National
Qualifications
2018

2018 History

Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

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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 was affected by this development, this group was 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.

Marking instructions for each question

Section 1 — Scottish

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:**

Overall: Both sources agree that in the course of hearing appeals from Scottish courts, Edward I summoned John Balliol to England to explain judgements during which John Balliol quickly backed down under pressure after attempting to defend his position.

Source A emphasises that Edward I deliberately undermined John's position as king in a provocative way during the appeal cases. However Source B suggests that many Scots were in fact jealous of Balliol's appointment as king and wanted to undermine his position with Edward I.

Source A	Source B
King John was forced to appear before the Westminster parliament, to answer for his own court's judgements.	In 1293, before John Balliol had settled on his throne, Edward I summoned the new Scottish king south to England to answer Scottish legal claims in person.
At first, showing courage and dignity King John said that he neither dared nor was able to answer in an English court on a matter affecting the kingdom of Scotland without consulting the responsible men of his realm.	At the Westminster parliament, Balliol did attempt to resist by insisting he could not answer any charges without first 'consulting the trusted men of his realm' in council.
Balliol's resistance collapsed when a hostile English parliament judged him to be in King Edward's mercy for contempt of court, and sentenced that he would lose his three chief castles unless he made amends.	But ultimately, Balliol crumbled when threatened with the seizure of three of Scotland's strongest royal castles close to the border.
In the most humble terms, King John renewed his homage to King Edward.	Balliol came south once more and performed homage to the English Crown.

2.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 9 marks****.* **A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.** **Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • on 11th September 1297 an English force, under the Earl of Surrey and Treasurer Cressingham, was defeated by the combined troops of Andrew Moray and William Wallace • a mood of optimism appeared in a letter of 11th October 1297, issued by Wallace and Moray, to the merchants of Lubeck and Hamburg informing them that it was once again safe to trade with Scotland, which was now 'recovered by war from the power of the English' • Wallace was accepted as sole guardian of Scotland • in November 1297, Wallace led his army into the north of England and successfully gained vital supplies for their war effort. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • after the battle of Stirling Bridge, English garrisons fell and only Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick castles remained in English hands • due to their military victory at Stirling Bridge, Wallace and Moray were accepted as joint leaders of the kingdom and the leaders of the army of Scotland • Wallace raised an army in readiness to fight an invading English army • as Guardian, Wallace ruled Scotland in the name of Scotland's legitimate king, John Balliol • Wallace appointed William Lamberton, a supporter of Scottish independence, as bishop of St Andrews • 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 • Wallace used scorched earth tactics in 1298 in an attempt to starve the invading English army into retreat • 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 • Wallace's resistance continued at his 'trial'. Wallace claimed he never swore an oath of fealty to Edward and thus could not be tried for treason. He was sentenced to be hung, drawn, quartered, disemboweled and beheaded. Some suggest it inspired the resistance of others in Scotland, while others suggest it in fact weakened Scottish resistance • there was localised resistance to the English administration in Scotland, especially Sir Hugh de Cressingham's appointment as Treasurer to raise taxes in Scotland • there was a rebellion of the McDougal family (supporters of Wallace and King John) against the MacDonalds in the Western Isles • Moray resistance against Edward's rule in the North. Moray 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 Moray had succeeded in driving out the English garrisons north of Dundee • Robert Wishart, Robert Bruce and James Stewart led a revolt in the south-west of Scotland before surrendering at Irvine

	• 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 of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

3.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 6 marks****.* **Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:**

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: a Scottish supporter to Edward I.	Useful as it was written by an eye-witness and sympathiser to Edward in the Scottish civil war who will have been knowledgeable of Bruce's early campaigns. Less useful as a Scottish supporter of Edward may have been biased towards the English side and may have exaggerated the impact of Bruce's victory at Loudoun Hill.
Type of source: a letter to Edward I.	Useful as although it is a letter to King Edward, it is written in the form of a personal communication which may be less 'official' and guarded and therefore, may be a more honest reflection of the lord's true feelings about the threat posed by Bruce.
Purpose: to inform Edward of the effects of Bruce's triumph after Loudoun Hill.	Useful as it shows that Bruce's success at Loudoun Hill affected the morale among Edward's supporters who were now having doubts about the loyalty of the local population after Bruce's victory.
Timing: May 1307 A contemporary source.	Useful as it dates from the time of Bruce's early triumphs a few months after Bruce returned to the mainland. Useful as it dates from the time when Bruce was gaining more support and beginning to fight back against the English in Scotland.

Content	Possible comment
• Bruce has the good will of his own followers and of the people generally much more than he ever had, following his victory at Loudoun Hill.	Useful as it tells us that Bruce's early success at Loudoun Hill offered hope and encouraged popular support for Bruce who up to this point commanded little support in the country. Useful as it suggests that Bruce was beginning to establish support among all Scots rather than just a small group of supporters mainly from the south-west.
• It appears that God is with Bruce for he has destroyed your power among your supporters in Scotland.	Useful as this tells us that Loudoun Hill was portrayed as a significant victory which threatened Edward's rule in Scotland.
• …if Bruce can get away from the south west, he will find people in the north willing to rise to his cause unless you can send more troops.	Useful as it shows that Bruce's support was growing across Scotland, especially in the north.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- the inauguration of Bruce at Scone 25th March 1306
- at the battle of Loudoun Hill (10th May 1307), Bruce defeated Edward's lieutenant, Aymer de Valence's larger cavalry force
- between February and the summer of 1307, after Bruce's return to the mainland, Bruce planned and executed a guerrilla campaign of surprise attacks and ambushes directed against low key targets with the aim of demoralising the English and drawing disaffected Scots to his cause
- it was early triumphs such as Loudoun Hill and the defeat of an English patrol in Glen Trool in April which gave Bruce the confidence and support to turn his attention to the Comyns and other opponents who had refused to recognise his coup d'état of 1306
- Bruce's decisive victory over the Earl of Buchan in the battle of Inverurie and the destruction of Comyn lands in the 'Herschip of Buchan' removed the threat from the powerful Comyn family
- the support of Bruce's loyal lieutenants eg Douglas and Randolph
- the death of King Edward I in 1307 while leading an army against Bruce removed Bruce's main military adversary
- Edward II did not share his father's obsession with Scotland, and he lacked his father's drive and ability. King Edward II did not lead a major campaign into Scotland for several years which allowed Bruce to concentrate on fighting his Scottish enemies
- Bruce reconquered Scotland from 1310–14 by conducting a successful campaign against English held castles in Scotland eg Linlithgow, Roxburgh and Edinburgh
- raids were made on the north of England after 1311 and Bruce and his lieutenants led regular raids into England after 1314 to force Edward II to the negotiating table. Bruce attacked England in 1315, 1316, 1318, 1322, 1323 and 1328
- the raids on England did not succeed in bringing Edward II to the negotiating table but did result in war weariness which contributed to a series of truces in the 1320s
- Berwick, England's last major outpost in Scotland was captured by the Scots in 1318
- Bruce inflicted a major defeat on the English at Old Byland in 1322 which almost resulted in the capture of Edward II

	• the support of the Scottish Church was also significant in Bruce's triumph. Most bishops supported Bruce as they saw him as the best hope of securing the independence of the kingdom which would ensure the independence of the Scottish Church. Churchmen preached Bruce propaganda thus promoting Bruce's struggle against his Scottish enemies in the Civil War • in the Declaration of the Clergy in 1310, Scotland's bishops declared their support for Bruce as the legitimate king of Scotland • Bruce's triumph over Edward II's English army at the Battle of Bannockburn (23rd-24th June 1314) completed Bruce's military control of Scotland and secured his position as king of Scots • Bruce also weakened English power by sending Scottish armies under his brother Edward to campaign in Ireland creating the possibility of a Celtic alliance • diplomacy also contributed to Bruce's triumph. Bruce's position was strengthened by King Philip of France's recognition of Bruce in 1310 • a powerful case for Scottish independence was presented to the Pope, in the letter known as the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 • at a parliament held at Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1314, Bruce gave the nobles the opportunity to pledge their allegiance and keep their Scottish lands whilst disinheriting those who chose to side with England • Bruce's position was also strengthened by his brutal crushing of the 1320 'Soulis Conspiracy' • Bruce triumphed when he finally secured peace between Scotland and England. The Treaty of Edinburgh (1328) formally recognised Bruce as king of an independent Scotland. **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. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 5 marks****.*

Possible points of comparison may include:

Overall: Overall, Sources A and B agree that Mary faced many difficulties in ruling Scotland such as her cultural upbringing in France and that she had a legitimate claim to the English throne. Source A suggests that Mary, Queen of Scots faced serious opposition, not only from Scottish Protestants, but influential English Protestants.

Source A	Source B
Half-French through her mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, had lived in France for ten years, and had been raised in its language and culture.	Mary was brought up in France and received a Renaissance education with French as her first language.
Mary, Queen of Scots continued to pursue her right to the English crown, weakening her authority in Scotland.	Mary's focus on England affected her ability to restore royal authority in Scotland.
The Scottish Presbyterian, John Knox, wrote in 1558 that, 'God had rejected woman from rule and authority above man'.	John Knox had earlier argued that it was against natural and divine law for a woman to hold authority over men.
As a young queen, Mary was skilled in the finer points of court culture, yet she remained utterly inexperienced in actual affairs of state.	As a young queen, Mary remained accessible to those in her court, but she lacked good judgement and common sense in affairs of the state.

5.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 9 marks****.* **A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.** **Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • brought up as a devout Presbyterian, James regarded himself as the leader of the Scottish Kirk and initially gave strong support to its reformed spirit • all ministers were instructed to ensure that their parishioners signed up to the 'King's Confession', a statement of Protestant principles agreed by the king in 1581 • the Golden Act of 1592, which recognised the Presbyterian system of church government, gave the king the right to decide the time and place for future meetings of the general assemblies • James attended every general assembly from 1597 until his departure south to ascend the English throne in 1603. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • although James had a Protestant education, the Kirk remained suspicious of the king • James' belief that kings should have control over the church led to a power struggle which was present throughout his reign • James' favouring of Catholic noblemen further increased the suspicion of the Kirk — James was viewed with suspicion because of friendships with people like the Catholic Earl of Huntly • from 1588–1590 harmony between the Kirk and the king increased • 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, although even Lutherans were viewed with suspicion by some • 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 1584, all ministers were required to accept the 'Black Acts' abolishing Presbyteries and asserting royal authority over the Kirk forcing some into exile • 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 eg an attempt by the Assembly to repeal the Black Acts, leading to conflict in 1596 eg King James believed time was now right to call a convention at Perth to achieve his objectives • James' belief in the divine right of monarchs clashed with the Melvillians' view that the monarch should be accountable to the authority of the Kirk • extreme Presbyterians/Melvillians were marginalised on account of James' views • James sought to extend the power of the monarch and bishops over the Kirk by: having bishops recognised as moderators of Presbyteries; allowing them to hear cases of excommunication and deposition of ministers • James would ensure that the General Assembly would meet in towns like Perth or Aberdeen where he could expect more ministers to support him, in part due to King James' revival of Episcopacy in Scotland • as a result of rebellion in December 1596, James fled from Edinburgh and this made him more determined to control the Kirk • in 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

	• 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 (the True Law of Free Monarchies sets forth James' philosophy of royal absolutism) and Basilikon Doron (a book written by James as a guide for the conduct of his son when he became king). **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

6.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 6 marks****.*

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland — details would have been noted by a scribe at the time.	Useful as the source comes from the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, reflects the strict views of its ministers and elders towards wrongdoers; and seeks to ensure high standards of entry to the ministry.
Type of Source: an official record of proceedings at the General Assembly.	This is useful as such official records would accurately record religious matters discussed at the time.
Purpose: the source was written to record issues discussed at the General Assemblies.	Useful as it outlines some of the rules and expectations of the new Kirk as determined by those present at the Assembly. The tone is harsh and authoritative reflecting the strong sense of discipline and high moral standards which were advocated by the new Kirk.
Timing: 1589 — 1590	The source is useful as it is a contemporary document produced during the period when the Kirk was establishing authority over the Catholic Church and people in the aftermath of the Scottish Reformation.

Content	Possible comment
Violators of the Sabbath (that is those who absent themselves from the sermons of their own parish, without a just cause) and blasphemers of God, will be tried and reprimanded by the particular Kirk Sessions of the parish.	Useful as it displays the strict code of discipline the Presbyterian Kirk enforced over members of the congregation and the influential role of Kirk Sessions when people failed to fulfil their duties.
There is now to be an act against the keeping of fairs and markets on the Lord's Day.	Useful as it recognises the significance of the Sabbath and the need to keep the day holy by ensuring that people avoid more frivolous activities.
It is also agreed that the aged and well-deserving in the Ministry should be preferred to young men, being found qualified in scripture and matters of faith, where the Congregation agrees.	Useful as it demonstrates how the reformed church intended to ensure that ministers within the Kirk were well-educated in scripture and able to preach on matters of faith and that their appointment was supported by members of the Congregation they were to serve.

	Possible points of significant omission may include: • at the beginning of 1560, Scotland was a Catholic country with a Protestant minority, by 1603, it was a Protestant country with a tiny Catholic minority • great emphasis was laid upon attendance at both daily and Sunday services and every effort made to ensure that no possible diversions existed which might detain a congregation from their duties • congregations would choose some respectable and devout men to be 'elders' and to assist the minister. Elders policed their part of a parish and could even enter people's houses • the Kirk Sessions of Protestant Scotland were to become guardians of moral and religious matters, in order to promote a godly society • people were presumed guilty, until proven innocent, therefore a sizeable proportion of the population could expect to be brought before the Kirk Session and/or the Assembly • the 'stool of repentance' was used to punish those who had broken the moral code • they would be scolded in the public presence of the congregation • from 1560, Kirk Sessions had the right to fine, imprison and excommunicate offenders if they had disobeyed the Kirk in terms of moral matters • celebrations of weddings and any other event were kept to a minimum • abolition of Christmas and Easter reflected fear of Catholic custom • the strict observance of Festivals and Saint Days • the performance of plays was actively discouraged • the interiors of most parish kirks were plain and whitewashed — a few altars and other treasured objects from the pre-Reformation period remained in some places • the Kirk decided to remove all organs from places of worship in order to cleanse parish churches • music and dancing were at times actively discouraged • the new church still had the problem of not having enough revenue for the parishes • the Reformation did little to change the structure of society • while the provision of poor relief had been largely neglected by the pre-Reformation Church, the Kirk distinguished between the deserving and the undeserving poor. The able-bodied or undeserving poor were not to be helped and neither were vagrants and unlicensed beggars • poor relief was to be provided in the parish where you were born or lived in for some time • the destitute were only allowed to beg in their own parish after being issued with a beggar's badge and becoming a licensed beggar or 'gaberlunzie' • church collections and payments for use of parish mort cloth as well as fines from those disciplined by the Church, were used for poor relief • aim of a school in every parish not achieved but some advances made in central Scotland • literacy rates improved during this period • life was harsh and austere for ordinary people after the Reformation • much of the lands and therefore, the financial resources of the Catholic Church remained in the hands of the nobility • the nobility disregarded the First Book of Discipline which proposed that the wealth of the Catholic Church be put into resourcing the education and training of ministers, building kirks and looking after parish schools • the new Protestant Kirk lacked the wealth of the Catholic Church. **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. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 5 marks****.*

Possible points of comparison may include:

Overall: Sources A and B disagree on the issues of the effect of Union of Scotland on England, the possibilities of free trade after Union, and the treaty's financial effect on Scotland.

Source A suggests that the treaty will be positive for Scotland, whilst Source B suggests the treaty will be negative for Scotland.

Source A	Source B
With union, England becomes our friend, ensuring security and protection for both countries.	It is our duty to the nation to state that our English neighbours will ruin us with this treaty.
The burghs will maintain their full rights under the new parliament.	British parliament will deprive us, and the rest of the royal burghs in this nation, of our fundamental right of being represented in the legislative power.
We can invest in the colonies at a cheap rate, giving us the financial advantages of being British citizens.	As part of a union, there will be a new financial burden of taxation which will bear down upon us with fatal consequences.
We will benefit from trading freely in our goods and products with the English, and have their money and other necessaries brought over the border to us.	Our fear is that the new freedom of trade with them will never balance the damaging effect on our manufacturing industry when English merchants bringing their goods into Scotland.

8.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 9 marks****.* **A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.** **Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • Scottish Country party MPs did well out of the Union • however, most Scottish MPs must have been aware that alternatives to Union included the danger of English attack • even the Squadrone Volante came round to support Union, which ensured that the Treaty was passed by 16th January 1707 • maybe this was because they had been promised a share of the Equivalent which would compensate losses suffered during the Darien Scheme. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • political management of pro-Union Court Party was more efficient than that of the Country Party • 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 delays in tax rises made to MPs • trade incentives given to parliament eg access to English colonies • last minute concessions on the salt, wool and liquor trades — tax on these goods to be delayed or phased in gradually • financial payments to individual Scots through Lord Godolphin • £20,000 paid to Scottish MPs through the Earl of Glasgow • Scottish MPs who had lost money in the Darien Scheme felt they would be compensated by the Equivalent (£398,085.10s) • incentives for Scottish nobles such as legal protection and immunity from arrest for bankruptcy to remain • rights of Royal Burghs to be protected • Act of Security for the Kirk guaranteeing Presbyterianism in Church of Scotland • Union guaranteed the Hanoverian succession • English spies; Daniel Defoe's role in informing English government about Scottish MPs' views • future stability and security for Scotland • trade ensured with English colonies — Navigation Acts would not apply to Scotland • military argument regarding Scottish protection • Scots law to remain. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

9. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 6 marks****.*

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Daniel Defoe.	Useful as he was an eyewitness who favoured Union and observed its effects in Scotland. Less useful as he had been an English agent in the past and so would be biased.
Type: a travel book across Britain.	Useful as it would give a general view of opinions on post-Union Scotland.
Purpose: to publicise the success of the Union.	Useful as Defoe provided comment on the positive effects of Union in Scotland.
Timing: 1727	Useful because it is from the time when the effects of Union were being felt in Scotland.

Content	Possible comment
Number of Scots emigrating to Virginia, America, will soon make it a Scottish colony.	Useful as it shows that Scots went to America after Union made it possible.
Glasgow is quickly becoming the heart of the Scottish economic life, the union allowing it to become the centre of highly profitable trade with the American colonies.	Useful as it shows how Scottish merchants were able to access America after Union, bringing economic benefits. Useful as it shows how Glasgow developed and grew as a result of union.
Scots are participating in trade, to which they consider themselves equally entitled.	Useful as it shows how Scots felt themselves as equals with the English after Union.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- taxes and customs duties led to poverty and an increase in smuggling and attacks on customs officials
- initial dissatisfaction with non-payment of the Equivalent
- textiles, paper and linen industries suffered initially due to English competition
- opposition in Scotland to Salt Tax, Soap Act, Malt Tax and enclosures
- merchant shipping developed, as did Caribbean trade
- East India Company saw increased number of Scots employees, officers and directors
- black cattle trade improved significantly, greater demand on Highland farmers
- towns developed, particularly on roads between Highlands and England, eg Crieff
- Government investment in Scotland eg founding of Royal Bank of Scotland
- improved industrial and agricultural practice in Scotland due to the influence of English agriculture and industry
- growing professional classes
- Scottish tobacco merchants were wealthy by 1740
- Government struggled to control the Highlands
- House of Lords struggled to understand Scots law in appeals cases
- Scottish and English politicians' anti-Union stance led to 1713 motion to repeal Union

	• dominance of Whig party in Scotland • abolition of office of Secretary of State • desire for restoration of Stuart dynasty amongst anti-union Scots • Jacobites assumed leadership of national sentiment • failure of French-sponsored 1708 Jacobite rebellion • influence of Jacobite literature and music by 1715 • support of the Episcopalian church for Jacobite movement • increasing French influence within Jacobite movement. **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. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 5 marks****.*

Possible points of comparison may include:

Overall: Sources A and B agree on the fact that Italians set up individual businesses and worked the hours that were required for such businesses to be a success eg opening on a Sunday, even though this caused problems with the Church. They also agree on the fact that Italians opened businesses in Scottish coastal areas.

Both sources agree that the Italians had an impact on the catering trade in Scotland.

Source A	Source B
Making a success of setting themselves up in businesses selling fish and chips and ice cream.	Why should it be that the ice-cream, and the fish and chip trades in Scotland were taken up almost in their entirety by the Italians?
Business flourished because my father and brothers put their heart and soul into the business and worked hours which no one would tolerate today.	A further reason may lie in the fact that the Scots were simply not prepared to work the long and anti-social hours necessary to carry out these trades.
Our café even opened on a Sunday, with local Ministers often coming in (not on a Sunday) to air their disapproval.	Sunday was traditionally a day of rest for the Scots, however, the Italian cafés opened, often leading to resentment from Church authorities.
After working for my father, (other immigrants) opened their own cafés producing their own ginger beers and unique ice creams resulting in four busy Italian cafés in Campbeltown by 1938.	…explanation for this may lie in the fact that once family members learnt their trade here in the family business, they often opened their own cafés, sometimes in some of the most rural coastal areas of Scotland.

