China. • Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to support free peoples and proposals to oppose totalitarian regimes - exemplified by the Marshall Plan. Fulton speech by Churchill talked of an Iron Curtain splitting Europe. • Creation of competing military alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact further polarised the world. The Soviet Union rejected the Western economic model and set up its own economic bloc: Comecon. **Other factors** **Tensions within the wartime alliance** • WWII: suspicion of USSR by Britain and the USA because of Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. • USSR suspicion of British because of policy of appeasement and also with USA over failure to open up a second front against Germany until 1944. • Tensions within the wartime alliance as the defeat of Nazism became clear. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR. • Yalta conference: Stalin determined to hang on to land gained by the Red Army in the east so he created a series of sympathetic regimes in Eastern Europe. • The USA wanted to create a free trade area composed of democratic states. Soviet actions in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, etc. in creating pro-Communist regimes and Allied actions in Western Europe, Greece further increased tensions. Soviet actions were interpreted as aggressive acts by the Western Allies. • Replacement of Roosevelt on his death with President Truman, who was anti-Communist, led to a much stronger US line with USSR in the wartime conferences. **The US decision to use the atom bomb** • President Truman hoped that one aim of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be to impress the USSR and make them ready to make concessions in Eastern Europe or at least restrain their 'aggression'. • In fact, Stalin knew about the Manhattan project and refused to be intimidated and the fact it had been developed in secret made him even more suspicious of the USA.

	The arms race • Stalin was determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible; this led to the development of the arms race, which was symbolically important in showing the success of the rival economic and political systems. • British and French were also developing their independent nuclear deterrents – which, realistically, were only aimed at the USSR. • Development of technologies to deliver nuclear weapons. **Disagreements over the future of Germany** • The Potsdam Conference and policy over Germany whereby the allied sectors remained free as compared to Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations. • The economic status of Germany: creation of Bizonia in West. Contrast between the developing capitalist west and centrally controlled east: introduction of Deutsche mark in West led to the Berlin Blockade in 1949. **The crisis over Korea.** • Stalin encouraged Communist North Korea to invade Capitalist South. This led to American-led UN intervention on behalf of the South, and resultant Chinese intervention. • Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. Stalemate along 38th parallel. The Cold War had been sealed with a Hot War. **Any other relevant factors.**

56.	**Context** The French withdrawal from their Indo-Chinese colonies in 1954 led to America stepping in as the main foreign power in the region. The Domino Theory was used by American Presidents, starting with Eisenhower to justify American intervention to help the South of Vietnam in their struggles against the Communist North. **Relative strengths of North and South Vietnam** • North Vietnam: a hard peasant life bred determined soldiers. Viet Cong enlisted for years unlike American troops who signed up for a year. Belief in their cause of Communism also a factor. Great determination: eg the Ho Chi Minh trail was kept open despite American bombers continually bombing it. • Viet Cong knew the jungle, survived in atrocious conditions, developed effective tactics and were more effective in winning the 'hearts and minds' of civilians than the Americans. Military objectives were realistic: General Giap aimed to break the will of the American Government. Support of Chinese and Soviet aid from 1965 of importance. • Corruption and decay of South Vietnamese government, especially in Saigon. A Catholic elite controlled a largely Buddhist population. Lack of political and social cohesion in South Vietnam led to divisions and turmoil which filtered through to their armed forces. • Strengths of the North in terms of leadership that commanded the support of the population: Ho Chi Minh. • Strengths of the North in terms of military commitment and leadership: General Giap. • Strengths of the North in terms of aid from Soviets and Chinese: for example, developed a sophisticated air defence system. • Weaknesses of South in terms of leadership that was corrupt and favoured the Catholic population. • Weakness of South in military terms. Army commanders tended to operate as private warlords. **Other factors** **Difficulties faced by US military** • Terrain did not suit US military strengths of airpower and firepower. • Difficulties dealing with the conditions and knowing which Vietnamese were the enemy led to stress and confusion. Many Americans addicted to drugs. • Short commissions for officers and rotation of troops led to loss of expertise in the field. • Soldiers brave, but a minority did not believe in the war. Many were also reluctant conscripts.