11.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 9 marks****.* **A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.** **Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • the Scots' early arrival enabled them to make full use of their obvious entrepreneurial talents, no more so than in the fur trade • also transferred their enthusiasm for education and reading resulting in the development of universities such as McGill University • the recreational life of Canada was also influenced by the Scots with their introduction of curling • the greatest influence was that of John A Macdonald who emigrated from Scotland as a boy and rose to became Canada's first Prime Minster shaping Canada and contributing immeasurably to its character. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** **Examples of Scots who contributed to the development 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 had influence in banking and business. **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 was 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.

	Examples of Scots contributing to India: • Scots were notable in the development of tea plantations and the jute industry • many Indian educational institutions such as elite schools owed much to the Scottish emigrants • 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 • Empire provided many middle-class Scots with successful careers, especially as civil servants. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

12. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 6 marks.***

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Labour MP.	Useful as he was an eyewitness and would have expertise on local and Scottish issues and would be well informed about the impact of the Empire on Scotland.
Type of source: letter to a newspaper.	Useful as a letter articulating a political viewpoint in relation to the impact of the Empire on Scotland.
Purpose: to highlight that the Empire brought mixed benefits to Scotland.	Useful as it is a record of the benefits and disadvantages the Empire brought to Scotland.
Timing: 1938	Useful as from a time when Scotland's links with Empire were of great importance to Scotland's economy. Scotland was facing economic uncertainty.

Content	Possible comment
Our most able and gifted have left to pursue opportunities abroad.	Useful as shows that many of the most able Scots emigrated to take up opportunities within the Empire.
…opportunities overseas that the Empire provided for army officers and civil servants, were positions suited to those from the ranks of the middle classes.	Useful as it shows the opportunities the Empire created for employment for Scots.
…when trade with the Empire was not prosperous, it resulted in poverty amongst the hard working class people of Scotland, particularly in industrial areas such as Glasgow.	Useful as it shows that when trade with the Empire is not prosperous industrial areas in Scotland suffer a downturn in prosperity.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- Empire contributed to the Clyde becoming the centre of the shipbuilding industry. Shipyards such as Fairfield's, Beardmore's and Denny's were world leaders in the production of shipping in the years up to 1914
- Scotland exported to the Empire in great quantities eg Springburn produced a quarter of the world's locomotives
- Empire provided raw materials for Scottish factories such as jute. The jute trade was closely associated with the Empire: the raw material came from the Indian province of Bengal. The textile manufactured from the raw material from the Indian province of Bengal was subsequently exported all over the world. Dundee textile firms became internationally known
- Empire enabled some firms and individuals to make great commercial fortunes. Examples include Scottish businessmen such as Sir Charles Tenant (chemicals), Sir James and Peter Coats (cotton) and William Weir (coal and iron)
- many wealthy Scots invested their profits at home by building mansions in the suburbs. Broughty Ferry near Dundee is an example of the display of wealth created by the jute industry

- Empire encouraged Scottish martial tradition. Scottish soldiers often from the Highlands were used to protect the Empire and helped create the identity and reputation of the Scots as brave soldiers
- Empire provided a destination for large numbers of Scottish emigrants
- Empire also had negative effects on Scotland. The low-wage economy encouraged in Scotland by the export market led to considerable poverty for many
- Empire left Scotland vulnerable to international trade slumps due to the importance of commerce with the Empire. Due to an overdependence on exports, Scotland was adversely affected after the First World War due to the world economic downturn. Also an overdependence on staple industries left Scotland overexposed to slumps in coal, etc
- Empire created competition for Scottish goods. Other countries in the Empire came to produce goods more cheaply. Examples of industries where this happened were sheep farming in Australia and New Zealand and the linen and jute industry in India
- Empire created investment opportunities. By the 1880s, 40% of all Australian borrowing was from Scotland. The Scots also invested in India
- investment a double-edged sword as Scottish industrial magnates sometimes used their profits to finance projects abroad which meant capital left Scotland
- Glasgow became known as 'the second city of the Empire'. Italian immigration had an impact on Scottish society. Italian families contributed to the growing leisure industry. In 1903 there were 89 cafés in Glasgow, growing to 336 by 1905
- Italian families settled in many towns on the coast and in the main towns. The Nardini family developed what was to become the largest café in Britain. Small sea-side towns also had their own Italian cafés
- in the late 1920s, the College of Italian Hairdressers was set up in Glasgow
- Jewish immigrants helped to develop the commercial life of Scotland. Jews settled in central Glasgow, typically setting up small businesses
- Jewish immigrants were also important in the tobacco industry. Cigarette making was a common job for the Jewish immigrants to Scotland as there was no local workforce that could produce cigarettes
- Jewish immigrants made an important contribution to the tailoring trade and helped produce affordable, quality clothing, especially men's suits
- Lithuanian immigration contributed to the economic development of Scotland mainly through employment in the coal industry
- Lithuanians joined the Scottish miners in bringing about improved working conditions through trade union activity
- Lithuanian immigrants also contributed a distinctive culture to Scotland through their language and community activities. However, the Lithuanian community integrated effectively into Scottish society therefore left less of a lasting impact. Lithuanians were also fewer in numbers than Irish immigrants and were not perceived as a threat to the Scottish way of life by native Scots. In addition, many Lithuanians returned to Eastern Europe during the First World War
- migration had a positive economic effect on Scotland. The immigrant Irish provided a workforce prepared to tackle the hardest of jobs. The Irish contributed to industrial developments in Scotland through the building of roads, canals and railways across Scotland
- Irish immigration had a lasting cultural impact on Scottish society reflected in the creation of separate Catholic schools across most major urban centres in Scotland
- migration had an impact on Scottish sporting life — Edinburgh Hibernian was founded in 1875 by Irishmen living in the Cowgate area of Edinburgh. Glasgow Celtic was founded in 1887 by Brother Walfrid, a Catholic priest. A Catholic team in Dundee called Dundee Harp also existed for a short time. Dundee United was founded in 1909 and was originally called Dundee Hibernian
- Irish immigrants and their descendants had an impact on Scottish politics. The Irish were important in the Scottish Trade Union movement and the development of the Labour Party in Scotland. The Irish community produced important political leaders like John Wheatley and James Connolly

	• a negative effect of Irish immigration was the presence of sectarian rivalries. **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. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 5 marks****.*

Possible points of comparison may include:

Overall: Sources A and B broadly agree about the agreement on the site of the Scottish National War memorial, how the original plan was altered and the importance of Scots in its planning, construction and financing.

Overall both sources agree about the importance of a distinctly Scottish memorial to remember the blood sacrifice made by Scots.

Source A	Source B
From the outset it was agreed that Edinburgh Castle would be the best site for the project.	Obviously, the place for a country's national memorial must be its capital city.
The Duke of Atholl argued that, 'if the Scottish nation wanted a memorial they would put it up with their own hands in their own country and with their own money'.	And so the memorial went up, built by Scottish brains, Scottish hands and Scottish money.
The original design led to protests that it would deface the skyline of a familiar and much-loved Edinburgh building.	Public opinion was strongly against the erection of an entirely new building upon the Castle Rock.
By August 1922, £120,000 had been found and so work began on the project.	The organising committee appealed for funds, which poured in from all parts of Scotland.

14.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 9 marks****.* **A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.** **Possible points which may be identified in the source include:** • Clydeside, with its skilled engineering workforce, was selected for 6 of the factories (National Projectile) • the 8-acre site of the Cardonald National Projectile Factory, was bought from Sir William Beardmore & Co, the firm that went on to build the factory and to manage it thereafter • the production of high explosive and chemical shells began after March 1916 • Cardonald produced 1,008,100 8-inch shells and 319,800 6-inch chemical shells during the war. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • the Munitions of War Act in 1915 brought all essential industries under government control • war was good for the traditional industries of Scotland for example industries such as the North British Rubber Company did well as did the railways • Dundee's jute industry boomed as demand for sack cloth rose • armament production brought employment and wealth to Glasgow and surrounding industrial areas such as Dunbartonshire and North Ayrshire • demand for iron decreased during the war years. Demand for steel increased during the war as it was needed for the shipbuilding industry. Before the war Scotland produced 1.2 million tons of steel but by 1918 that figure had doubled • the immediate impact of war on Clydeside shipyards where most of Britain's ships were built was very positive. Between 1914 and 1918 a total of 481 warships were built on the Clyde, and profits were good • shipyards, under government control, stopped work on merchant vessels and converted them into warships, passenger liners were converted to troop carriers. Orders for warships from foreign countries were taken over by the British government. Dundee and Aberdeen benefited from shipbuilding work • initially warship yards were able to build passenger liners to replace those lost during the war. There was also a great demand for merchant ships to replace those lost so all the yards continued in full production. The boom lasted until 1921 • shipbuilding had created thousands of jobs in related industries like coal, iron and steel and engine and steering manufacturing down to the manufacturers who made and installed the fittings and furnishings like carpets, beds, kitchen appliances and bathrooms • dilution of labour affected some industries • agriculture had mixed fortunes as wartime restrictions and lack of labour affected production. Farming became more mechanised and productive. Although fewer men worked on the farms, the yields were higher and Britain became more self-sufficient in food production. Demand for wool increased • the fishing industry suffered during the war due to restrictions on fishing in the North Sea • even those industries that did well did so at the expense of much needed changes in working practices to improve competitiveness • to increase production during the war, coalmines were nationalised and the miners made good wages • after the war the mines were given back to their original owners who were only interested in profit. This lack of investment as well as fierce foreign competition ensured that Scottish coalmining went into serious decline • after the war, shipyards suffered because of labour disputes and a shortage of manpower and materials. Industrial unrest and late delivery of ships damaged the Clyde's reputation for building ships on time and on budget

	• shipbuilding went into decline: between 1921 and 1923, the tonnage built on the Clyde went down from 510,000 to 170,000. There followed a period of depression and discontent. In 1923, production was disrupted by a boilermakers' dispute. In 1924, there were few new orders • fierce competition from foreign yards drove down prices so ships were being built at a loss. A trade depression in 1925 and the General Strike of 1926 further delayed a recovery in orders • other countries had increased their steel making and shipbuilding capacity and the Scots manufacturers could not compete. As a result, the iron and steel industries were severely affected by the downturn in demand from 1921 onwards. Falling demand for ships had a knock-on effect for the need for steel • jute prices collapsed after the war and the removal of trade restrictions reopened the threat of competition from Calcutta in world markets. As a result, there was mass unemployment, deep social misery and discontent. Several firms went into liquidation. Others amalgamated, to form Jute Industries Ltd, for example, while some managed to hold on as independent companies • the collapse of foreign markets for herring from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Russia and the Baltic greatly affected the fishing industry. European countries started to compete strongly with the British fleets and in 1920 the government changed the rules by removing the guaranteed price for the herring. As a result, 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, home-grown food was supplemented with cheap foreign imports of food eg refrigerated meat from Argentina, frozen lamb and tinned fruit from Australia and New Zealand when trade was resumed. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

15. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 6 marks****.*

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the Source	Possible comment
Author: Scottish journalist.	Useful as the author will be well informed as an eye-witness to events surrounding the 1922 general election. Less useful as the author is biased against Labour.
Type of source: a newspaper.	Useful as a newspaper would be well informed on politics in Scotland.
Purpose: to report and analyse contemporary events.	Useful as the source gives an analysis of the 1922 election result therefore gives detailed information of the results in Scotland.
Timing: 17th November, 1922	Useful as the source dates from just after the 1922 general election. As such the source is a contemporary record of the political changes in Scotland.

Content	Possible comment
This constituency was never regarded as a certainty for the Conservatives here, as elsewhere in Scotland, Labour's challenge proved too much.	Useful as it shows Labour making gains at the expense of the Conservatives.
It is a regrettable reflection that in Linlithgow, just as in so many constituencies in Scotland, a split moderate vote gave the result to Labour.	Useful as it illustrates how the breakthrough of Labour is being explained by a split in the so called moderate vote.
The Independent Liberals who expected to have at least 25 members from Scotland in the new Parliament, have just half that number.	Useful as it shows how the vote for the Independent Liberals (Asquith supporting Liberals) collapsed leading to much reduced representation.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- the 1922 election saw Labour increase its representation to 142 seats, up from 57 in the 1918 election, and emerge as the second largest party in the British Parliament
- in Scotland Labour emerged as the largest party with 29 of the 74 seats gained. 10 of these seats were in Glasgow
- Labour's success can be partly explained by the changing voting patterns of Scottish Catholics of Irish descent. Many had previously supported the Liberals owing to their support for Irish Home Rule. With Irish independence this vote generally moved to the Labour Party
- Labour success can also be explained by the increased franchise after 1918 and its ability to register and attract the greater working class vote
- Labour in Scotland, especially the West of Scotland, was often associated with the Independent Labour Party

	• the ILP had been credited with involvement, leadership as well as advice, in many of the key events during the war, such as the Clyde Workers Committee and support for the Rent Strikes. This had helped politicise many working class voters • 40 hours strike and demonstrations in George Square, waving of the red flag and subsequent riot, which led to a massive overreaction from the authorities with troops on the streets of Glasgow. The Riot Act was read. The authorities feared a 'Bolshevik rising' • emergence of important and capable Labour leaders such as Willie Gallacher, Tom Bell and James Maxton • role of John MacLean who won the admiration of many due to his principled anti-war views • extension of franchise to women • many working class women had become politicised by their war work and the rent strikes. Women such as Mary Barbour, Agnes Dollan and Helen Crawfurd became role models for women keen to make their voice heard politically for the first time • the Liberal vote was split between the National Liberals who were supporters of David Lloyd George and Independent Liberals who were supporters of Herbert Asquith. The Liberal Party had split during the war and had, prior to the war, been the dominant political force in Scotland • long term decline in the Liberal vote. They only gained 9 seats in the 1924 election • although the Unionist (reference to the Scottish Unionist Party, which was the Conservative Party in Scotland) vote dropped in 1922, long term the Party did well in the interwar years in Scotland, gaining 38 seats in the second election of 1924 • Scottish Unionist Party benefited from being seen as the party of law and order, which appealed to the middle-classes, especially after the George Square riots • Scottish Unionist Party worked hard to build up support in rural areas • much institutional support for the Unionists owing to fear of revolution. Many newspapers were pro-Unionist as were the universities and legal profession • creation of the National Party of Scotland in 1928 as a political party that campaigned for Scottish Home Rule, but it had a very limited electoral impact, with no success in general elections or by-elections. **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:** The Roman Catholic Church became the main stabilising force in Western Europe. The church provided religious leadership as well as secular, or worldly, leadership. It also played a key role in reviving and preserving learning. **The differing roles of the secular and regular church in:** **Politics:** • Popes believed that they had the authority over kings. Popes sometimes excommunicated or excluded from the Catholic Church, secular rulers who challenged or threatened papal power. For example, Pope Innocent III excommunicated King John of England in the 1200s during a dispute about appointing an archbishop • the Church had its own set of laws called canon law, and its own courts of justice. The Church claimed authority over secular rulers, but monarchs did not always recognise this authority. There were frequent power struggles between the Pope in Rome and various kings and emperors • within the feudal system bishops and abbots had the right to raise troops in time of need eg Bishop of Durham led the English forces that defeated David I at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 • as they were literate, members of the Church fulfilled important roles in secular government as they could keep records, write characters, etc. Many rose to senior positions in government. **Religion:** • the main responsibility of the Church was to serve the spiritual needs of medieval society. Local priests instructed peasants and townspeople in the faith and provided comfort to them in troubled times • monasteries were seen as 'prayer factories' and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population • monastic life of dedication to God and a simple life following the rule of St Benedict: poverty, chastity and obedience, was considered important • many rulers clearly thought they were important and spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example. His dedication to supporting different orders, such as the Cistercians, was undoubtedly pious as well as practical. **Society and the economy:** • as the largest landholder in Europe, the Church had significant economic power • the Church also gained wealth through the tithe, a tax Christians were required to pay that equalled ten percent of their income • monasteries also wielded significant economic power through their landholding as well as flocks of sheep. They even developed the iron industry in places like Rievaulx Abbey.

	The importance of the Church in everyday life: • the importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven • for peasants and town dwellers, everyday life was closely tied to local priests and the village church • people were taught that the sacred acts of worship, or sacraments, brought special blessing from god and safety from hell • ceremonies that marked the passage of life had power and importance to people could include baptism, confirmation, marriage and penance. **The importance of the Church within feudal society: saints, relics, crusades, salvation and pilgrimages:** • the Church sometimes honoured its missionaries by declaring them saints. St Patrick was a missionary who set up the Church in Ireland. St Augustine was sent as a missionary to the Angles and Saxons in England • significance of relics and saints to communicate with God and beg divine favour or protection • people would travel long distances on pilgrimage to places of religious importance, such as Jerusalem and Rome as well as places that had important religious relics like Canterbury and St Andrews • a pious life would lead to salvation in the eyes of god, or so it was taught • pilgrimages showed devotion to god with such acts as travel was dangerous • Crusade was also part of this. The motivation of recovery of the Holy Land from Muslim rule for religious reasons was a powerful one for many Crusaders. **Any other relevant factors.**

17.	**Context:** David I was the youngest son of King Malcolm III and St Margaret. By the time he succeeded to the throne in 1124, he was well connected with a good marriage, a rich inheritance and estates in Normandy, north England and southern Scotland. He sought to impose his authority on the kingdom of Scotland on his succession to the throne. **Introduction of feudal landholding:** • during his time in England, David became an admirer of the feudal landholding system. He introduced a form of military feudalism into areas of Scotland, notably the southwest, Lothian and the northeast • noble families were imported from his lands in England and France and given grants of land. In return, they offered David their support, both politically and militarily. Examples include Robert de Brus in Annandale and Walter fitz Allan in Renfrewshire and East Lothian • there was penetration into Fife and beyond. Even land given in feudal dues to Flemish knights in Moray • however, the Mormaers in Scotland were semi-independent and held autonomous power over large parts of Scotland. The Earls of Moray had a long tradition of independence, even going so far as to claim the crown during the reign of Macbeth. However, when its earl rebelled in 1130 and was killed near Brechin, David annexed the province for the crown and set up feudatories there • leaders in the far west and north of Scotland also had a history of independence. In the south, the lordship of Galloway, was under the leadership of Fergus, who from 1124 styled himself as King of the Gallowegians • there was no whole scale replacement of the native aristocracy. By the 1160s, there were still 10 native earls and David was close to those in Fife and Dunbar. **The need to develop the economy:** • before David I, revenue in Scotland was mostly limited to the incomes from royal demesnes • the lack of royal burghs limited international trade and early medieval Scottish kings lacked the financial resources to tackle the Mormaers directly without the Community of the Realm backing them • as a result, David sought to develop more burghs, for example Perth, in order to generate revenue. Burghs allowed for privileged merchant communities. The rents, tolls and fines that the burghs provided were David's earliest and most important sources of money. By the end of his reign there were even burghs in Forres and Elgin in Moray • moneyers were appointed by David and silver pennies were introduced. **Law and order:** • royal justice was usually reserved for more serious crimes. Issues of land, an important aspect of justice, were often poorly judged or unfairly settled • expansion of Royal Castles: Motte and Bailey. **Development of royal government:** • development of offices during David I's reign such as Constable, Butler, Chamberlain and Chancellor. Supporters like Hugh de Moreville and Raulph de Souces became David's constable and butler • however, his household kept the Gaelic speaking 'Rannaire' (Divider of Food) and the royal body guard; the 'Durward' • sherrifdoms were introduced along the style of Norman Kings of England, larger than the traditional thanages • sheriffs sought to replace thanes in the remote areas of the kingdom. They offered direct royal contact for those away from the traditional seat of power • however, the continued use of officials with Gaelic names shows how he used the structures that already existed.

	Development of the royal military forces: • the new feudal forces brought to David by his introduction of feudalism offered a significant advantage when dealing with the Celtic Mormaers • traditionally it was the Mormaers who controlled the summoning of the common army of Scotland. Now David had an independent force loyal to him • did not always work well together, as seen at the disastrous Battle of the Standard • the peace settlement established during the disputed reign of Stephen-Matilda in England, extended Scotland's border further south than ever before. **Development of the justice system:** • new Scottish barons were given the rights to hold their own courts within their fiefs. This was an extension of the king's law, rather than reliance on the traditional Celtic courts led by Brechons, experts in the law. Eventually these Celtic courts died out and were replaced with sheriff courts. The gradual acceptance of the king's law led the way to the decrease of importance of the Mormaers and the acceptance of central control • Justiciar appointed to complement the sheriffs: highest administrative and judicial officer. **Development of the Church:** • started by David's mother Margaret, the introduction of the Roman Church at the expense of the Celtic one offered a significant support to the development of royal authority. David gave significant grants of land to Religious orders. The greatest being the Cistercian house at Melrose in 1136. Benedictine at Dunfermline and the Augustinians at St Andrews and Holyrood • important in the monastic economic development of land, but also important as the Church preached the divine grace of the king, it was hard to justify any rebellions against him • loyalty was given from new religious orders free from corruption; in return David constructed magnificent Abbeys at Jedburgh and Holyrood. Established Diocese at Moray and Ross and down the east coast from St Andrews to Edinburgh (East Lothian) • however, David was also sensitive to local needs and displayed reverence to the native saints eg St Mungo of Glasgow and Columba of Iona. **Succession:** • David sought a smooth succession to his son. He did however use Celtic procedures, such as taking Malcolm round the country to secure acceptance and the use of Gaelic in the inauguration. **Any other relevant factors.**

18.	**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 England. On Stephen's death, Henry became Henry II of England. Henry's aims were to preserve the Angevin dominions, strengthen royal authority and increase royal revenues. **Impact of the Civil War:** • Civil War had developed between Stephen and Matilda on 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 1143-44 Geoffrey de Mandeville laid waste to the Fens and in 1147, Coventry and surroundings was laid 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. The economy was weakened by the Civil War • the development of the royal administration during Henry II's reign is due, in part to the need to put the Royal finances back on an even keel. For example, this led to changes to the Exchequer, which improved the methods for receiving his revenues, as well as development of the Chamber and use of sheriffs. **Other factors:** **Growth of the nobility:** • 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 Aumale 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 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 baronial rebellion of 1173-74 also shook him. In short he needed an army at times and that had to be paid for • for example, previously direct taxation had been on landed property, but to get money for crusades Henry ordered a tax on moveable 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, eg 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.

	Need to develop the economy: • 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 • for example, 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 French speaking world • the period saw an increase in literacy, for example all of his sons had some education. **Law and order:** • 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 • 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 • the Assizes of Clarendon of 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. **Effects of foreign influence:** • Henry reigned for 34 and a half years, but he spent 21 years away from England • 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, for example • use of the Seneschal's court — use of same legal procedure and interpretation of laws. **Any other relevant factors.**

19.	**Context:** Charles I succeeded his father James I in 1625 and ruled over both England and Scotland until 1642. He continued to reign in Scotland until his death in 1649 at the hands of the English Parliament. During this time there were considerable challenges facing the king in his attempts to enforce his policies in Scotland. Some of these difficulties led to instability in his control of England, which itself led to parliamentary opposition to his reign. **The National Covenant:** • February 1638: the Tables, a committee formed by middle-class opponents of the king, drew up the National Covenant, publically unveiling it at Greyfriars Kirk. In the following three days many flocked to Edinburgh to sign it, pledging to preserve Presbyterianism in Scotland and promote a church free from monarchical meddling. Copies were carried by messengers around Scotland to be signed by thousands, symbolising the rejection in Scotland of the Divine Right of Kings, a significant political as well as religious development • November 1638: the General Assembly met and deposed all bishops and excommunicated some, abolishing Episcopalianism; these proceedings were, however, dismissed as invalid by Charles I because his representative, the Duke of Hamilton, had not been present • the Covenanting movement grew, with the Campbells of Argyll prominent in promoting committed opposition to the king's influence in the west; Covenanters were being equipped with arms coming into the country from overseas, and General Leslie assumed command of their army • Charles I failed to suppress Covenanters, and this contributed to outbreak of the 'Wars of the three Kingdoms' from 1639 to 1651, spread across Scotland, England and Ireland, including the English Civil War; during this war, the English Parliament's treaty of alliance with Scottish Covenanters — called the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 — was a feature of positive change in the fortunes of the king's enemies. **Religious policy:** • 1629: the king issued a Royal Demand that Scottish religious practice should conform to English models; in 1633 the king's coronation at St. Giles in Edinburgh included Anglican rituals such as candles and crucifixes; Charles I introduced William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Scotland, and Laud oversaw Anglican practice in Scottish churches; many Presbyterians resented the influence of Laud, whose position as the king's representative on spiritual matters led to resentment of royal authority • Laud advised Charles I to agree to unification of the Churches of Scotland and England in 1625 without consulting the Privy Council; despite Presbyterian refusal to ratify this, in 1635 Laud issued the Book of Canons, declaring that the monarch had authority over the Church of Scotland, and subsequently approved a new Service Book, a variation of the English Prayer Book, drawn up by the Scottish bishops; Presbyterian opposition grew • 23rd July 1637: a Prayer Book for Scotland modelled on the English Prayer Book was read at St. Giles Cathedral by the Bishop of Brechin who had two loaded pistols sitting in front of him in case of unrest; the Dean, John Hanna, subsequently had a stool thrown at him by a serving woman, Jenny Geddes, and in the chaos that ensued, the Bishop of Edinburgh was shouted down by the crowd in support of Geddes • across Scotland, people declared opposition to the new Prayer Book, placing the king's Scottish Privy Council in a difficult position, caught between Charles I and his rivals; the Tables committee was formed in Edinburgh in late 1637 by nobles, middle-class lawyers, Privy Councillors and ministers, all pledged to oppose the king's religious tyranny.

First Bishops' War:

- Charles I could not raise enough money to fight the Scots effectively as the English Parliament had not been called since 1629, so he could only put together a poorly trained force of 20,000 men at Berwick-on-Tweed, 12 miles from General Leslie's 12,000-strong force camped at Duns; meanwhile there were several minor engagements in the north east of Scotland between Covenanters and Scottish royalists, but as the king was unwilling to send his troops into open battle he was forced to agree to a truce in June
- the king signed the Pacification of Berwick on 18th June, agreeing to the General Assembly being the highest religious authority in Scotland; the treaty also acknowledged the freedom of the Scottish Parliament in legislative matters
- Charles I's inability to put down the Scots brought an end to his 'Eleven Years' Tyranny' in England, as he recalled Parliament in 1640 to request revenue to continue war with Scotland; this 'Short Parliament' lasted one month as the king dissolved it again rather than concede powers to Parliament as a condition of their granting him funds.

Second Bishops' War:

- General Leslie crossed the English border with his troops and they successfully captured Newcastle and Durham; Charles I, having dismissed the Short Parliament before obtaining funds, was once more unable to wage war; this put him in the weak position of having to negotiate a peace with Scotland in order to avoid defeat by the Covenanters
- Charles I was humiliated by signing the Treaty of Ripon on 26th October 1640, the terms of which were dictated by the Scots; aside from the Covenanters maintaining a military presence in Northumberland, the treaty cost England the price that the Scottish Parliament had to pay for its forces, which amounted to roughly £850 per day
- this defeat by the Scots forced Charles I to recall Parliament to ask for a Finance Bill to be passed to pay the Scots, after being advised to do so by grouping of English peers known as Magnum Concilium; the so-called 'Long Parliament' was called in November 1640 and represented a downturn in the king's political fortunes in England.

Political challenge:

- 1625: Charles I introduced the Act of Revocation which restored those lands to the Church which had been transferred to the nobility at the time of the Reformation in 1560; this development also saw the proceeds from the tithe passed back to the church, and the king continued to give increasing power to bishops
- Charles I's policy was to appoint bishops rather than nobles to the Scottish Privy Council, his chief advisory body in Scotland; in 1635 Archbishop John Spottiswoode was appointed as the king's Chancellor for Scotland, the first non-secular official in this position since the Reformation, leading to fears that the king would impose Anglicanism on the country
- Charles I did not visit Scotland until 1633 when he was crowned there by Spottiswoode; his ignorance of the country's political customs and traditions led to a lack of understanding of Scottish affairs; Scots opposition to Charles I meant that the Stuart notion of the Divine Right of Kings was brought to an end by the king's own subjects.

Any other relevant factors.

20.	**Context:** The English Civil War lasted from 1642 to 1649. It was fought between the Royalist forces, who supported Charles I, and Parliamentarians, who opposed the king's authority. During the reign of James I, 1603-25, the House of Commons had challenged the Divine Right of Kings. When Charles I ascended the throne in 1625, relations between crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. Factors contributing towards the war were economic, religious, political, and legal; the legacy of James I was also a factor, as were Scottish matters and the events of 1640-42. **Legacy of James I:** • James I, who reigned between 1603 and 1625, continually opposed the Puritan movement and resisted calls for Presbyterianism in the Anglican Church. He rejected the Millenary Petition in 1604 and persecuted Puritan leaders. This caused resentment amongst Puritan MPs • in addition, his adopted tolerant policy towards Roman Catholicism. He relaxed the Recusancy Laws in 1603 and approved of his son's marriage to a Roman Catholic princess from France • James I used anachronistic laws to increase his personal wealth, raising taxes himself and selling honours and titles to those who could afford to buy them • James I's imprisonment of MPs in the Tower of London showed absolutist tendencies. In addition, his assertion of Divine Right was a notion less accepted in England than in Scotland • James I intervened continually in the English judicial system, as he had done in Scotland. He allowed martial law in coastal towns • James I attempted and failed to bring about a political union between England and Scotland. This meant that the issue of ruling both countries was significant in making it almost impossible to achieve the stable rule of either. **Other factors:** **Economic issues:** • Charles I wanted to be financially independent, but resorted to anachronistic methods of raising revenue, such as a Declaration of Forced Loans in 1625 to fund wars with France and Spain, and a continuation of the enforcement of the Forest Laws re-discovered by James I • the punishing of Distraint of Knighthood raised £150,000 between 1633 and 1635 by fining those with incomes of over £40, a practice unheard of since medieval times • the raising of Ship Money in 1635 was highly controversial, as the king demanded money to the value of a ship from towns throughout the country, extending the medieval practice of requesting this only from ports to aid the defence of the realm. The Ship Money Case of 1637 involved an MP, John Hampden, who refused to pay but was defeated in court • the Tunnage and Poundage allowance, which gave the king a share in profits from farm-produce in order to help fund English naval supremacy, was awarded by Parliament in 1625 for one year only as the Charles I allowed the navy to decay. However, the king continued to raise this without MPs' consent up until 1628. Opposition to this in the House of Commons would eventually be a factor in the king dissolving parliament in 1629 • the king encouraged trade and empire as means of raising revenue. Parts of Canada were sold to France in 1629, and a Commission for Plantations established merchants in the West Indies between 1634 and 1637. Parliament objected not so much to the notion of trade but to the king's favouritism in awarding contracts and membership of trading companies.

Religious issues:

- in 1628, Charles I made William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud wanted to stamp out Puritanism and believed in the authority and discipline of the Anglican Church and sacred status of the clergy, ordering priests to wear elaborate vestments and conduct services from Communion tables railed off from the congregation
- Laud favoured the High Church, which was the grouping of those whose ideas about liturgy and prayer were not dissimilar to Roman Catholic practice. He oversaw the Court of High Commission, in front of which those who offended the Church were brought to trial and fined heavily
- Charles I authorised Laud's punishment of Puritan preachers and his clamp-down on conventicles, private meetings for worship. There was tight censorship of printed word to prevent criticism of the High Church. This led to 20,000 Puritans fleeing England to America in 10 years
- Charles I allowed his queen, Henrietta Maria to celebrate mass publicly at court. He also permitted this to take place with a representative of the Pope in attendance. This development infuriated Puritans in Parliament
- the king used the church for political purposes, with clergymen often holding public office in the civil service. Charles I appointed clerics to ministerial positions, including the Bishop of London who became Lord High Treasurer in 1636.

Political issues:

- Charles I employed the Duke of Buckingham as his Chief Minister and together the two men excluded Parliament from their negotiations with France and Spain
- Parliament passed the Petition of Right in 1628 condemning Buckingham's work raising taxes and imprisoning opponents, both carried out with the king's approval and without parliamentary consent
- Charles I believed in Divine Right, treated his promises to Parliament lightly, was a poor judge of character and surrounded himself with advisors unsuited to their positions
- after Buckingham died, the king was increasingly influenced by three people: his wife, Henrietta Maria, who encouraged him to relax laws against Roman Catholics; Archbishop Laud, who encouraged him to promote High Church policies; and Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Stafford, whose work as Chief Minister from 1628 to 1633 and then as Lord Deputy of Ireland made Charles I more absolute
- Parliament tried to introduce bills and antagonised the king by impeaching serving government ministers to show that members of His Majesty's government were responsible to Parliament as well as the Crown. Charles I disapproved of this, and imprisoned critics in the Tower of London
- when Parliament was asked to support Charles I's foreign policy, it drew up the Petition of Right in 1628 and forced him to sign it in exchange for funds. This stated that taxes should not be levied without Parliament's consent, no-one could be imprisoned by the king without trial, soldiers and sailors could not be billeted in civilians' houses, and martial law should not be imposed on civilians
- in 1629, however, Charles I dissolved Parliament because it criticised his levying of tunnage and poundage. He ruled on his own until 1640 — the 'Eleven Year Tyranny'.

Legal issues:

- Charles I used the prerogative law courts such as the Star Chamber to enforce royal policy. One example is the 1637 case in which three men were sentenced to be pilloried, have their ears cropped, and be imprisoned for life, merely for writing Puritanical pamphlets. MPs objected fiercely, believing that the Star Chamber was an instrument of the Crown
- the king also allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury to use the Court of High Commission to put on trial anyone who opposed his religious policy and to persecute Puritans. Laud even used his power in the High Commission to reverse some decisions made in common law courts
- Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Stafford, was the king's chief minister from 1628 to 1633, and was authorised by Charles I to use the Council of the North to enforce his ruthless 'Thorough' policies in the north of England to put down rebellions and influence the justice system. After 1633, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and although he revived Ireland's fishing, farming and linen industries, this was merely to generate more money for the Crown and make the Irish subservient to the king.

Scottish issues:

- Laud's imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland in 1637 was fiercely opposed by members of Scottish Kirk. His policies towards Scotland provoked hostility in Scottish Parliament
- thousands of Scots signed the National Covenant in 1638, pledging to defend Presbyterianism. The Covenanting movement was a political challenge to Laud, and was also therefore a challenge to royal power in Scotland. This led to a weakening of Charles I's position in England as the military threat from the Covenanters forced the king to attempt to reconcile his differences with Parliament
- Charles I's defeat in the First and Second Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 further weakened his authority over Parliament in England. Threats of Scottish invasion in 1640-42 led to drastic action by Parliament in forming its own army.

Events of 1640-42:

- by 1640-41, Puritans and the High Church were in bitter dispute over proposed reforms of Church of England. Parliament had imposed anti-Episcopalian conditions on its co-operation with the king in his request for funds to fight Scotland
- Charles I had asked for Parliamentary funding for the Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640
- MPs took advantage of the situation, demanding the abolition of Ship Money which would be seen as a victory in the face of years of perceived financial tyranny
- Parliament insisted on the introduction of the Triennial Act in 1641, legislating for Parliament to be called at least every three years. In response to rumours of plots against him, in January 1642, Charles I entered the House of Commons to try and arrest five Puritan MPs, including John Hampden, but they escaped
- Parliament made increasing demands on the king, such as the abolition of the prerogative law courts including the Star Chamber, High Commission and Council of the North. The House of Commons impeached Wentworth who was then arrested in March 1641, and condemned to death after Charles I signed an Attainder Act agreeing to this
- there were minor rebellions in Ireland, as hostilities broke out after people rose up against the ruthless policies imposed by Wentworth during the 1630s. In addition, threats were faced from Scotland, as with England in crisis, invasion by the Covenanters seemed likely
- Charles I left London for the north, joined by two-thirds of the House of Lords and one-third of the House of Commons. By the end of March 1642, Parliament had completed forming its own army and the king responded by raising his standard at Nottingham. The English Civil War had begun.

Any other relevant factors.

21.	**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 the Council of State, the Barebones Parliament, and the First and Second Protectorate Parliaments. **Execution of the king:** • Cromwell approved the execution of Charles I in 1649, which horrified many and led to accusations of regicide from Royalists • the Council of State subsequently abolished the monarchy and declared a Republic, or Commonwealth • there was no longer any monarchical check on Parliamentary power as there had been during the previous Stuart dynasty • without a king in England, Cromwell ruled on his own during the Interregnum, drawing comparisons with the periods when Charles I had ruled on his own, including the 11-year tyranny • in Scotland, Charles II was crowned king and some of his supporters wanted him to ascend the throne in England also, which led to distractions for Cromwell as he attempted to form a non-monarchical government. **Other factors:** **Foreign issues:** • faced with possible invasion on more than one front, 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 1652-53 being addressed inappropriately, increasing instability. **Role of the army:** • Army officers formed the Council of State with the Rump Parliament. Extremists in the army opposed Parliament's role in government • creation of a military dictatorship from 1653 drew comparisons with the Stuarts' martial law, as did the formation of the 1st 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; 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 his rule • Cromwell was conservative but his policies were ahead of 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.

	Role of 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 during the Interregnum • Parliament opposed toleration, preventing religious wounds healing. **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 • 1854: High Court was abolished, causing backlog of 23,000 cases • Barebones Parliament introduced too many reforms in a short 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. **Legacy of Civil War:** • 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 • Barebones Parliament consisted of well-intentioned but inexperienced figures who proved incapable of using power effectively. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART C — The Atlantic Slave Trade

22.	**Context:** The Atlantic slave trade was important in the development of the British economy in the eighteenth century. British manufacturing and industry was stimulated by the supply of factory made goods in exchange for Africans and profits from the slave trade provided the capital for investment in British industry and agriculture. **The importance of tropical crops and the profits accruing:** • the climate and land in the West Indies were suited to the growing of luxury crops such as sugar, coffee and tobacco • Britain made large profits from the trade in fashionable products such as sugar and tobacco which became very popular with British people. **The role of the trade in terms of navigation:** • the slave trade contributed to the growth of the Royal Navy. The slave trade was an important training ground for British seamen, providing experienced crews for the Merchant Marine and the Royal Navy • however, the high death rate, particularly from disease, meant that the slave trade could also be considered a graveyard for seamen. **The role of the trade in terms of manufacturing:** • goods manufactured in Britain were used to buy enslaved Africans. These goods included textiles, metals such as iron, copper and brass and metal goods such as pots, pans and cutlery • cloth manufacturing grew. Manchester exported a large percentage of cotton goods to Africa • the slave trade was important to the economic prosperity and well-being of the colonies. **The procurement of raw materials and trading patterns:** • the slave trade was important in providing British industries with raw materials which were turned into manufactured goods in Britain and then sold for large profits in Europe • Liverpool grew wealthy from plantation grown cotton while Bristol's wealth was partly based on slave produced sugar • plantation grown goods such as rum, tobacco, coffee, sugar, molasses and cotton was bought from the profits of selling African slaves to the plantation owners and sold for a profit in Britain and Europe. **Industrial development:** • there was a growth in industries supplying the slave traders with goods such as guns, alcohol, pots and pans and textiles to exchange for captured Africans on the outward passage • profits from the slave trade were invested in the development of British industries • investment from the slave trade went into the Welsh slate industry. Canals and railways were also built as a result of investment of profits from the slave trade • the argument that the slave trade was the vital factor in Britain's industrialisation was put forward in Williams' Capitalism and Slavery thesis • wealth generated by the slave trade meant that domestic taxes could be kept low which further stimulated investment • there was an expansion of the service industries such as banks and insurance companies which offered financial services to slave merchants • by the end of the eighteenth century, the slave trade had become less important in economic terms. It has been argued that only a small percentage of the profits from the slave trade was directly invested as capital in the Industrial Revolution.