	Failure of military methods • Mass bombing had no real effect according to the Jason Study by MIT in 1966, owing to the agricultural nature of North Vietnam and the widespread jungle cover. • Tactics on the ground – US technological superiority in heavy weapons negated by the terrain. • Widespread use of helicopter gunships – inflicted heavy casualties, but were a blunt weapon. Many civilian deaths which did not help win 'hearts and minds'. • Use of defoliants like Agent Orange: US (and their South Vietnamese allies) lost the battle for hearts and minds, despite inflicting 2,000,000 casualties for the loss of one tenth of those. **Changing public opinion in the USA** • Public opposition supported by the press was probably the main reason for withdrawal. Vietnam a media war, images showed the public the brutality of war eg South Viet police chief executing a Viet Cong in Saigon during the Tet Offensive of '68, Mai Lai massacre. Such images damaged American claims to be the 'good guys'. • Extent of the opposition is debated. Probably a minority in '65, growing by the time of crucial Tet offensive in '68. Oct 1969 largest anti-war protest in US history. Protestors in every major city in America. Opposition of Black Power groups. Protest could be violent: May 1970 protest at Kent State University, Ohio led to four students being shot. • Unpopularity of the draft. • USA was a democracy: public pressure and perception mattered. Nixon noted extent of opposition: withdrawal of 60,000 troops in 1969, policy of Vietnamisation. Economic cost of the war: US deficit of $1.6 billion in 1965 increased to $25.3 billion in 1968. Tax increases unpopular. Congress only got involved in limiting money and action in late 60s and early 70s. • Divisions within administrations: eg LBJ had Rusk advising to continue the struggle in South-East Asia, compared to Senator Fulbright arguing for de-escalation. **International isolation of the USA.** • The media war turned international opinion against the US. • Major US allies had had misgivings about US military intervention; Harold Wilson's major achievement in keeping UK out of the war, despite dependence on US support for the British economy. • Feeling that Vietnam was handing huge propaganda bonuses to the enemies and rivals of the US. **Any other relevant factors.**

57.	**Context** When Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary in 1985 he was the first leader of the Soviet Union who had not directly experienced the Second World War. He was also aware of the economic stagnation in the USSR. He sought reform at home which led to engagement with the West. An initially sceptical West eventually warmed to his initiatives leading to extensive Arms Control agreements. Gorbachev's attempts to reform Communism, however, unleashed forces that he could not control. **Western economic strength** • The Western powers were economically more developed and sophisticated than the Soviet Union. During the years of Détente, the Soviets had borrowed from the Western powers and even relied on them for food imports. • The economic power of the West allowed America to embark on the Star Wars weapons programme. • Perception of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of their economic system. **Other factors** **The role of President Mikhail Gorbachev** • Gorbachev saw that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. • Gorbachev implemented policies of Perestroika and Glasnost which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system. However, these attempts to control and reform the Communist system were overwhelmed by popular pressure in the satellite states and even within Russia. • Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements to allow the USSR to concentrate on internal matters: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, Dec 1987, Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989. • Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power. **The role of President Ronald Reagan** • Unlike many in the US administration Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the West in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire'. • Programme of improving US armed forces, including nuclear weapons and he proposed a Star Wars missile shield to challenge the belief in MAD (SDI). He was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited Soviet Union.

	The defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan • Symptom of the problems of Soviet Union. • Intervention in Dec 1979: conflict with the Mujaheddi'n. Russian army morale crumbled when over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home. • The conflict showed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy. War led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians. • Russians began to question the actions of their own government. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988. **Soviet economic weakness** • The Soviet economy was at breaking point by the late 1980s. • Commitments to the arms race meant the Soviet economy was hugely unbalanced. • Propping up allied regimes was also causing a drain on resources. • Consumer goods and housing were neglected as a result. **The failure of Communism in Eastern Europe** • Strong Polish identity and history of hostility with Russia. By 1970s, Poland was in an economic slump. Emergence of opposition around Gdansk in 1980: industrial workers strike led by Lech Walesa, who argued for the creation of an independent trade union. Solidarity grew to nine million members in a matter of months. Movement suppressed in 1981 by General Jaruzelski's government. • Multiparty elections in Poland, after Soviet troops left, victory for Solidarity. • Czechoslovakia, political prisoners released in November 1989 and by the end of the month, the communist government had gone. No Soviet intervention. • Opening of the Berlin Wall: division of Germany finally came to an end. • Soviet domination ended. • Perestroika and Glasnost and end of Communist rule in USSR. **Any other relevant factors.**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]