	Wealth of ports and merchants: • ports such as London, Bristol and Liverpool prospered as a direct result of their involvement in the slave trade. In the early eighteenth century, London and Bristol dominated the British end of the slave trade. Liverpool also grew into a powerful city, directly through the shipping of slaves. By the end of the eighteenth century, Liverpool controlled over 60% of the entire British slave trade. Liverpool's cotton and linen mills and other subsidiary industries such as rope making created thousands of jobs supplying goods to slave traders. Other ports such as Glasgow profited from trade with the colonies • Liverpool became a major centre for shipbuilding largely as a result of the slave trade. By the 1780s, Liverpool had become the largest slave ship building site in Britain • the emergence of financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions to support the activities of the slave traders also led to the development of the British economy. Huge fortunes were made by slave merchants who bought large country estates or built large town houses. Some merchants used their wealth from the slave trade to invest in banks and new businesses. **Evidence that other factors were important:** • changes in agriculture such as enclosure, mechanisation, four-field crop rotation and selective breeding helped create an agricultural surplus which fed an expanding population, produced a labour force in the towns for use in factories and created a financial surplus for investment in industry and infrastructure • the British economy also benefited from technological innovations. New machinery such as the Spinning Jenny in the textile industry played an important part in the growing industrialisation of Britain. Water and steam power were used to power machines for both spinning and weaving and led to the rapid spread of factories and transport changes in the form of the canals allowed heavy goods to be carried easily and cheaply • the British economy also benefited from the increased production of coal and iron • the relative political stability of the eighteenth century created the conditions through which trade and the British economy could flourish • much of the profits of slavery were spent on individual acquisition and dissipated in conspicuous consumption, for example landed estates and large town houses built as status symbols. **Any other relevant factors.**

23.	**Context:** In essence, the slave trade and the institution of slavery were commercially based. Most participants entered the trade or owned or worked the plantations as a means of income. Financial considerations were usually paramount. **Financial considerations:** • slave ships carried as many slaves as possible in order to make as much profit as possible. The debate over 'loose' or 'tight' pack on board slave ships had little to do with humanitarianism. In loose pack, slaves were treated better and had better conditions, but the prime motivation was the transport of as many slaves as possible to the auctions in the West Indies, alive • at auctions at the end of the Middle Passage, slaves were chosen for their ability to work. Little thought was given to family bonds • to extract as much work from slaves as possible on the plantations, slaves were often beaten or worse • as slaves were property, bought and paid for, they were valuable. On the other hand, they were cheap enough to work, or beat, to death. This was known as 'wastage' • the British Caribbean islands were particularly cursed by a culture of absentee owners; estates were managed by overseers whose main interest was to amass profits in order to gain a foothold in the plantation economy • owners and overseers were aware of the risks to their own health from a lengthy stay in the West Indies and often were concerned to make as much money as quickly as possible in order to return to Britain and enjoy their wealth. **Other factors:** **Fear of revolt:** • both on slave ships and plantations there was a constant fear of a slave revolt. On ships, security was paramount, as crews were heavily outnumbered by their cargoes. This meant that slaves were kept under decks for long periods. It also meant that they were usually shackled for the whole passage • as the number of revolts on slave ships grew so did the cost as larger crews were required • on plantations, there was fear of slave resistance, both overt and otherwise. Draconian legal codes were enacted by island assemblies (dominated by planters) covering the treatment/punishment of runaways as well as those who resisted openly • escaped ex-slaves called Maroons raided plantations, killed militia and freed slaves due to the inability of the planters to crush them, they entered into a treaty with them which gave them some toleration in return for leaving the slave system alone. **Racism and Prejudice:** • the harsh treatment of enslaved Africans was often justified by racism, the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans • slave traders who bought slaves at trading posts on the African coast often believed that African captives would otherwise be executed as prisoners of war or for crimes • there was ignorance of African culture and achievements. Africans were regarded by some Europeans as almost another species. This was used as an excuse for extreme brutality • slaves were treated not as fellow human beings but as moveable property. This was illustrated by the case of the Liverpool slave ship, the Zong. The killing of slaves was not considered to be murder in the eyes of the law.

	Religious concerns: • slave traders/owners were able to point to the existence of slavery in the Bible, and use this as a justification for the institution • traders/owners claimed that slaves were being exposed to Christianity. Enslavement was therefore good for them, as it gave them the chance of eternal salvation • some participants were religious and moderated their treatment of slaves accordingly. **Humanitarian concerns:** • humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of slaves in Africa or on the Middle Passage. Participants were not in daily close contact with slaves and did not get to know them personally • the West Indian plantations, on the other hand, were often small communities. Where members of the owner's family were present, bonds of affection grew between slaves and free. Where such personal ties did not exist, there was less moderation of the brutalities of slavery • some slave ship captains were more humane and lessoned the harsh conditions of the Middle Passage. **Any other relevant factors.**

24.	**Context:** The Atlantic slave trade changed the lives of millions of Africans who were forcibly transported to the American continent and West Indies during the eighteenth century. The impact of such population loss on Africa itself was profound, socially and economically. Individual slaves were exploited for the benefit of wealthy European traders and businessmen, and also powerful Africans. **Slave sellers and European 'factories' on 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 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 and American 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 those states equipped with guns could withstand attacks from their neighbours. The acquisition of guns gave rulers an advantage over rivals and gave them greater incentive to capture and sell slaves. This led to the growth of states such as Dahomey whose key purpose was the slave trade. The mass importation of guns for slaves affected the balance of power between kingdoms • as the Atlantic Slave Trade developed, more African societies were exposed to the trade in slaves. **The destruction of societies:** • rich and powerful Africans were able to demand a variety of consumer goods, such as 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 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 over 12 million people were transported from Africa over the eighteenth century. In addition, many more Africans died during the journey from the interior to the coast — a journey which could take weeks. 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 role played by 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.**

25.	**Context:** Political change in Britain was an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, process. These gradual changes tended to see people given access to the political system in the 19th century because they had proven themselves worthy of the vote. By the 20th century, developments tended to be about rights of citizens and their equality in the political system. **The widening of the franchise:** • in 1867, most skilled working class men in towns got the vote. In 1884 many more men in the countryside were given the vote. However, it was not until 1918 that most men over 21 and some women over 30 gained the vote. **Corruption and intimidation:** • Secret Ballot 1872 • Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act 1883. **Distribution of seats:** • the re-distribution of seats in 1867 and 1885 helped create a fairer system of voting. The effectiveness of these varied; they were less effective in areas where the electorate was small, or where a landowner or employer was dominant in an area eg Norwich. **Choice:** • although the working class electorate increased by 1880s, there was no national party to express their interests. The Liberals and Conservatives were perceived as promoting middle, and upper-class capitalist values. The spread of socialist ideas and trade unionism led to the creation of the prototype Labour Party — the LRC — by 1900 thereby offering a wider choice to the electorate. **National Party Organisation:** • as the size of the electorate grew individual political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate eg development of National Liberal Federation, Conservative Central Office, Primrose League. **The role of the House of Lords:** • from 1911, Lords could only delay bills from the House of Commons for two years rather than veto them. They had no control over money bills. **Membership of the House of Commons:** • the property qualification to be an MP was abolished in 1858. Payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling working class men to sit in Parliament • however, by 1914, Parliament was more representative of the British people but points still to be resolved included: - undemocratic anomalies — plural votes and the university constituencies — were not abolished until 1948 - in 1949 the two year delaying power of the House of Lords was reduced to only one year but the power of House of Lords (not reformed until 1990s) in law making still continues - voting system still first past the post in UK. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**Context:** The campaigns for women's suffrage must be seen within the wider context of a changing society and the massive social and political changes happening in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The campaign for women's suffrage was a clear attempt to influence the development of democracy in Britain at a time of changing attitudes about the sexes between 1851 and 1928 when women gained the right to vote on the same terms as men. **The militant Suffragette campaign up to 1914:** • Emmeline Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903. WSPU adopted the motto 'Deeds Not Words'. The new strategy gained publicity with noisy heckling of politicians. Newspapers immediately took notice. The Suffragettes had achieved their first objective — publicity. Violent protest followed eg window smashing campaign and arson attacks aimed to provoke insurance company pressure on the Government. The prisons filled with Suffragettes • women used hunger strikes as a political weapon to embarrass the government. In response the government introduced the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act — the Cat and Mouse Act • the actions of the Suffragettes mobilised opinion for and against. It can be argued that were it not for the Suffragette campaign, the Liberal Government would not even have discussed women's suffrage before World War One. But for opponents the militant campaign provided an excellent example of why women could not be trusted with the vote. **Other factors:** **The part played by women in the war effort, 1914-18:** • Britain declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914 and two days later the NUWSS suspended its political campaigning for the vote. Undoubtedly the sight of women 'doing their bit' for the war effort gained respect and balanced the negative publicity of the earlier Suffragette campaign. A WSPU pro-war propaganda campaign encouraged men to join the armed forces and women to demand 'the right to serve' • women's war work was important to Britain's eventual victory. Over 700,000 women were employed making munitions • the creation of a wartime coalition also opened the door to change the traditional explanation for the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 has been that women's valuable work for the war effort radically changed male ideas about their role in society and that the vote in 1918 was almost a 'thank you' for their efforts. But the women who were given the vote were 'respectable' ladies, 30 or over, not the younger women who worked long hours and risked their lives in munitions factories • another argument about the 1918 Act is that it only happened because politicians grew anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war but lost their residency qualification to vote and women could be 'added on' to legislation that was happening anyway • the war acted more as a catalyst but the tide was flowing towards female franchise before it started. **The women's suffrage campaigns:** • the NUWSS believed in moderate, 'peaceful' tactics to win the vote such as meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills. Membership remained relatively low at about 6,000 until around 1909, but grew to 53,000 by 1914 as women angered by the Suffragettes' campaign, found a new home.

	Changing attitudes to women in society: • the campaigns for women's suffrage could also be seen within the context of societies' changing attitudes towards women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, in the words of Martin Pugh, 'their participation in local government made women's exclusion from national elections increasingly untenable'. Millicent Fawcett, a leader of the NUWSS, had argued that wider social changes were vital factors in the winning of the right to vote. **The example of other countries:** • women were able to vote in other countries such as New Zealand, and in some American states. **Any other relevant factors.**

27.	**Context:** Attitudes towards poverty in the 19th century were laissez-faire. The Liberals had not been elected on a social reform ticket in 1906. However, the overwhelming evidence regarding the scale of poverty, as well as developing concerns about the health of the nation (as an Empire Britain could ill afford to let her economic lead slip), led to a series of limited social reforms that were initiated by the Liberal Party. This was in part due to the emergence of the Labour Party. **The rise of the Labour Party:** • by 1906, the newly-formed Labour Party was competing for the same votes as the Liberals. It can be argued that the reforms happened for the very selfish reason of retaining working-class votes • the Liberals recognised the electoral threat of the Labour Representation Committee (Labour Party from 1906) and in 1903 negotiated a Liberal-Labour electoral pact which allowed Labour to run unopposed by the Liberals in seats where there was a large working-class vote. By 1910, Labour had 42 seats. **Other factors:** **Concerns over poverty: the social surveys of Booth and Rowntree:** • the reports of Charles Booth in London and Seebohm Rowntree in York demonstrated that poverty had causes such as low pay, unemployment, sickness and old age. These were largely outwith the control of the individual • they provided the statistical evidence of the scale of poverty • 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 there, poverty was deep-seated • identified primary and secondary poverty • Rowntree identified a cycle of poverty. **Foreign examples:** • Germany had introduced a much-admired system of social security. Germany was also developing quickly in economic terms. This raised the issue of whether Britain was now no longer a major European nation. It can also be linked to the idea of national efficiency. **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. **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.

	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 1906. Only when 'old liberal' Prime Minister Campbell Bannerman died in 1908, was the door opened for new 'interventionist' ideas • leading New Liberals like Lloyd George and Winston Churchill were important in initiating reform. **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 also in other large industrial cities, local authorities had taken the lead in providing social welfare schemes. These served as an example for further reforms. **Any other relevant factors.**

28.	**Context:** Initially the First World War brought prosperity to Ireland. The demands on manufacturing and farming brought low unemployment thus improving relations between Britain and Ireland. However, Sinn Fein, the Easter Rising and the Protestant reaction were to change this along increasingly sectarian lines. **Irish attitudes to World War I:** • propaganda — powerful Germany invading helpless and small, Catholic Belgium so Ireland supported Britain • Ulster very supportive of Britain to ensure favourable treatment at the end of the war • Nationalists and Redmond backed war to get Home Rule, urging Irish men to enlist • press gave support to the war effort • Irish Volunteers gave support to help Home Rule be passed after the war • recruitment was successful in the south as almost ¼ million men join up. **The Nationalist Movement, 1914-16:** • opposition to war was very much a minority in 1914 but supported by Sinn Fein and Arthur Griffith (not powerful at this time), as well as Pearse, Connolly and their supporters and also a section of the Irish Volunteers. This damaged relations with Britain. **Easter Rising:** • rebels saw war as chance to rid Ireland of British by force • felt it was opportunity to gain independence by force as Britain had their troops away fighting the Germans in World War I. This greatly strained relations between Britain and Ireland • Britain had to use force to suppress rebellion, such as using the Gunboat, 'Helga' to sail up the River Liffey and fire on the rebels in the GPO, thus distracting Britain's attention and resources away from the war effort, thus straining relations • strong criticism of Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as press for unnecessary death and destruction. 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2½ million, showing that majority still sided with Britain therefore indicating that there was not too much damage to relations between the two countries • initial hostility by majority of Irish people to Rising by small group of rebels, majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists Party • strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners to rebels for destruction of city centre. **Changing Irish attitudes towards British Rule after 1916:** • the secret court martial, execution of leaders over 10 days as well as imprisonment without trial and at least one execution without a trial saw the rebels gain a lot of sympathy from the Irish public, turning them against British rule • these political developments meant a growth of sympathy and compassion for rebels who were seen as martyrs and replaced the initial condemnation of the Rising • Sinn Fein initially blamed for the Rising saw a subsequent rise in support for them • Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

	Anti-conscription campaign: • Irish opposed conscription and pushed people in protest to Sinn Fein who openly opposed it • caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster • Sinn Fein and Nationalists organised campaign eg general strike on 23rd April • Catholic Church, Mayor of Dublin drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription • conscription was not extended to Ireland which Sinn Fein was given credit for • conscription campaign drove Sinn Fein underground which improved their organisation. **Any other relevant factors.**

29.	**Context:** The radicalisation of Irish politics engendered during the First World War, led to conflict between the British State and Irish nationalists. Attempts to solve the problem of who was to govern in Ireland led to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, which effectively created two governments, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. However, this gave only very limited devolved power which was unacceptable to the Irish nationalists. **The growth of Sinn Féin:** • the aftermath of the Easter Rising, and the anti-conscription campaign, led to a decline in support for the Nationalist Party and a huge growth in support for Sinn Féin (Sinn Féin membership reached 112,000). In the 1918 General Election, Sinn Féin won 73 seats, compared to winning none in 1910, 34 representatives were in prison, 1 had been deported, 2 were ill and 7 were absent on Sinn Féin business, so there were only 25 present when they held their first public meeting in January 1919. This meant control of the nationalist movement largely moved to the IRB and the IVF • with the support of the majority of the population, the IRA was prepared to wage an armed struggle against the British. **Other factors:** **The policies and actions of the British government:** • the British aim between 1918 and 1921 was to reduce Ireland to obedience within the United Kingdom and in doing this, relied increasingly on military force. The best houses in local areas were taken and used, with the occupants evicted, if the local police station had been burned or destroyed • RIC members were instructed to challenge civilians from ambush and shoot them if they did not obey the RIC officers. RIC officers were encouraged to shoot suspicious looking people, sometimes innocent people were killed. RIC officers were protected by their superiors • the Black and Tans were responsible for violence, theft, drunken rampages, attacks on villages such as the burning of Balbriggan, village creameries being burnt down and houses destroyed. In March 1919, the Lord Mayor of Cork was shot dead by RIC men. At Croke Park, where there was a Gaelic football match taking place, the Black and Tans fired into the crowd, killing 12 people and injuring 60 • the violence led to a drift to extremism, culminating in the sacking of Cork city by the Black and Tans. **The Declaration of Independence and the establishment of the Dail:** • Republicans led by Sinn Féin, who did not attend Westminster, met at the Mansion House in Dublin and declared themselves 'Dáil Éireann'. De Valera was made the President of Ireland, Arthur Griffith Vice President and Michael Collins Minister of Finance. Most local councils in Ireland, except in Ulster, recognised the rule of this new assembly. By 1921, 1,000 Sinn Féin law courts had been set up and Collins raised £350,000 as many people paid their taxes to the Minister of Finance, Collins, rather than the British Government • the Dáil failed to meet very regularly but worked using couriers carrying communications between those in hiding. Law and order was maintained though, as the Dáil relied on 'alternative' courts, presided over by a priest or lawyer and backed up by the IRA. This system won the support of the Irish communities as well as the established Irish legal system • the Dáil had won the support of masses, the Catholic Church and professional classes in Ireland. The Dáil wrested power away from Britain to a considerable extent due to the military wing of the Dáil.

	The position of the Unionists in the North: • Ulster Unionists won an extra 10 seats and now had 26 seats in Westminster, making partition increasingly likely. Additionally, Unionists had made a huge blood sacrifice in the First World War (eg on the Somme) and naturally expected this to be reflected in any post-war settlement in Ireland. **IRA tactics and policies:** • the IRA campaign used guerrilla tactics against a militarily stronger foe eg attacks on agencies of law and order, RIC, magistrates and police barracks, ambush, assassination, the disappearance of opponents, the sabotage of enemy communications and the intimidation of local communities into not supporting the British forces, attacks on British troops and G-men (detectives concentrating on IRA atrocities), the attempted assassination of Lord French (Viceroy). British forces found these increasingly frustrating to contend with, and this ramped up the violence and bitterness on both sides. **Any other relevant factors.**

30.	**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, including Eamon De Valera who would go on to lead the new state. **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 the 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. **Other factors:** **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'. **Divisions in the Republican movement:** • the Treaty was hotly debated in the Dáil. 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 Dáil Eíreann on 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'. **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 with 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 • 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

Section 3 — European and the World

PART A — The Crusades, 1071 — 1204

31.	**Context:** Inspired by the chance of prestige and honour, thousands of people across Europe took vows to go on Crusade. For many there were other attractions; the promise of land, fame and great riches. **The desire to acquire territory in the Holy Land:** • Urban promised that those who went on Crusade would keep possession of any lands they conquered. This motivated many of the great magnates who intended to acquire new estates for themselves • the prospect of gaining land said to flow with 'milk and honey' was tempting for a younger son who would not inherit his father's lands in Western Europe • examples of Crusaders motivated by the desire to acquire land include Bohemond and Baldwin who showed little zeal in carrying on with the Crusade once they had acquired Antioch and Edessa respectively. Bohemond of Taranto had not inherited his father's lands in Italy and was eager to gain land elsewhere • the promise of land was an incentive to some although the traditional historians' view of land hunger being a motivation is questioned by the huge financial cost of going on Crusade. The cost of chain mail, armour, horses and weapons amounted to several years' income for most knights. **Other factors:** **Seeking of fame and riches:** • not all Crusaders were motivated purely by religion and many had mixed motives and agendas which included the prospect of financial gain and glory seeking • young knights like Tancred may have been partly motivated by the desire to use their military skills in the East • the idea of crusading was popular with Norman knights who saw the chance of becoming rich and powerful • the lure of unimaginable wealth may have motivated some. It was known that there was a lot of wealth in the East. It was the centre of trade • some were attracted by the prospect of booty and plunder • the desire for financial gain motivated the Italian cities of Pisa, Genoa and Venice who supported the Crusades in the hope of gaining bases for their trading ships • the seeking of riches per se was relatively uncommon. For many lesser knights, going on Crusade meant risking financial ruin. They were more likely to lose money than make money since many had to sell or mortgage their lands on poor terms. In addition, land was the real source of wealth and power. **Religious motives:** • a key factor motivating people to take the cross was the belief that the Crusade was a spiritual war which would purify their souls of sin. Urban took an unprecedented step of offering to those who pledged their soul to the Crusade, a ticket directly to heaven • the Remission of Sins offered by Pope Urban was an attractive solution to the dilemma of knights. A Crusader now had the blessing of God to ignore the 6th Commandment — thou shalt not kill — as long as he was an Infidel • Urban resolved the need to protect Christianity from the Muslim threat and the general desire to re-establish the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Lands. Urban drew on the ancient tradition of pilgrimage. For centuries, people had journeyed to Jerusalem and the holy sites as well as Rome as a form of penance and to gain remission for their sins

	• Raymond of Toulouse, is often held up as an example of a knight riding to the defence of the Holy Lands. Deeply religious, Raymond was the first Prince to agree to join the Crusade. He sold all his lands and wanted to die in the Holy Land. However, his decision to take Tripoli in 1100 casts a shadow over this interpretation of his motives • the appeal of the People's Crusade shows the power of the belief that they were doing good and helping God • in the First Crusade, recruitment was strongest in areas which had supported Pope Gregory VII's reform movement and among families with a tradition of pilgrimage and from areas of France that Pope Urban had visited in person • such omens as showers of meteorites and heavy rains after years of drought were regarded as prophesies, signs of intervention by the Hand of God. Witnesses to these signs believed they were predestined to join the soldiers of Christ • evidence from the charters reveal Crusaders did indeed want to free Jerusalem and win forgiveness for their sins although it should be noted that most charters were written by clergy who may have recorded the Church's official view. **Peer pressure:** • the pressure put on knights by their families to take the cross was at times severe. Noblemen's wives tended to be keenly aware of the politics at court and had a role in influencing the decisions of some • for example, Stephen of Blois was the son-in-law of William the Conqueror and was devoted to his religious wife Adela. It would have been unthinkable for such a notable knight not to go on the Crusade. **Overpopulation and famine:** • a motive of many may have been a desire to escape the hardships of life at the time. Northern Europe was experiencing rising population, constant food shortages, petty wars and lawlessness. Many craved a better life, in this world as well as the next • several years of drought and poor harvests in the 1090s led to a widespread outbreak of a deadly disease called ergotism, caused by eating bread made from fungus-infected cereal. Against this background, a long and dangerous journey to a distant land in the east from which they might never return must have seemed a risk worth taking • many were forced to leave because of the lack of available farmland in an already overcrowded Europe. **The sense of adventure:** • going on Crusade was exciting and engendered a sense of adventure, especially for young men • the idea of an armed pilgrimage was very appealing. It offered a way out for many serfs from their lives in bondage, or perhaps a chance to see the Holy Land. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context:** Despite many hardships, the First Crusade was a unique and overwhelming success. Much of this was due to their belief in God. Muslim disunity and the lack of a single Muslim leader were also very much to the Crusaders' advantage and assisted the Crusaders in their victories. **The religious zeal of the Crusaders:** • without their belief in what they accepted as God's Will, the First Crusade would have disintegrated long before it reached Jerusalem. The sheer determination of the Crusaders helped them through incredible hardships during their passage through the Taurus Mountains and at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem • because they believed God would help them, the Crusaders attempted the impossible, where most armies would have surrendered. Visions during the siege of Antioch and the discovery of the Holy Lance were much needed boosts to morale. The Lance had become a mystical weapon to be wielded on Christ's behalf. The fact that the Crusading army was now in possession of such a relic caused the majority of the Crusaders to believe in their own invincibility. The miracle perceived by the Crusaders lifted their spirits and brought them victory over Kerbogha's army at Antioch and gave them the energy and confidence for the next stage of their Crusade — Jerusalem • another vision came to the rescue of the Crusaders at Jerusalem. Peter Desiderous announced he had received a vision from Bishop Adhemar saying the city would fall to them if they would fast and walk on barefoot in procession around the city. God's Hand was even clearer when the Crusaders fought their way across the city wall on 15th July 1099, the date that Adhemar, in vision, had foretold as the day by which the Christian army would capture Jerusalem • despite Nicaea falling to the Byzantine emperor through negotiation and the skill of Bohemond of Taranto who saved the Crusaders at their first real battle at Dorylaeum, many Crusaders considered their success as part of God's plan. **Other factors:** **Divisions among the Islamic states:** • the division in the Islamic faith was between the Sunni and the Shia, a split dating back to the death of the prophet Muhammad (AD 632) • by the 1070s, the Sunni controlled Asia Minor and Syria, under the leadership of the caliph of Baghdad while the Shia ruled Egypt under a caliph based in Cairo. The two groups hated each other more than they hated the Crusaders and were known to form alliances with the Crusaders in order to make gains on their fellow Muslim enemy • at the time of the First Crusade, there was a lack of stable leadership in Anatolia due to the death of several leaders from both the Sunni and the Shia branches of Islam. A series of petty rulers fought for leadership • as a result, the Islamic response to the First Crusade was slow in getting under way. Not only were the Islamic leaders more willing to fight among themselves than join forces against the common enemy, many did not even realise that the Crusaders were a common enemy. Kilij Arslan, for example, expected the 'Princes' Crusade' to be no more of a concern than Peter the Hermit's followers. Thus he was off raiding his Muslim neighbours when Nicaea came under attack • further evidence of division amongst the Islamic states was when Kerbogha's army abandoned him at the battle of Antioch in 1098. Many had feared that his victory would allow him to gain a semblance of authority over the other Seljuk Turkish leaders. There was tension in his army as the Turks mistrusted the Arab speaking Muslims and the different tribes of nomads. The lack of unity was clear among the divisions of Ridwan of Aleppo and Duquaq of Damascus. Infighting among the Turkish leaders led to Kerbogha being abandoned at the battle's critical moment

	• the fundamental division of Islam between the Fatimids and the Seljuk is illustrated in the Egyptian's seizure of Jerusalem. The Egyptian army used siege engines to reduce the walls of Jerusalem in a siege that lasted six weeks. This not only damaged the defences of the city but reduced the number of defenders available. The Fatimids even sent embassies to the Crusaders offering them Jerusalem in exchange for an alliance against the Seljuk • for the Muslims, the First Crusade was not seen as a holy war, at least not at the outset. To the Muslims, unifying to face the Christians was a more dangerous idea than the Crusaders themselves. **The military power of the Crusader knights:** • the First Crusade had been unexpected by local Muslim leaders. Those that had witnessed the ineptitude of the People's Crusade expected Christian knights to be as inept in combat. However Christian knights were often ferocious fighters, used to long campaigns in Europe, whereas the knights of the East were seen as gentlemen of culture and education • the mounted tactics of the knights were relatively unknown in the East and the sight of the largest concentration of knights in history assembled on the field was a truly awesome sight. This full frontal charge of the knights was in contrast to the tactics deployed by the Islamic forces. Their hit and run horse archers were not prepared for this aggressive style • it was the strategic skill of Bohemond of Taranto and the discipline that he had instilled in his men which saved the Crusaders from a ferocious Turkish attack near Dorylaeum • Crusading knights used aggressive combat tactics, and utilised heavier armour and barding for their horses. The constant fighting of the 12th century had well prepared the organised and disciplined knightly classes for warfare. Many, such as Raymond of Toulouse, had combat experience against the Moors in Spain. **Misunderstanding of the Crusaders' intent:** • Muslims misunderstood the threat of the Western knights. Many saw this as another expedition from Byzantium and thought them soldiers of Alexius. Such raids had occurred before; however, this was different. Here the Christians had an ideological motivation not yet encountered by the Islamic leaders. **Aid from Byzantium:** • the First Crusade was the only Crusade to have significant support from Constantinople. Even though Alexius's army did not participate in the Crusade itself, they did cause problems, diverting a lot of Muslim resources • Alexius also provided much needed supplies at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. **Any other relevant factors.**

33.	**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, as well as the divisions among the Crusaders after the death of Baldwin. **The death of Baldwin IV:** • Baldwin IV was king of Jerusalem from 1174 until his death in 1185. He had to deal with the growing threat of Muslim re-conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin • Baldwin was a brave knight and effective leader. He used a variety of military and diplomatic initiatives to hold Saladin at bay. He had relatively successful military operations against the forces of Saladin, with a notable victory at the Battle of Montgisard • Baldwin was a leper. He died in March 1185, taking his strategy towards Saladin with him. He was replaced for a short time by his nephew, Baldwin V with Raymond of Tripoli as Regent • Baldwin IV was succeeded by his sickly nine-year-old nephew Baldwin V, 'the Child King'. Baldwin V died within a year, and the kingdom spiralled into a bitter, factional, succession crisis • Queen Sybil further inflamed the situation when she crowned her new husband, Guy de Lusignan, who became the last king of Jerusalem. Saladin's invasion of Galilee came in 1187, two years after Baldwin IV's death, resulting in the Fall of Jerusalem and the contraction of the kingdom to a foothold around the port of Tyre. **Other factors:** **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 sought to redress their military inferiority by constructing powerful fortifications. However, 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. **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 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 was 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.**

34.	**Context:** Since the 1600s, the thirteen colonies of North America had been part of the British Empire. However, on 4th July 1776 the Continental Congress met in Freedom Hall, Philadelphia and issued the Declaration of Independence. This historic event, the turning point in the American Revolution, came after over ten years of opposition by colonists to British rule. The action by the delegates in Philadelphia led to the American War of Independence. **Disputes over taxation:** • indirect taxation appeared in 1764 with the Sugar Act which controlled the export of sugar and other items which could now only be sold to Britain; this was to be enforced through greater smuggling controls; colonist merchants protested on the grounds of their reduced income and the idea that there should be no taxation of colonists who had no representation in the British Parliament • also, the Stamp Act, passed by Grenville's administration in 1765, was the first direct taxation on colonists. It stated that an official stamp had to be bought to go on printed matter such as letters, legal documents, newspapers, licences pamphlets and leases. Many colonists subsequently refused to pay the tax, with James Otis of Boston arguing that 'taxation without representation is tyranny' • while the British argued that taxation would contribute to the costs of Seven Years War and pay for the continued presence of British Army in America, colonists claimed that they already paid financial dues to British through the Navigation Acts and other trading restrictions, and also that they had their own militia and did not need the British Army to protect them • the slogan 'No Taxation without Representation' was a familiar protest during this time, and due to inability to enforce the Stamp Act, Prime Minister Rockingham oversaw its repeal in March 1766. At the same time, he passed the Declaratory Act, supporting any future taxation of the colonies. To underline opposition to any taxation by Britain, the secret organisation, Sons of Liberty, was founded in February 1766 by colonists like John Adams and Patrick Henry, who proclaimed loyalty to the king but opposition to Parliament • in 1767, new Prime Minister William Pitt proposed indirect taxation in the form of duties against imports into the colonies. Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Townshend introduced taxes on glass, tea, paper and lead. These were opposed by those such as Boston merchant John Hancock whose ships, including the 'Liberty', were regularly raided by Customs Board officials acting on behalf of new Prime Minister Grafton, and there were riots across Massachusetts. **Other factors:** **Boston Massacre:** • on 5th March 1770, during a riot in Boston in opposition to the Townshend Duties, forces sent by General Gage, the British Commander-in-Chief in North America, to quell resistance opened fire on a crowd on the orders of Captain Preston, killing three people instantly, injuring eleven others, and fatally wounding two more. Preston and four soldiers were charged with murder. Many Bostonians were horrified at what they perceived as the brutal actions of the British Army • Committees of Correspondence, which had been established during the 1760s, quickly spread news of the massacre around the thirteen colonies, and Paul Revere, a Boston silversmith, depicted the event in an engraving which shocked colonists viewing prints of it. The soldiers were represented at the trial in October by John Adams after he volunteered to ensure there was a fair hearing, and the result was the acquittal of all defendants. This outcome outraged colonists as it suggested that British soldiers had a free hand to kill Americans

- Committees of Correspondence would later prove effective after the Gaspee Incident in summer of 1772, when a Royal Navy schooner was captured off Rhode Island and burned by smugglers who resented its enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Britain resolved to transport any culprits to England for trial. Subsequently, all thirteen colonies' Committees worked together to investigate the legality of all British actions towards them from now onwards.

Punishment of Massachusetts and Quebec Act:

- the British response to the Boston Tea Party, was a series of measures between March and June 1774, known to colonists as the Intolerable Acts and the British as the Coercive Acts — the Port of Boston Act closed the port, denying valuable revenue to the city, the constitution of the Massachusetts Assembly was altered reducing its powers, the Quartering Act billeted British troops in colonial homes, and trial by jury was suspended. In addition, the Quebec Act, passed in June, allowed French-speaking Catholics to settle in the Ohio valley with local law-making powers that were now being denied to Massachusetts. These legislative measures enraged colonists such as Thomas Jefferson of Virginia who proclaimed that 'the British have a deliberate plan of reducing us to slavery'
- the Virginia Assembly was now motivated to call for unity amongst the thirteen colonies to discuss the current crisis and the 1st Continental Congress, with delegates from all colonies except Georgia, met on 5th September in Philadelphia. There it issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances which, although proclaiming loyalty to George III, dismissed the Coercive Acts as null and void and rejected the supremacy of the British Parliament.

Rejection of Olive Branch Petition:

- the 2nd Continental Congress had written an appeal to the King in June 1775, known as the Olive Branch Petition, which pledged colonists' allegiance to the Crown but expressed bitterness towards Parliament, Lord North and the King's ministers
- Congress requested Constitutional Union, which would allow the colonies to legislate for themselves and raise their own taxes but remain within the British Empire under royal authority, yet this last hope of compromise fell on deaf ears as George III rejected the petition in October, declaring the colonists to be in rebellion.

Events of 1775-76:

- Congress' Trade Declaration stated that the colonies would no longer obey the Navigation Acts. In response, General Gage requested further military support in the colonies, including the hiring of foreign troops, but thousands of German mercenaries in place of regular soldiers offended colonist sensibilities as Britain was underestimating the Continental Army
- in November 1775, Governor Dunmore of Virginia formed a regiment of black soldiers in the South, promising freedom to slaves, and this brought many indignant Southerners, previously reluctant to become involved in the conflict, on board the movement towards independence
- in January 1776 the British republican writer Thomas Paine produced his pamphlet 'Common Sense' which advocated war in order for the colonies to free themselves from British rule. This sold 100,000 copies and influenced many middle-class, educated colonists
- British intransigence and uncompromising attitudes in the face of continued colonist protest and pleas for compromise, as well as a perception in America of Parliamentary ignorance of the spirit and determination of the colonists, irked many in the colonies
- on 4th July 1776 Congress met to sign the Declaration of Independence, which had been drafted by Jefferson and Franklin to state that 'all men are created equal', and they have 'inalienable rights' amongst which are 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. It expressed the 'right of the people' to abolish their own government if they so desire. Lord North immediately ordered more troops to America in preparation for war.

Proclamation of 1763:

- the Proclamation, made by George III, forbade anyone from settling beyond the Frontier, which was a line drawn in the map along the Appalachian Mountains. When it passed through Parliament and became the Proclamation Act, it caused anger amongst colonists of a bold and adventurous nature who were now to be kept within the jurisdiction of British authorities
- in addition, the Proclamation enforced the re-imposition of the Navigation Acts, restricting colonist trade with European merchants. This meant Royal Navy cutters patrolling the east coast for smugglers collaborating with the French, Dutch or Spanish. Colonist traders greatly resented this curtailment of their economic activities which had gone unhindered for over 40 years during the Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s.

The Tea Act:

- in 1773, tea duties in the colonies were reduced by the Tea Act, designed by Lord North's government to give the British East India Company a monopoly in North America to help ease it out of financial difficulty. Although this also benefited colonist tea merchants, many felt that Britain may extend this monopoly to other commodities. The key effect of the act was to lead many to suggest that accepting the cheap tea symbolised acceptance of Britain's right to tax America
- in Boston, crowds of colonists organised blockages of loading bays to prevent the unloading of tea cargoes. On 16th December 1773, in what became known as the Boston Tea Party, hundreds of people, co-ordinated by Samuel Adams, boarded three British East India Company ships and threw £10,000 worth of tea into the harbour. This destruction of British government property was an expression of colonist frustration at policies.

Events at Lexington and Bunker Hill:

- on 19th April 1775, British troops encountered colonial militia at Lexington Green in Massachusetts after General Gage sent a force of 700 men to Concord to seize a store of military supplies held by local militia, and were intercepted on the way by Lexington's 'minutemen'. Eight colonists were killed, and reports of the skirmish raised issues about the conduct of British officers, as there were questions about warnings not being given before firing. This incident was significant because it was the first blood spilled in a military engagement between colonist and British in the developing conflict in America, and led to a series of attacks by various New England militia groups on British forts
- the Battle of Bunker Hill, 16th-17th June 1775 saw the British defeat 1,200 militia on high ground overlooking Boston, but although the colonists suffered over 400 casualties, the British sustained over 1,000, including 200 dead. This was an important development as colonists took heart and attacked more British posts in New England and even Canada, and the 2nd Continental Congress, which had met on 10th May, decided in June to form the Continental Army in June with George Washington of Virginia appointed as its Commander.

Any other relevant factors.

35.	**Context:** In the 1760s and 1770s, the thirteen colonies in America witnessed resentment from colonists towards Britain. Several crises including the Stamp Act in 1765, the Boston Massacre in 1770 and the Tea Act in 1773 created a momentum of hostility. The colonists' last hope of compromise, the Olive Branch Petition, was rejected by Britain in 1775 and the Continental Congress declared independence in 1776, leading to a five-year war which the colonists won. Factors to be considered amongst British opinion are the views of Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, George III, parliament, the Earl of Chatham and other British people such as politicians, industrialists and the working classes including those living in England, Scotland and Ireland. **Edmund Burke:** • as a new MP in 1765, Burke spoke against the Stamp Act in the House of Commons, having studied the American situation and taken the colonists' demands seriously • he made speeches citing the common bond of 'Englishness' which existed between Britain and America, and urging Parliament to 'loosen the reins' on colonists or lose America for good. This shows Burke's insight into colonist feeling about rule by Parliament • he opposed the Quebec Act 1774 as both impractical and ill-timed, stating that it appeared to be punitive because it was being passed simultaneously with the Coercive Acts • he proposed a Motion of Conciliation from Britain to the 1st Continental Congress in November 1774, but was heavily defeated in the House of Commons. Burke's actions demonstrate an awareness of the need to maintain good relations with America • Burke believed George III's actions to have accelerated colonists' moves towards independence, but his views were dismissed as alarmist by many Parliamentarians in the pre-war years • during the war, in 1777 in Parliament, Burke predicted a colonist victory based on his knowledge of their rebellious spirit and Britain's impotence to crush their determination • one school of thought is that Burke was an imperialist who merely sought to maintain the colonies within the British Empire by compromising with their political demands. However, it is certain that Burke was viewed as a sympathetic figure by many colonists who applauded his common sense and humanist approach to their plight. **Other factors:** **Thomas Paine:** • Paine had attacked the notion of hierarchical monarchy in debating clubs in London and in revolutionary pamphlets in the 1770s. His views were radical for his time, and people in Britain read his work out of fascination rather than because they agreed with him. This suggests Paine's opinions on the monarchy were out of step with his contemporaries • Paine had met Benjamin Franklin in London and he assisted Paine to settle in Philadelphia in October 1774 • Paine believed he could further the cause of American independence, and made republican speeches and met with notable colonists, although his revolutionary ideas were regarded as too radical for many, including Franklin, who favoured compromise with Britain. Paine, therefore, was very much against the stem of British opinion on the situation • on 10th January 1776, Paine published 'Common Sense', a propagandist pamphlet in favour of American independence which sold 100,000 copies in the colonies, and more than that in Britain and France • during the war, his writings continued to encourage colonists to keep fighting as Britain would one day recognise America's independence. The popularity of his work demonstrates the willingness of colonists to expose themselves to his radical views.

George III:

- the king re-imposed British authority on America soon after ascending the throne in 1760
- when the Seven Years War ended in 1763, he ordered the strict application of the Navigation Acts. This led to colonists immediately resenting Parliament, who enforced the king's will by sending the army and navy to America
- popular in Britain, he brought about the dismissal or resignations of successive Prime Ministers in the 1760s, in part due to his desire to see firmer policies enforced on the colonies
- he supported Parliament's right to tax America, which created more radical opinions in the colonies against British policy.

Parliament:

- the Proclamation Act in 1763, Stamp Act in 1765, Declaratory Act in 1766, Tea Act in 1773 and Coercive Acts in 1774 enforced British authority over the colonies
- repeated speeches by significant figures such as Lord Sandwich displayed a disregard for warnings of the impending crisis, and seriously underestimated colonists' forces. This showed that the majority of Lords and MPs endorsed the views of the King
- several ministries between 1763 and 1776 sought to control America through the military enforcement of policy
- Prime Ministers were supported in the House of Lords in their assertions of Parliament's absolute sovereignty over the American colonies as in all parts of the British Empire. This led them to view taxation as fair and lenient
- in House of Commons, country gentlemen MPs favoured taxation in the colonies, as it allowed cuts in taxation in Britain. Many viewed the developing American situation as one to be resolved purely in terms of what was best for Britain, which demonstrates Parliamentary opinion against the colonists' interests.

Earl of Chatham:

- as William Pitt, he had been Secretary of State during the Seven Years War, and became regarded as architect of the Empire in America, favouring trade restrictions and British military presence
- nevertheless, he condemned the Stamp Act as unfair. This suggests Pitt supported Parliamentary legislation for the colonies but disagreed with taxation
- he was ennobled as the Earl of Chatham when he became Prime Minister in 1766, and proclaimed himself a friend of America
- however, he seemed to object only to taxation, and pushed through the Quartering Act of 1765, which forced the colonies to pay for supplies and billets for British troops. This was opposed, particularly by the New York Assembly
- after he resigned amidst domestic political manoeuvrings in 1768, Chatham became increasingly aware of the colonists' plight in his final years, speaking against harsh measures towards America in the 1770s, and repeatedly cautioning the government about the impending crisis as war approached
- however, his warnings fell on deaf ears, as Parliament ignored his pleas for conciliation and his assertion that America could not be beaten if war broke out.

	Differing British views of the situation in the colonies: • Lord Grenville was Prime Minister 1763-65, and favoured British merchants in the colonies. His Currency Act of 1764 protected debts owed to British traders. He imposed the Stamp Act, though privately feared it could not be enforced • Lord Rockingham was Prime Minister 1765-66, and was inclined to be lenient towards America. However, after he repealed the Stamp Act he passed the Declaratory Act, proclaiming British Parliamentary supremacy over America • the Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister 1768-70, and believed in the removal of duties in America but stood firm on the notion of British supreme authority. Despite his opposition to taxation, he insisted that duties on tea remain • Lord North was Prime Minster from 1770 until 1782. He believed Parliament should enforce British interests and supremacy in the colonies. He was supported by the British landed classes as long as he did not attack their interests and had the confidence of George III. North oversaw the Coercive Acts and Quebec Act. He led Britain through the war and spent a fortune on military supplies in America and the West Indies, believing the war could be won • John Wilkes was elected as an MP in 1768, although Parliament refused to allow him to take his seat as he was so radical. He was recognised by American radicals as honest and freedom-loving, fighting against the tyranny of Crown and Parliament. He favoured 'rights and privileges of freeborn subjects in a land of liberty', and spoke out against British policy in the House of Commons • British cotton industrialists and mill owners, including some MPs, favoured the Navigation Acts as they guaranteed a supply of raw materials from the colonies. However, as the crisis approached war, they merely wanted a speedy resolution in order to allow trade to continue. Cotton mill workers —workers wanted trade to be maintained in order to preserve jobs, and so favoured any moves by the British government which would resolve the crisis • in Scotland and Ireland, some people sympathised with the colonists' resentment of 'English' rule and understood their calls for greater autonomy • in America, British settlers and other Empire Loyalists in the colonies favoured the status quo, and after the Revolution 70,000 left the new states to settle in Canada. **Any other relevant factors.**

36.	**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. **Holland 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. **Armed League of 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.**

37.	**Context:** The outbreak of the French Revolution saw the collapse of royal authority, the downfall of the Ancien Régime, the end of absolutism and the eventual abolition of the French monarchy. The Ancien Régime had been weakened gradually over several decades before a combination of factors contributed to revolution in 1789. Amongst the factors were the financial problems of the Ancien Régime. In addition, there was increasing resentment felt by the bourgeoisie at their place within society, mistakes made by Louis XVI, the influence of the Enlightenment, the effects of the American Revolution, and the economic and political crises of 1788-89. **Financial problems of the Ancien Régime:** • the cost of the Seven Years War and France's financing of the American War of Independence had added considerably to the debt incurred by the wars fought by Louis XIV earlier in the century • much of this was financed by loans so that by the 1780s, about half of France's national income was going on payment of debt • the nobility and the clergy were almost wholly exempt from the payment of taxes. Attempts to raise taxation revenue from these social groups were opposed at every turn. When short-term loans to finance the American wars had to be repaid from 1786 onwards, there could be no more large-scale borrowing since investors were losing faith in the state's ability to re-pay • anticipated tax revenues were projected to fall, making matters worse. There had to be changes to the system of taxation if the Régime was to survive • taxation had to be extended to the previously exempt nobility and clergy since the rest of society (the Third Estate) could bear no further burden of taxation. Finance Minister Calonne's attempts to introduce a land tax foundered on the opposition of the nobles and the Assembly of Notables in 1787. **Other factors:** **Role of the bourgeoisie:** • the bourgeoisie had grown considerably in number during the 18th century but had little or no influence on state policy-making • however, they were expected to contribute to taxation whereas the nobility and clergy were not • many educated members of the bourgeoisie wanted to have a political voice but were rendered impotent by the fact that the Estates General had not been called since the previous century • the bourgeoisie were able to understand the works of the philosophers and use them as inspiration for ideas as to how France could be transformed • the urban workers endured exploitation by bourgeois masters and suffered through restrictions on trade, which meant there were social divisions in France. **Actions of Louis XVI:** • the king's tax concessions to the First Estate meant that the Church was resented by the peasantry who paid the tithe to their local parishes, creating further social division; even within the Church the hierarchy that was allowed to exist 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 king's dismissal of Calonne ended any hopes of significant tax reform • the king's favouring of the traditional nobility (noblesse d'epee, 'nobility of the sword') — bestowing upon them the responsibilities of key positions of the state, the army and the Church — created tension amongst the newly ennobled nobility (noblesse de robe, 'nobility of the robe')

- the king recalled the Estates General in 1789; this marked the beginning of the end for the Ancien Régime as the king would have to signal his intention to make concessions towards the Third Estate
- the king's refusal to give increased representation to the Third Estate did little to dampen revolutionary feelings amongst the Third Estate which was becoming increasingly discontented with the disproportionate burden of taxation which fell on them.

The influence of the Enlightenment:
- while not advocates of revolution, these 18th-century philosophers had challenged many of the social, political and economic assumptions of the Ancien Régime and their ideas fostered principles of social, political and economic liberty which increasingly undermined it
- Rousseau had advocated direct democracy and government by the 'General Will'
- Montesquieu had advocated a constitutional monarchy with powers based on the British model
- Diderot had written an Encyclopaedia which was meant to be a history of France but which instead became a diatribe against the Ancien Régime
- Voltaire had written satirical plays that criticised the monarchy, nobility and Church
- the philosophers had all died before 1789 so their influence has been questioned as being limited.

The effects of the American Revolution:
- French involvement in the war in the colonies contributed to the massive financial problems of the Régime
- news from America also reinforced amongst the educated middle-classes the principles of 'no taxation without representation' and liberty from centralised authority
- French soldiers and sailors returning from America brought with them these ideas which many of the lower nobility and bourgeoisie embraced in the years before 1789.

Economic crisis of 1788/9:
- peasant unrest intensified as a result of bad harvests and severe grain shortages also caused disquiet in the major cities such as Paris
- the Paris mob consisted of hungry and resentful members of the working class looking for food and shelter
- this added to the revolutionary atmosphere and increased the pressure on the monarchy and the system of government.

Political crisis of 1788/9:
- the convocation of the Estates-General brought social divisions between First, Second and Third Estates to a head
- the hopes which would be raised by Louis XVI created a mood of optimism amongst the Third Estate who would soon be disillusioned when these hopes were dashed
- the Cahiers des Doleances revealed deep disquiet over a range of inequalities such as feudal dues and the unfairness of the taxation system and put immense pressure on the Ancien Régime.

Any other relevant factors.

38.	**Context:** The French Revolution of 1789 brought about the downfall of the Ancien Régime, the collapse of absolutism and ultimately in 1792 the end of the French monarchy. The constitution was established in 1789 and was an attempt to retain the French monarchy with limited powers and according representation to royalists, Jacobins and Girondists. Factors contributing to the failure of the constitution included the character and actions of Louis XVI, weaknesses in the constitution and government, financial problems and the effects of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1792. **The outbreak of war:** • the Revolution was radicalised to the point where the position of the monarchy became impossible because of the king's identification with the enemy • partly, as was said above, this was Louis' own fault but it should be remembered that France declared war on Austria in April 1792 • however, radical anti-monarchists believed that a successful war against Austria would bring them increased support at home and prove a decisive blow to the monarchy • the final overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 had become inevitable under the pressures exerted by the war. **Other factors:** **The king's attitudes and actions:** • the king never called the Estates General (before 1789) • flight to Varennes had already stirred anti-royalist feelings • Louis was from the start unsupportive of the principle of constitutional monarchy • he dismissed Controller-General (Finance Minister) Calonne in the face of opposition from the nobility to the major tax reforms needed to save France from bankruptcy • even in the weeks before the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the king seemed to be preparing for a counter-revolution through the build-up of troops at Versailles • after the Declaration of the Rights of Man in August 1789, Louis failed to openly endorse its principles • there was considerable suspicion about the king, which made the achievement of a constitutional monarchy unlikely • even before his veto on decrees against 'refractory' clergy and émigrés in December Louis' actions during 1791 had done the monarchy immeasurable harm • his lukewarm support for the reforms of the Constituent Assembly had generated popular hostility in Paris from the spring of 1791 onwards • the king was likely to seek support from European allies to increase his powers. **Weaknesses in the constitution and the government:** • the constitution still accorded the king a power-sharing arrangement with the Legislative Assembly • limitations on the power of the monarch would never be accepted by Louis • within six months of the first meeting of the Assembly in October 1791, the king had been exercising his veto in a manner unacceptable to the Girondists and Jacobins • the government's actions against the Church were unpopular with the peasantry • the Civil Constitution of the Clergy made clergymen state employees to which Roman Catholic priests objected.

	Financial problems: • the economy had been damaged by events of the Revolution (and was already in crisis before 1789) • inflation was spiralling, making the constitutional monarchy unpopular in the provinces • in towns and cities, increased bread prices were unpopular amongst industrial workers in urban areas • continued heavy taxation of the poorest sections of society • the financial benefits of the Revolution were perceived as being enjoyed by the wealthy and bourgeoisie. **Character of Louis XVI:** • even before the outbreak of revolution in July 1789, Louis had shown himself incapable of making the strong decisions necessary to save the monarchy • the king was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants • the king was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure • the king placed no trust in the Estates General • monarchy was perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry • decadence of the court • Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality • the queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge. **Any other relevant factors.**

39.	**Context:** The 'Reign of Terror' was a period of bloody violence that took place during the French Revolution, 1793-94. During this time, Maximilien de Robespierre, a French lawyer and politician, became one of the best known and most influential figures in the French Revolution. It is generally believed that the growing threat of counter-revolution after the execution of Louis XVI was a key factor in the imposition of the Terror. **The threat of counter-revolution:** • the Convention's major concerns at the start of 1793 were two-fold: - to eliminate counter-revolutionary activity which intensified, particularly in the provinces, after Louis' execution (21st January 1793); - to execute the war against the Republic's émigré and foreign opponents as ruthlessly and as effectively as possible. At this point the Convention was still controlled by the relatively moderate Girondins • however, the Convention sanctioned a range of counter-revolutionary legislation: - 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 - 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:** **Robespierre's justification of Terror as an instrument of the 'general will':** • 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 expunge any counter-revolutionary activity violently. **Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety (created April 1793):** • Robespierre became a member of the Committee 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 Vendée - 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 1,500 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 1793-94, the use of Terror as an instrument of state policy was by no means confined to Robespierre.

	Terror as the 'order of the day' (September 1793): • pressure from mass demonstrations in Paris intimidated the Convention into adopting terror as 'the order of the day' • Terror was perceived as a legitimate 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. **The impact of war with Austria:** • the external dangers France faced radicalised the revolution • war was the occasion for 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

40.	**Context:** Chancellor Metternich of Austria had a deep mistrust of nationalism and used the German Confederation to clamp down on any attempt to create a united Germany. Despite the problems however the emotional appeal of nationalism was experienced by increasing numbers of Germans by 1850. **Supporters of nationalism — educated middle class:** • nationalist sentiment was strongest among middle-class Germans who, as a result of industrialisation, were growing in economic and social power • it was the educated middle classes, who were most influenced by German writers and poets, who encouraged nationalist feelings by promoting the idea of a German identity and culture. Fichte described 'Germany' as the Fatherland where all people spoke the same language and sang the same songs and German poets like Goethe and authors, such as the Grimm brothers, and composers such as Beethoven, encouraged feelings of national pride in the German states • nationalist feelings were expressed in the universities. During the Napoleonic Wars, nationalist student societies had emerged called Burschenschaften. There was further student activity in 1832 at the Hambach Festival where the red, gold and black colours were used to symbolise German nationalism. Their nationalist enthusiasm however tended to be of the romantic kind with no clear ideas of how their aims might be achieved • nationalist sentiment was further demonstrated in 1840, when Germans were roused to the defence of the fatherland when France threatened to extend its frontier to the Rhine • books and newspapers supporting the idea of national unity also began to influence public opinion. **Liberals:** • there was undoubtedly also a growth in Liberal ideas by the 1840s • the economic co-operation between the German states as a result of the Zollverein also provided encouragement to liberals and nationalists whose dreams of a politically united Germany seemed more attainable • some Liberals believed a united Germany should have a Liberal constitution that would guarantee the rights of citizens however others envisaged a federation of states under a constitutional monarch. Some Liberals were also suspicious of full democracy and wanted to limit the vote to the prosperous and well educated. Most liberals were concerned with developments in their own states, not in the situation across Germany as a whole. Small in number and far from unified, they were also isolated from the mass of the people. **Opponents of nationalism:** • the person most opposed to German nationalism was the Austrian Chancellor Metternich. One fifth of the population of the Austrian empire were German thus the Austrian Emperor feared nationalism would encourage them to break away and join Germany. This would leave Austria weaker and cause other national groups in the Empire to demand their independence • the Carlsbad Decrees (1819) introduced by Mettternich greatly restricted the opportunity for nationalism to grow for a considerable period of time. The decrees disbanded student societies, ordered the appointment of inspectors to keep order in the universities, and introduced censorship of newspapers • there was another blow to nationalists the following year when representatives of Austria, Prussia and Russia met at Troppau and agreed to suppress any nationalist uprisings which might threaten the power of the monarchs • the particularism of the various German states also limited the spread of nationalism

- there was a great deal of political apathy amongst the mass of the German people. Only small numbers of workers in towns were beginning to take an interest in politics. Most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany. France and Russia feared that a strong, united Germany would be a political, economic and military rival to them.

Attitudes of peasants:

- the nationalist cause was not of relevance to the bulk of the German peasantry who were concerned with the more immediate problems of rising rents and harsh working conditions. Such hardships did however lead to resentment towards their rulers. By the late 1840s, peasants were demanding that remaining feudal dues should be cancelled by their German princes
- Golo Mann wrote that most Germans 'seldom looked up from the plough'. He doubted the influence of artists and intellectuals whom most Germans knew little or nothing about.

Political turmoil in the 1840s:

- trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe. In the German states a shortage of food, high prices and widespread unemployment led to demands for change by workers and peasants. There were however no demands for liberalism or nationalism only demands for an improvement in their conditions
- there was also unrest amongst the middle classes who resented the lack of job opportunities. Unlike the workers and peasants, middle class demands included the creation of a united Germany
- in the German Confederation, nationalists and liberals saw that change was a real possibility. There were calls from several German states for meetings to tackle the issue of German unity. A national Constituent Assembly was elected known as the Frankfurt Parliament.

The Frankfurt Parliament, divisions:

- the Frankfurt Parliament was the first serious attempt to challenge Austria's political power in Germany, and Austrian opposition to the liberals and nationalists, but without clear aims, decisive leadership and an armed force to enforce its decisions, the Frankfurt Parliament failed in its revolutionary aims
- Nationalists could not agree on the size of a new united Germany. Supporters of Grossdeutschland believed that Germany should include Austria but Kleindeutschland supporters wanted a united Germany without Austria or its empire
- progress towards nationalism was hampered by divisions and distrust between the Protestants of the North and Southern Catholics. There were also cultural differences between the more industrialised and liberal west and the agrarian, autocratic east.

The collapse of the revolution in Germany, 1848-49:

- the failure of the 1848-49 revolutions was a serious blow to nationalists. The events of 1848 and 1849 appeared to show that German nationalism was too weak and divided to achieve its aims of German unity
- hopes for a united Germany were dashed when King Frederick William of Prussia withdrew his support for the Frankfurt Parliament. His rejection of the crown of a united Germany signalled the end of revolutionary activity
- the Frankfurt Parliament failed to satisfy the needs of the starving workers who had helped create the revolution. The Frankfurt Parliament also had to rely on the Prussian army to crush the disturbances which had begun occurring throughout the German states
- the rulers of the German states saw few advantages for themselves in a united Germany. The self-interest of the German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt

	• at Olmutz in 1850, it was agreed to return to the constitution of 1815 which signalled the triumph of Austria and the humiliation of Prussia. The ideals of nationalism appeared to be a spent force. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**Context:** Between 1815 and 1850, there was a growth in German nationalism across the German confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. Due to a variety of divisions ranging from religious to political, there were many who did not support German unification. **Divisions among the nationalists:** • nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* arguments • failure of the Frankfurt Parliament — lack of clear aims and without an armed force to enforce its decisions. Lack of decisive leadership. Divisions among the 'revolutionaries' regarding aims and objectives. **Other factors:** **Economic differences:** • the smaller states of the West had more advanced economies than the Prussian heartlands • even within Prussia there were significant social differences between the industrially advanced territories on the Rhine and the largely agricultural areas in the East, which were dominated by the Junkers (although less so than in the 18th century), who were adversely affected by the agricultural depression of the 1820s • Austria's failure to join the Zollverein led her to create her own customs union. **German Princes:** • the leaders of the German states obstructed unification — protective of their individual power and position. They wanted to maintain the status quo which would safeguard this for them • particularism of the various German states — autonomous and parochial in many ways • self-interest among German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt. **Resentment towards Prussia:** • smaller states, particularly in the south, resented the economic and political predominance of Prussia • there was a reluctance to accept unification within the Prussian state, which had a significant non-German population and which contained a large conservative/ reactionary landed class. **Religious differences:** • Religion — northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic; thus the north looked to Prussia for help and protection while the south looked to Austria. **Austrian strength:** • the states within 'Germany' had been part of the moribund Holy Roman Empire, traditionally ruled by the Emperor of Austria • post — 1815 the chairmanship of the *Bund* was given to Austria on a permanent basis, partly as she was considered to be the major German power • Metternich's work — to oppose liberalism and nationalism. His use of the weapons of diplomacy and threats of force eg Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles. Use of the police state, repression and press censorship • Austrian control over the administration and management of the empire, stamping authority on the *Bund* • Treaty of Olmutz, 1850 — signalled the triumph of Austria and humiliation of Prussia which showed that Austrian military strength was an important obstacle. Although Austrian military strength was in decline, this was not apparent until the 1860s.

	Indifference of the masses: • popular apathy — most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany; nationalism affected mainly the educated/business classes • lack of coincidence between political boundaries and ethnic/linguistic ones • however, politically based literature and propaganda also reached the masses, helping to bond their ideals and strengthen their resolve for both reform and unification. **Attitudes of foreign states:** • France had been able to dominate central Europe for centuries due to its lack of unity. Although most of Germany had been united by Napoleon into the Confederation of the Rhine, it was not in French interests for Germany to be united, particularly as that would present a barrier to France achieving a frontier on the Rhine. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**Context:** On 18th January 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, Bismarck had the honour of proclaiming the birth of the German Empire. In the minds of both Germans and the French, the founding of the empire would be associated with a military triumph for Germany and a humiliating defeat for France. A factor leading to the unification of Germany was the part played by Bismarck. **The role of Bismarck:** • Bismarck's aim was to make Prussia the dominant German state • Bismarck took advantage of increasing Prussian strength and had the diplomatic skills to take advantage of circumstances as they arose • Bismarck took the initiative, as opposed to Austria, in the war against Denmark in 1864 • Bismarck skilfully manipulated events leading up to the war with Austria in 1866 which included the establishment of friendships with potential allies of Austria beforehand • Bismarck showed wisdom in the Treaty of Prague in 1866 • Bismarck's manipulated the Ems Telegram to instigate a war with France in 1870 • Bismarck's exploited the weaknesses of European statesmen and rulers, for example, Napoleon III • Bismarck used diplomacy to isolate his intended targets. **Other factors:** **Prussian military strength:** • German unification was the immediate result of three short wars — against Denmark (1864), Austria (1866) and France (1870–1) • the Prussian army made Germany a reality. The fighting capacity of the Prussian army improved immensely in the early 1860s due to the efforts and ability of War Minister General Roon and General von Moltke, chief of the General Staff. General Roon ensured that Prussian forces were increased, better trained and well-armed. Under Moltke, the General Staff became the brains of the Prussian army, laying plans for mobilisation and military operations. In particular, Prussian military chiefs were quick to see the potential of railways for the rapid movement of troops. **Prussian economic strength:** • by the middle of the 19th century Prussia was developing into a major industrial power due to a rapidly increasing population, the discovery of raw materials in the Rhine and the Saarland and a good railway network. These developments also enabled Prussia to equip the Prussian army and to mobilise the army at speed • the emergence of Prussia as a leading economic power is closely connected to the creation of the Zollverein. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states were members of this Prussian-dominated free-trade area. The smaller German states benefited from the increased trade with Prussia and across the German Confederation. The Zollverein encouraged supporters of German nationalism, who hoped to see economic union lead on to full political unification. On the other hand, some German states supported Austria as they resented Prussian economic dominance • Prussian economic growth in the 1850s and 1860s out-stripped that of Austria and France.

	The decline of Austria: • there was decline in Austrian power and influence during the 1850s in particular, at the same time as there was a growth in Prussian strength • the Austrian economy was largely agricultural with pockets of industry confined largely to the western regions. Austria was never a member of the Zollverein which held back her economic growth • Austria was distracted by problems in her large multi-ethnic empire and by commitments in Italy. Defeat in the Italian Independence War of 1859 was a serious blow to Austrian prestige • Austria was increasingly isolated diplomatically in Europe, especially after failing to support Russia in the Crimean war. **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 Austrian-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. **The attitude of other states:** • in the 1860s Britain was increasingly preoccupied with her Empire, particularly India and generally welcomed Prussia's dominant position in central Europe, regarding it as a welcome counter-weight to both France and Russia. Russia was pleased that it had a reliable partner against Austria • Russia, concerned with reform at home, also showed little interest in central Europe. Its sympathies lay with Prussia. Russia had still not forgiven Austria for its policy during the Crimean War • Austria, absorbed with the problem of dealing with its various subject nationalities, especially the Hungarians, was not in a position to mount a war of revenge. **Any other relevant factors.**

43.	**Context:** Despite the Vienna Settlement returning Italy to a system of separate states, each under its own ruler and system of government, there is evidence to suggest that nationalism was steadily growing in Italy during the period 1815 to 1850. By 1850 however the balance of power between Austrian strength and the forces of nationalism remained unchanged with Austrian control firmly re-established. **Supporters of nationalism — educated middle class:** • new political ideas did begin to spread among educated middle classes after 1815 as a result of the experiences of a more unified and representative government in the Napoleonic period • there was a growth in the idea of Risorgimento of the Italian nation which implied that a 'reborn' unified Italy might once again become great and powerful • the Risorgimento saw 'patriotic literature' from novelists such as Silvio Pellico whose work stirred up anti-Austrian feeling and poets such as Giacoma Leopardi whose poems encouraged nostalgia for Italy's past. These inspired the educated middle class • an influential writer was Abbe Gioberti who wrote the Primato in 1843. He believed that the Pope and the Catholic Church should lead the Italian national revival. Although Gioberti's ideas attracted a fair amount of support, the reputation of the Papal States and the Church as oppressive stood in the way of his ideas • Cesare Balbo and Giuseppi Mazzini promoted their ideas for a national state which inspired nationalism amongst the middle classes. National unity however was not widely considered before the 1840s • those of sufficient education and wealth to seek change were relatively small in number and were drawn from a narrow circle of the middle classes, mainly from the north of Italy. For some, their motives owed more to the desire for advancement rather than a real commitment to nationalism. **Liberals:** • among some liberals and business classes there was a growing interest in social and economic reform after 1830. The Riformisti ('the Reformers') believed that economic and social reform was the key to Italy's future. These Liberals were inspired by the changes introduced by Napoleon Bonaparte. They believed that Italy would flourish if freed from Austria's restrictive influence. Their ideas stressed the importance of industrial growth to the future of Italy and put forward plans for banks, schools and a common currency across several states. In the 1830s, this progressive message was spreading among Liberals in Italy. **Popular sentiment:** • French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state. The idea of being a citizen of an Italian nation with its own flag and language appealed to many people. The changes introduced under Napoleon also helped to make Italians think of themselves as Italians rather than as citizens of a state. On the other hand, many resented French rule which reminded them that if they were disunited they were easy to conquer. One reaction to the French was the formation of secret societies • the nationalist message was spread by Guiseppe Mazzini and his movement 'Young Italy', a youth movement, committed to nationalism whose motto was 'thought and action'. Mazzini argued that true liberty would only be possible when Italy was united as a single nation. He hoped to increase patriotism so that Italians could expel the Austrians and bring about the unification of Italy. Although his planned risings were unsuccessful, Mazzini provided an inspiration to nationalists across the whole of Italy and abroad. Many students joined Young Italy which was also supported by the educated middle classes although it was never very successful with the peasantry

- developments in literature, music, poetry and painting encouraged feelings of unity, a pride in being Italian and a hostility to the idea of separate regional states. Romantic novels such as I Promessi Sposi ('The Betrothed') by Alessandro Manzoni, were popular among the reading classes. Based on past glories they encouraged patriotic feeling. Music was also used as a vehicle for patriotic themes such as Gioacchino Rossini's 'William Tell' and the Giuseppe Verdi opera 'The Lombards of the First Crusade', which inspired growing feelings of patriotism. Painters depicted great battles which encouraged a pride in being Italian
- the use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism. However, it was not until the 1840s that the Italians shared a national language
- Liberal and nationalist ideas were spread through a number of secret societies. The Carbonari represented around 5% of the adult male population of Naples and also gained membership in the Papal States and Piedmont-Sardinia. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs which included desire for a national state. Their impact was limited however as there was little co-ordination between the different groups and their aims were never clearly defined
- the unrest throughout Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century was also gradually converting the masses to nationalism. By 1848 there were many prepared to fight for the Italian cause. However, the revolts were not all inspired by nationalist motives. Traditions of local allegiance remained.

Opponents:

Austria and dependent duchies:

- Austrian influence in Italy was maintained through its network of family alliances and military dependence. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena and the King of Piedmont-Sardinia were all cousins of the Emperor
- the foreign correspondence of the Italian states had to pass through Austria and was thus subject to Austrian control
- Metternich's highly organised police system and the Austrian spy network ensured widespread surveillance of the Italian states. Metternich maintained an Austrian minister at each court, with agents and informers reporting private conversations and gossip, as well as infiltrating suspected revolutionary groups. On the other hand, resentment against Austrian influence in the Italian peninsula and their use of spies and censorship, helped increase support for the nationalist cause
- Austrians never left Italian soil. The Carbonari inspired revolts of 1820-21 and of 1831 were crushed by Austrian troops thus destroying any progress made by nationalists
- twice, in 1848 and 1849, Austria had defeated Italian forces which led nationalists to believe that only when Austria was defeated could Italians unite.

Italian princes:

- the Vienna Settlement largely restored the individual rulers of the different states. These rulers were concerned with maintaining and increasing their own power and were therefore opposed to nationalism
- some rulers were excessively oppressive. Ferdinand, ruler of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies set himself up as an absolute ruler and in the Papal States; torture was used to extract confessions from any whose ideas were viewed as subversive
- in the Central Duchies, a number of duchies were ruled with the help of an extensive secret police network modelled on that of Austria
- censorship and surveillance imposed by the rulers curtailed freedom of speech and limited the progress of nationalist ideas
- some rulers were under Austrian control or depended on Austrian strength demonstrated by the crushing of the revolts in the 1820s and 1830s and in 1848-49.

	Attitude of the peasants: • nationalism never affected the mass of Italian people • there was a great deal of political apathy among the peasantry. Due to widespread illiteracy and in the South, in particular, poverty and ignorance, for many Italians everyday living was far more important than politics • only a very small minority of the peasants were involved in the nationalist movements and revolts before 1848. When they did revolt, it was usually for economic reasons. They did revolt during bad times as can be seen in 1848 — but their revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not inspired by feelings of nationalism • for the majority of Italians, there appeared to be little genuine understanding of what nationalism meant • many Italians thought in terms of loyalty to a state, not to Italy as a whole. **Position of the Papacy:** • the Roman Catholic Church regained its influence after 1815 particularly in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Piedmont-Sardinia and the Papal States. Preaching a message of conservatism and acceptance, the teachings of the Church reached far more ears than the words of the liberal reformers • the Pope looked to Austria for support, as it was the most important of the Catholic states of Europe • nationalists had high hopes when a new Pope, Pius IX was elected. Pius IX had a reputation as a liberal and a mood of expectation was created when he introduced a programme of reform and modernisation in government and education. However nationalist hopes were dashed when Pope Pius IX denounced the war against Austria, in 1848. Pope Pius' decision to oppose Italian unity was a bitter blow to nationalists. **The failures of the revolutions of 1848:** • Charles Albert, the King of Piedmont, abdicated after two military defeats by Austria, at Custoza (July 1848) and Novara (March 1849) • the revolution in the other states across Italy all failed. Their monarchs were restored with the help of troops from Austria or France. The Roman Republic led by Mazzini and Garibaldi was defeated by the French in June 1849 and the Republic declared in Venice under the leadership of Daniele Manin fell to the Austrians in August 1849 • the ideas of the nationalists had been discredited and the lack of agreement and cooperation between the different nationalist groups highlighted • much of northern Italy was more firmly than ever under the control of Austria. **Any other relevant factors.**

44.	**Context:** By 1850 the forces of nationalism had grown in Italy. The revolutions of 1848 showed this. However, there were many obstacles which prevented unification from happening before 1850 such as the dominant position of Austria and her dependent duchies. **Divisions among the nationalists:** • secret societies lacked clear aims, organisation, leadership, resources and operated in regional cells • moderate nationalists feared extremists like Mazzini • the 1848/49 revolutions showed that nationalist leaders did not trust one another (Manin and Charles Albert) or would not work together (C. Albert and Mazzini) • failure to capitalise on Austrian weakness in 1848. **Other factors:** **Dominant position of Austria and her dependent duchies:** • following Vienna Settlement Austria Emperor Francis I had direct control of Lombardy and Venetia. Relatives of the Austrian Hapsburg Emperor controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany (Central Duchies). Austria had agreements with the other states • Lombardy and Venetia were strictly controlled — censorship, spies, conscription (8 years), policy to employ German speakers (Austrian) in law, police, army and civil service so controlled others (non Austrian) • Austrian army was a common sight in major cities and in the Quadrilateral fortress towns on Lombard/Venetian border (Verona, Peschiera, Legnano, and Mantua). The Austrian army was sent in by Metternich to restore order following the Carbonari-inspired revolts in 1820, 1821 and 1831 • Austria had first class commander, Radetsky. In 1848 Charles Albert's army won two skirmishes but Radetsky awaited reinforcements then defeated Albert at Custozza forcing an armistice. Radetsky re-took Milan in August • after Albert's renewal of war Radetsky took just three days to defeat him again (Novara). He then besieged Venetia until the Republic of St Mark surrendered on 22nd August 1849. Austrians re-established control across north and central Italy. **Social, economic and cultural differences:** • geographical difficulties hindered the spread of nationalist ideas. **Political differences:** • there was division between those desiring liberal changes within existing states and those desiring the creation of a national state. **Attitude of the Papacy:** • Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism in 1848. **Italian princes:** • individual rulers were opposed to nationalism. They feared for their position within a united Italy. **Indifference of the masses:** • patriotic literature inspired intellectuals and students but did not reach the vast majority of the population who were illiterate (90% in some areas). The mass of the population were indifferent to nationalist ideas. **Any other relevant factors.**

45.	**Context:** By 1870 Italian unification, the bringing together of the different states of the Italian peninsula under one government, was complete. A central figure in enhancing the cause of Italian unity was Cavour. **Role of Cavour:** • Cavour played a vital role in the modernisation of Piedmont. His reforms brought about economic improvements and led to the development of Piedmont's trading links with other countries. Cavour's reforms to the way that Piedmont raised money in taxation allowed her to increase money on her army • Cavour showed great skill as a diplomat and as a political pragmatist. His diplomatic skills especially in the critical years 1859 and 1860 were of fundamental importance in shaping the Italian nation • Cavour used Italy's involvement in the Crimean War as an opportunity to point out to Britain and France at the Paris Peace talks that Austria had too much power in Italy • Cavour came to an agreement with Napoleon III at Plombieres in 1858 which secured French support against Austria and he successfully goaded the Austrians to declare war on Piedmont • when rebellions broke out in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna in 1859 Cavour used his diplomatic skills to persuade Napoleon to allow a plebiscite • Cavour made a secret agreement to help Prussia in the war against Austria 1866. Prussia's war against France gave the Italians the chance to take Rome • Cavour's diplomacy was also shown during Garibaldi's expedition. Through his actions to stop Garibaldi creating trouble in the Papal States, he unintentionally played a role in promoting the unification of Italy. **Other factors:** **The rise of Piedmont:** • Piedmont was the most powerful and liberal of the independent Italian states making her 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. **Attitudes and actions of Napoleon III:** • in Napoleon III Cavour and Piedmont had a useful ally. Napoleon had shown enthusiasm and support for the notion of Italian liberty by taking part in the uprising in Rome in 1831 • Napoleon III wanted to increase the power of France and to remain popular with the French people. A successful foreign policy which reduced Austrian dominance in Europe was a way of achieving both aims • Napoleon exploited Piedmont's embarrassment over the Orsini Plot to negotiate an alliance with Piedmont in France's favour. Napoleon saw an opportunity to make a move against Austria. In July 1858 Napoleon attended a secret meeting with Cavour at Plombieres in France during which Napoleon and Cavour plotted to provoke a war with Austria • the French and Pietmontese successfully provoked Austria into war in 1859 • the difficulty in removing Austria from its fortified positions and the threat of the Prussians intervening on Austria's side, led Napoleon to negotiate with Austria and sign the Treaty of Villafranca in August 1859 which ended the war • when Napoleon realised the treaty would not be implemented he realised he had to make concessions to Piedmont to ensure France gained for the sacrifices made in the war. A new deal was negotiated in the Treaty of Turin which saw Piedmont gain the Central Duchies and the northern Papal States. Piedmont and France's alliance in a war against Austria was the first major stage in the creation of a unified kingdom of Italy

- Napoleon III did not intervene over Garibaldi's expedition and instead supported Cavour in the background. 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 in 1870 after the defeat of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War. French troops were withdrawn from Rome which allowed Italian soldiers to capture the city.

Role of Garibaldi:

- Garibaldi with just over a thousand volunteers won a series of victories conquering first Sicily and then the Neapolitan mainland. By September 1860 it even looked as if Garibaldi might invade the Papal States. However, at Teano in October 1860 Garibaldi handed over his conquests to the King, Victor Emmanuel II
- Garibaldi's achievements imposed the idea of wider unification on Cavour and hastened the creation of a united Italian state as previously envisaged by Italian nationalists.

Role of Victor Emmanuel II:

- like Cavour, the King was most interested in Pietmontese expansion. The King was therefore supportive of Cavour and looked for opportunities to win glory for Piedmont and himself. Both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour realised foreign help would be needed to drive the Austrians from Italy. In practice, this meant getting French support
- on 26th October 1860, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel met at the head of two armies at Teano. A triumphal entry of Naples was stage-managed, and Garibaldi formally handed over his conquests to the King. The King and Cavour had ensured that Garibaldi was politically isolated
- in 1866 the King encouraged Garibaldi to make another attempt on Rome but then would not commit to an invasion due to the risk of Italian forces potentially having to fight the French garrison in Rome. Despite his own scheming, Victor Emmanuel managed to prevent a diplomatic crisis.

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 understanding with Prussia
- Austria's diplomatic position also declined in the 1850s, and she was increasingly isolated. From 1856 Austria could no longer rely on Russian help due to her lack of support during the Crimean War
- Prussia was also beginning to challenge Austria's dominant position across the states of Germany.

The importance of foreign intervention:

- French troops were vital in the War of Liberation of 1859. Due to problems with supplies the Piedmontese army arrived too late to take part in the first major battle of the war, at Magenta on 4th June and although Piedmontese forces fought side by side with the French at Solferino on 24th June French help was crucial to victory. At Villafranca Austria handed Lombardy to France who gave it to Piedmont
- Britain offered moral support since a united Italy would act as a counter balance to Austria in Europe. By 1859 the British government led by Prime Minister Palmerston, was open to the idea of French military strength being used to force Austria out of Italy as long as this led to an enlarged Piedmont and not to an increase in French power. In October 1860 Britain published a diplomatic document stating the British Governments view that the people of Italy should decide her fate, which was intended to stop Austria or French destroying what Garibaldi had achieved in the south

	• Britain demonstrated sympathy to Garibaldi's expedition by refusing to take part in a joint naval blockade with France to stop Garibaldi crossing the Straits of Messina. Instead the presence of the British Royal Navy helped Garibaldi's crossing and was crucial for Garibaldi's success • Britain was the first power to officially recognise the Kingdom of Italy. **Any other relevant factors.**

46.	**Context:** At the turn of the century around 80% of the Russian population were peasants. Living in poverty and hunger, lacking education and a political voice, the peasants faced suppression and lived at the mercy of local landowners. In 1905 Russia's problems had led to open opposition to the Tsarist state. **Discontent among the peasantry:** • the vast majority of Russians were peasant farmers who lived in poverty and were desperate to own their own land. Land hunger was a common problem • many peasants were frustrated at paying redemption payments and at the unwillingness of the government to introduce reforms. An economic slump in Russia hurt the newly-created Russian industries and, coupled with famine in 1902/1903, led to food shortages • peasants were heavily taxed, paying almost seven times as much tax (proportionately) compared to the upper classes • there was a wave of unrest in 1902 and 1903, which had escalated further by 1905. There were various protests like timber cutting, seizure of landlords' estates and grain stocks • there was an outcry when Russian grain was still being exported to pay for the foreign loans • there were claims that peasants should boycott paying taxes, redemption payments and refuse to be conscripted to the army • peasant violence in the countryside when peasants took over land and burned landowners' estates started after the government threatened to repossess the land of those behind with their Redemption Payments. **Other factors:** **Working-class discontent:** • the working and living conditions in the cities were very poor and this, along with long working hours and low pay, led to discontent • at the start of the 1900s industrial recession caused great hardship for workers • in January 1905, there was a wave of strikes involving almost half a million people — 10 times as many as in previous decades • in October there were two and half million people on strike as well as demonstrations held in key cities • Soviets had been formed to speak for workers and express their political demands. **Economic problems:** • Russia had been experiencing a number of economic problems in the period before 1905 • Russia had started the process of industrialisation, however its cost meant that Russia used foreign loans and increased taxes to fund it • socially and economically Russia was a fairly backward country compared to her European counterparts.

	Political problems — discontent with repressive government and its policies: • growing unhappiness with Tsarist autocratic rule. The liberal middle classes and the industrial workers were calling for a constitutionally-elected government as they were frustrated by the incompetence of the Tsar's government, especially during the war with Japan. The Russian nobility feared a revolution if moderate reforms were not introduced • there was propaganda from middle class groups; the Zemstvo called for change; and the Radical Union of Unions was formed to combine professional groups • students rioted, and carried out assassinations • the gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions • political groups did not really play a role although they encouraged peasant unrest, and strikes in the urban areas • the Mensheviks had influence in the Soviets and the Bolsheviks were involved in the Moscow Rising • Tsar Nicholas II was seen as being too weak and unable to make good decisions for Russia in a crisis • national minorities hated the policy of Russification as it ignored their language, customs and religion and many felt so isolated that the desire for independence intensified • as the war with Japan progressed, there were a growing number of protests from different parts of Russian society calling for the war to end and the Tsar to share his power. **Military defeat in the war against Japan:** • the war with Japan was a failure and a humiliation for the country and moreover this was compounded by the heavy losses suffered by the Russian army • the war was initially to distract the public from domestic troubles by rallying patriotism • the incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it • troops suffered from low morale after the defeat and there were complaints about poor pay and conditions • there were some sporadic but uncoordinated revolts although nothing too major • there were mutinies by troops waiting to return from the war and on the Trans-Siberian Railway • in June there was the Potemkin Mutiny although the planned general mutiny did not follow • generally though most of the troops remained loyal • land battle: decisive defeat at Mukden • sea battle: defeat at Tsushima Strait. The Baltic fleet sailed 18,000 miles before being defeated in under an hour • the Russo-Japanese War was disastrous for Russia. Defeats by Japan led to discontent in Russia over the Tsar's leadership, the incompetence of the Tsar's government and the inadequate supplies and equipment of Russia's armed forces • Russian soldiers and sailors were unhappy with their poor pay and conditions • the incompetence of their leaders led to low morale.

	Bloody Sunday: • Sunday 9th (22nd) January, 1905, Father Gapon, an Orthodox priest attempted to lead a peaceful march of workers and their families to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition asking the Tsar to improve the conditions of the workers • marchers were fired on and killed by troops • many of the people saw this as a brutal massacre by the Tsar and his troops • Bloody Sunday greatly damaged the traditional image of the Tsar as the 'Little Father', the Guardian of the Russian people • reaction to Bloody Sunday was strong and was nationwide with disorder strikes in urban areas, terrorism against government officials and landlords, much of which was organised by the SRs. **Any other relevant factors.**

47.	**Context:** After the 1905 Revolution the Tsar had to strengthen his authority and weaken the threat of any opposition. He attempted to restore authority between 1905 and 1914 by introducing a variety of political and economic reforms led by Stolypin. **Role of the Tsar:** • the Tsar Nicholas II appointed Stolypin to restore order. He used a 'divide and conquer' policy to deal with each of the threats individually. He secured the loyalty and control of the armed forces by promising overdue pay, improved conditions and training • the Tsar issued the October Manifesto and the Fundamental Laws which were crucial in strengthening the Tsarist state. He ruled by divine decree which along with the support of the Russian Orthodox Church, helped the Tsar use religion to secure his power. **Restoring order:** • Stolypin was given the job of restoring order after the rural violence, industrial strikes and terrorism during and after the 1905 Revolution. He used measures such as military courts which issued death penalties — 'Stolypin's necktie' — as well as sentences of hard labour in Siberia. He used the Okhrana and censorship to silence the Tsar's opponents • Stolypin also enforced Russification and disenfranchisement to suppress the national minorities. Public order was restored as ringleaders were dealt with severely and this acted as a deterrent, thereby strengthening the Tsarist state. However, there was still discontent in some areas. **Political reforms — Dumas:** • Stolypin believed that the Tsarist system would only survive if there were some political and social reforms which would reduce social bitterness and therefore reduce opposition. Stolypin wanted middle class support so he showed respect for the Duma and tried to work with it rather than against it. He changed the franchise in 1907 which prevented many national minorities, peasants and workers from voting although they did still have a say in the Zemstvos. This allowed him to obtain a more co-operative Third Duma which passed his land reforms • Stolypin's work with the Dumas helped to strengthen the Tsarist state as he helped secure the support of the middle class and Liberals for the Tsarist state. **Economic reforms:** • Stolypin's main plan was preventing another revolution through economic reform, particularly land reforms. He tried to address some of the economic problems facing Russia like food shortages and rural over-population. Stolypin felt that if the peasants and industrial workers were happy then they would be loyal to the Tsar and therefore any revolutions would fail. Stolypin's land reform details such as cancelling redemption payments, Kulaks, freedom from commune, Peasant Loan Bank and more land available. Peasants were encouraged to leave their overcrowded communes and relocate to Siberia or Central Asia • Stolypin also introduced reforms in education which became compulsory and Stolypin hoped this would allow them to get more highly skilled jobs. He introduced improvements in industrial working conditions and pay and as more factories came under the control of inspectors, there were signs of improving working conditions. As industrial profits increased, the first signs of a more prosperous workforce could be detected • in 1912 a workers' sickness and accident insurance scheme was introduced. Stolypin's economic reforms tried to strengthen the Tsarist state by improving life and work for the vast majority of the population

	• however, the land reforms did not modernise as much as had been hoped. Despite the record harvest of 1913, there was an economic slump which made life difficult for people and affected their loyalty to the Tsarist state. **Any other relevant factors.**

48.	**Context:** By February 1917, the people of Russia were weary of failure in war and had grown disillusioned with the leadership of Nicholas II. In assuming the role of Commander-in-Chief, Nicholas would be held responsible for military defeats in battle and low morale amongst his soldiers. **Role of Tsar Nicholas II:** • Nicholas II struggled to rule such a vast Empire with its varied nationalities. He pursued unpopular policies such as Russification • he failed to implement any significant social and political change demanded by economic developments • Nicholas was easily influenced by the Tsarina, Rasputin and his Ministers. At times the Tsar appeared to be more interested in his family than in issues facing Russia • he was stubborn as he ignored advice and warnings from Rodzianko and the Progressive Bloc. He failed to understand the severity of events in February 1917 • in September 1915 the Tsar took personal control of the armed forces (Commander-in-Chief), which left him personally responsible for any defeats • 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. **Other factors:** **The impact of the First World War —military defeat:** • the war did not go well for the Russian armed forces and they suffered many defeats (eg Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes in 1914; Galicia — 1915). 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 cooperate with each other as well as communication difficulties. This led to low morale and desertions • the Tsar began to lose control and support of the armed forces • the generals forced his abdication at a railroad siding in the city of Pskov. **The impact of the First World War — economic problems:** • 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 • war exacerbated existing economic problems and showed the frailty of the Russian economy in dealing with a modern, industrial conflict. **The inherent weaknesses of the autocracy:** • concentration of power in the hands of one person: their character mattered • great difficulties ruling such a vast Empire with its varied nationalities • difficulties in managing change, especially political change demanded by economic developments.

Role of Tsarina Alexandra:

- in September 1915 the Tsar left the Tsarina in charge, which was not welcomed in Russia as she was German
- her relationship with Rasputin was viewed with suspicion
- his disreputable behaviour tainted the royal family
- his increasing political role led to opposition from within the ruling elite.

Political problems:

Revolutionary movements:

- the propaganda of the Revolutionary parties helped undermine the loyalty to the regime amongst the soldiers and workers. Not a huge reason, but contributory
- revolutionary parties frightened the government into repressive measures which encouraged revolution in 1917
- failure to allow growing middle-class a meaningful political voice and role in decision making.

Discontent among the bourgeoisie:

- there was a growth of the middle class and they were becoming increasingly critical of the Tsarist regime. They were unhappy with the Tsar's failure to commit to sharing power despite promises in the October Manifesto. The Dumas lacked real authority and when they challenged, the Tsar reacted by dissolving them. The Tsar's handling of the war and openness to the views of Rasputin
- the development of the professions, commerce and industry resulted in a growing desire for change and modernisation of the Russian political system
- spread of education meant people were becoming more politically aware and encouraged spread of propaganda.

Discontent among the working class:

- the growing working class worked and lived in poor conditions, with long hours and poor wages as well as overcrowded accommodation
- due to their poor working and living conditions, the industrial working class were receptive to the new socialist ideas that were around
- the working class began to organise a series of strikes and demonstrations in 1917. Many of the working class were hungry as grain was being given to the soldiers and much of it was not reaching the cities as the trains were requisitioned for the use of the army
- there was a lack of food made worse by the transport problems and the loss of agricultural land to the Germans and as a result, in the cities there were long queues and bread riots culminating in International Women's Day protest in Petrograd.

Peasant discontent:

- peasant discontent over the land issue increased during the war years. When order began to break down, land seizures by peasants became common
- the war put extra strains on the peasantry with requisitioning of horses and conscription of men. This hit output
- the horror of Russia's huge casualties was felt most among the peasants. This added further misery to their already poor lives.

Any other relevant factors.

49.	**Context:** By 1918 US society had become deeply divided and overtly racist. In the face of these problems black Americans continued their struggle for equality. However, an important obstacle to the achievement of civil rights before 1941 was the vicious and terrifying activities of the Ku Klux Klan which were aimed at preventing black people from asserting their rights. **Activities of the Ku Klux Klan:** • the Ku Klux Klan was a secret terrorist organisation formed to prevent former slaves achieving equal rights • in the South, the KKK used fear to stop black Americans registering to vote. Dressed in sinister white robes and hoods and riding out in the night, they intimidated, beat, mutilated and murdered black Americans who tried to assert their rights. Their calling card was a burning, fiery cross • black Americans were afraid to resist these attacks as they wanted to be seen to be living in a law abiding way. They preferred to leave their homes and hide in wooded areas to avoid attack • the violent atrocities committed by the KKK were unprecedented and were directed not only against black people, but also at anyone who supported them or furthered their cause. Hence, politicians and any white men who furthered the cause of equality for black Americans felt the full force of their hatred and prejudice. Anyone involved in helping black people were attacked • the KKK had the support of rich and powerful individuals, including the police, judges and politicians. The atrocities were carried out by poor, young white people and lawyers, doctors and dentists • the fear instilled by incidents of lynching prevented black people from fighting for their rights. Mobs carried out executions which included burning alive as well as hanging • Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in 1930s fearing the loss of Democrat support in South • the KKK was suppressed by 1872, but re-emerged in the 1920s. By 1925 it had three million members. The 'second' Klan grew most rapidly in urbanising cities which had high growth rates between 1910 and 1930, such as Detroit, Memphis, Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston • KKK activities in the 1930s led to continued migration of black Americans from the South to the North. **Other factors:** **Legal impediments:** • the Southern states passed a series of discriminatory measures against black Americans known as Jim Crow laws eg transport, hospitals, education, sports and cemeteries were all segregated • the Jim Crow laws gradually legalised segregation • another impediment was the attitudes of presidents who did not consider civil rights a vote winning issue. President Wilson said 'Segregation is not humiliating and is a benefit for you black gentlemen'.

The 'separate but equal' decision of the Supreme Court:

- in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 the Supreme Court ruled that racially separate facilities, if equal, did not violate the US Constitution
- the 1896 'separate but equal' decision of the Supreme Court made Jim Crow laws legal. After 1896 more Jim Crow laws spread across the South
- the Supreme Court's ruling hampered progress towards civil rights by spreading segregation all over America particularly in the South where segregation became the way of life.

Popular prejudice:

- since the institution of slavery the status of African-Americans was stigmatized, and this stigma was the basis for the racism that persisted
- black Americans also faced discrimination in the North. Millions of black Americans relocated from their roots in the Southern states to the industrial centres of the North after World War I, particularly in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York (Harlem). In northern cities, racial tensions exploded, most violently in Chicago, and lynchings increased dramatically in the 1920s.

Lack of political influence:

- in the 1890s, loopholes in the interpretation of the Fifteenth Amendment were exploited so that states could impose voting qualifications. For example, payment of the poll tax, residency and literacy qualifications. Many Southern states created such voting qualifications that made it difficult for black Americans to vote
- the 1898 case of Mississippi v Williams ruled that voters must understand the American Constitution. This rule applied only to black voters and led to a significant drop in the number of registered black voters since many black people in the South were illiterate
- 'Grandfather' clauses were used by some states. These stated that black Americans could have the right to vote provided that this right had been in the family for at least two generations which excluded all who had been freed from slavery. This was a significant impediment to black people voting which meant that they could not elect anyone to oppose segregation and discrimination
- some states identified ownership of property as a voting qualification which was an obstacle to voting as most black people in the South were sharecroppers and did not own land
- by 1915, almost every Southern state had introduced voting qualifications.

Divisions in the black community:

- before 1941 there were several organisations working to improve the lives of black Americans. The three main organisations however had different aims and methods which weakened the campaign for civil rights
- Booker T. Washington adopted an accommodationist philosophy arguing that black people could only achieve an equal place in a mixed society if they were first educated. He was regarded as an 'Uncle Tom' by many
- in contrast W. E. B De Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) — a national organisation whose main aim was to oppose discrimination through legal action. In 1919 he launched a campaign against lynching, but it failed to attract most black people and was dominated by white people and well off black people
- Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Garvey urged black Americans to be proud of their black identity. The UNIA aimed to get black Americans to 'take Africa, organise it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over'.

Any other relevant factors.

50.	**Context:** Although the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929 symbolises the start of the US economic crisis which in turn led to a worldwide Depression, problems in the American economy went beyond the stock market, and began before 1929. The weakness of the American banking system, for example, was highlighted in the autumn of 1929 when many banks failed to cope with the sudden rush to withdraw savings. **The Wall Street Crash:** • during the 1920s, many people were encouraged to buy shares in American companies. As the share prices went up, the demand for shares increased further as people saw the chance to make easy money. The boom of the 1920s, however, was very fragile and the rise in share prices was based on the confidence that prosperity would continue • by the late 1920s ordinary people, banks and big businesses were buying shares 'on the margin', paying only a fraction of the full price at the time of purchase, intending to sell on the shares at a profit before the rest of the payment became due. This meant that share buyers were forcing up share prices with money they did not really have • during the late 1920s, the economic boom started to slow down. There was an atmosphere of uncertainty in October 1929 and some shareholders began to sell their shares, believing that prices were at their peak • on 21st October, prices began to fall. On 24th October 1929, Black Thursday, the Wall Street Crash began. On 29th October 1929, Black Tuesday, the US Stock market collapsed completely. As hardly anyone wanted to buy shares, the shares were sold for very low prices. The share collapse caused panic. Many firms went out of business and thousands of Americans were financially ruined • the stock market crash did play a role in the depression but its significance was more as a trigger. The Wall Street Crash led to a collapse of credit, and of confidence. The Wall Street Crash revealed how fragile and unstable the economic boom of the 1920s really was. **Other factors:** **Overproduction of goods:** • new mass-production methods and mechanisation meant that the production of consumer goods had expanded enormously creating a consumer boom in the 1920s. Items such as irons, ovens, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, radios and telephones became very popular. The production of automobiles rose from 1.9 million in 1920 to 4.5 million in 1929 • by 1929 those people who had the money to buy consumer goods — even on credit, had already bought them. Cars, radios and other electrical goods had flooded the market and more was being made than people could buy. The USA was experiencing the serious problem of over production. Radios, telephones, washing machines, refrigerators and other goods were piling up in warehouses across the country. **Under consumption — the saturation of the US market:** • the enormous output of goods required a corresponding increase of consumer buying power, ie higher wages. However, workers' income in the 1920s did not rise with the increased productivity. The purchasing power of farmers had also declined. Between 1920 and 1932 the total income of farmers dropped by approximately 70%. Many small farmers lived in appalling conditions and many lost their farms due to outstanding debts • throughout the 1920s, business had benefited from low tax policies. The result of this was that the bottom 40% of the population received only 12.5% of the nation's wealth. The economic boom of the 1920s was not a good time for everyone. In 1928 it was estimated that 42% of Americans did not earn enough to buy adequate food, clothing or shelter. Many American people were too poor to afford the new consumer goods

- in contrast, the top 5% of the population owned 33% of the nation's wealth. Only a wealthy minority of the US population could afford the new consumer goods that rolled off factory production lines
- therefore, domestic demand never kept up with production. By the end of the 1920s, the market for the new consumer goods was saturated. By 1929, automobile factories had to lay off thousands of workers because of reduced demand.

Republican government policies in the 1920s:

- the Republican administrations followed a policy of laissez-faire. Under Harding and Coolidge, the USA enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Most Republicans believed that governments should be involved as little as possible in the day to day running of the economy. If business people were left alone to make their own decisions, it was thought that high profits, more jobs and good wages would be the result. The only role for the government was to help business when requested
- there was a failure to help farmers who also did not benefit from the 1920s' boom
- low capital gains tax encouraged share speculation which resulted in the Wall Street Crash
- the depression was also due to the actions — or inactions — of President Hoover. Few politicians realised the seriousness of the economic crisis and believed the economy would eventually recover by itself without the need for federal intervention. It is believed that the Hoover administration took the narrow interests of business groups to be the national interest which turned out to be catastrophic. Republican attempts to bring America out of the Depression were described as 'too little too late'.

International economic problems:

- results of the First World War on European economies
- all European states, except Britain, placed tariffs on imported goods which meant American companies were failing to sell the extra goods they were producing to foreign countries
- US economy could not expand its foreign markets
- US tariff barriers meant that other countries found it difficult to pay back loans, which they had to refinance, becoming increasingly indebted.

Weaknesses of the US banking system:

- a major problem was the lack of regulation of banks
- the US banking system was made up of hundreds of small, state-based banks. In hundreds of small communities, local people put their money into the banks for safe keeping and a small amount of interest. Banks then used that money to make investments that made some money for the banks. As the economic boom grew, banks invested savers' money in stocks and shares in the hope of making a large profit
- when people began to withdraw their savings, the banks could not cope with the demand as funds had been invested elsewhere. The collapse of one bank often led to a 'run' on other banks, resulting in a banking collapse. By the end of 1932, 20% of the banks that had been operating in 1929 had closed down. The normal banking system almost ceased to exist and without an efficient banking system, the economy could not function.

Any other relevant factors.

51.	**Context:** The Depression was a shattering and demoralising experience. The new Democrat President Franklin D. Roosevelt believed the government should be actively responsible for helping struggling US citizens caught up in the Depression and so introduced the New Deal which aimed to provide Relief, Recovery and Reform. The New Deal had considerable success in achieving its three main aims. **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) 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) also provided work through the building of hospitals, dams, bridges and schools • the Economy Act cut wages of state employees by 15%. It also cut the budgets of government departments by 25%, 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 1935-37:** • 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% from $55 billion to $85 billion. The amount of consumer products bought increased by 40% 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% 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.**

52.	**Context:** In seeking to achieve their aims, the fascist powers used a variety of methods ranging from military threat to aggressive diplomacy. **Fascist diplomacy as a means of achieving aims:** • aims can be generally accepted as destruction of Versailles, the weakening of democracies, the expansion of fascist powers and countering communism • diplomacy and the protestation of 'peaceful' intentions and 'reasonable' demands was a frequent method. For example, before the re-militarisation of the Rhineland Hitler made offer of 25-year peace promise. Diplomacy used to distract and delay reaction to Nazi action • also, after reoccupying the Rhineland the Nazis made reasonable offers to create a demilitarised zone on both sides of the Franco-German border, knowing full well that the French would not agree • appeals to sense of international equality and fairness and the righting of past wrongs eg Versailles was an unfair treaty, etc • withdrawal from League and Disarmament Conference in 1933. Hitler had demanded parity with the French in terms of armaments. They did not agree so Hitler withdrew from the conference and League, claiming that they existed to keep Germany down • Anglo-German Naval Treaty 1935 — Germany allowed to expand navy. Versailles was ignored in favour of bilateral agreements. A gain for Germany. **Other factors:** **Fascist strategies: Economic** • use of economic influence and pressure, eg on south-eastern European states and in the Balkans • aid supplied to Franco (Spain) was tactically important to Hitler. Not only for testing weapons but also access to Spanish minerals. **Fascist strategies: use of military threat and force:** • Italy's naval ambitions in the Mediterranean — 'Mare Nostrum' • Italian invasion of Abyssinia — the Italian army used dubious methods including poison gas, and took a comparatively long time to defeat their poorly equipped enemy • German remilitarisation of Rhineland — Hitler claimed provocation by the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty and moved troops into the demilitarized Rhineland, which bordered France. His generals had warned Hitler that the army was not strong enough, but the Allies were unprepared and failed to act, increasing Hitler's confidence • Spanish Civil War — both Italy and Germany provided aid to Franco's Nationalists, testing weapons and tactics, aerial bombing of Guernica. Spain became a fascist country and Italy gained naval bases in the Spanish Balearic Islands • Anschluss — there had been an attempted Nazi coup in Austria in 1934, but it had failed after Italian opposition. By 1938 conditions were more favourable as Mussolini no longer opposed German interests in Austria. The Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg was bullied and eventually removed by pro-Nazi forces. German military forces marched into Austria and it was incorporated into the German Reich • Czechoslovakia — Hitler turned his attention to Czechoslovakia in 1938. He claimed the German minority in Czechoslovakia was being persecuted. Initially he was given the Sudetenland as a consequence of the Munch Agreement, but he invaded and took Czech lands in March 1939 • Italian invasion of Albania — relatively easy annexation of a client state • Poland — In 1939 Hitler turned his attention to Poland using familiar methods of threat, escalating demands, provocation and eventual invasion

	• the extent to which it was the threat of military force which was used rather than military force itself — eg Czechoslovakia in 1938; and the extent to which military force itself was effective and/or relied on an element of bluff — eg Rhineland. **German Rearmament:** • Germany had effectively been disarmed by the Paris Peace Treaty. Even under the Weimar government its provisions were broken. However, the Nazis openly expanded their armed forces. These could be used to threaten and even act in pursuit of fascist foreign policy • open German rearmament from 1935: the existence of the Luftwaffe openly admitted this and the reintroduction of conscription in March, 1935 • by 1939, Hitler had an army of nearly 1 million men, over 8,000 aircraft and 95 warships. **Military agreements, pacts and alliances:** • the German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland signed on 26th January, 1934 — normalised relations between Poland and Germany, and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears • 18th June, 1935 Britain and Germany signed the Anglo-German Naval Agreement which allowed Germany parity in the air and to build up its naval forces to a level that was 35% of Britain's. Germany was also allowed to build submarines to a level equal to Britain's. Britain did not consult her allies before coming to this agreement • Rome-Berlin Axis-treaty of friendship signed between Italy and Germany on 25th October 1936 • Pact of Steel an agreement between Italy and Germany signed on 22nd May, 1939 for immediate aid and military support in the event of war • Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan on 25th November, 1936. The pact was directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union • in 1937, Italy joined the Munich Pact Agreement — negotiations led to Hitler gaining the Sudetenland and weakening Czechoslovakia • Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact August 1939 — Both Hitler and Stalin bought time for themselves. For Hitler it seemed war in Europe over Poland unlikely. Poland was doomed. Britain had lost the possibility of an alliance with Russia. **Any other relevant factors.**

53.	**Context:** Appeasement is the policy of making concessions to another power in order to avoid conflict. Historically, the term is frequently associated with the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The context to the policy is more long term, but the failure of the League of Nations and collective security in the aftermath of the First World War, known at the time as the war to end all wars, forms the backdrop to the policy. **Lack of reliable allies:** • failure of the League of Nations to police world conflict through disarmament and Collective Security as well as their lack of action in Abyssina • France was considered to be unreliable. She had severe political divisions between the political Left and Right • US isolationism after World War One meant a previous powerful ally could not be relied upon to help in the event of war • suspicion of Soviet Russia and their reliability due to the fact it was Communist • the relative weakness of successor states in Eastern Europe. Many were small, militarily weak and susceptible to German economic influence • Italy was also appeased in vain attempt to prevent alliance with Germany, but after Abyssinia closely allied itself with the Nazi regime. **Other factors:** **Economic difficulties:** • in common with other world economies Britain was affected by the 1929-32 economic crisis. Unemployment rose as businesses struggled. This led to the belief that Britain could not sustain a war against the European dictators and maybe Japan in the Far East • there was an understandable reluctance to further damage international trade and commerce by threatening war. Commerce thrived on stability and peace • difficulty of financing any large scale rearmament in the face of other economic commitments. At a time when many people were anti-war it was difficult to justify increased military spending. **Attitudes to the Paris Peace Settlement:** • even though Britain was a signatory to the 1919 Peace Settlement, it was seen as too harsh on Germany by many and there was sympathy for what were seen by many as genuine grievances. Reasonable discussion and careful concession would ensure that such grievances would be addressed • this led to beliefs such as, 'they are only going into their own backgarden' (Lord Lothian) when remilitarising the Rhineland and even sympathy for the Anschluss between Austria and Germany from people like John Buchan who was Governor-General of Canada who states that, 'I do not quite see what the fuss is about'. **Public opinion:** • the fear of another World War had an impact on public opinion. Even though the war had been fought on mainland Europe, casualties meant that everyone knew someone who had died and there were visible reminders of the effects of war with injured veterans • the memories of losses/horrors of WW1 were vivid and had a real impact on many politicians, especially Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister from 1937 • isolationist feelings, summed up in Chamberlain's pre-Munich speech where he made the famous statement about, 'how horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing'.

	Pacifism: • public anti-war feeling — Peace Ballot, Oxford 'King and Country' debate where the students carried the motion that, 'This House would not fight for King and Country' by 275 votes to 153. There was a huge reaction to this in Britain and beyond. Fascists saw it as evidence of Britain's weakness • East Fulham by-election in 1933 showed strength of anti-war feeling. A Conservative candidate who supported military rearmament saw a majority of 3,000 overturned into a majority of 7,000 for his pacifist Labour opponent. In a democracy such things mattered and the government saw this as evidence of pacifist attitudes. **Concern over the Empire:** • the British Empire was huge and its defence was a concern for the government • the Empire was thought to be crucial to British economic well-being and to her status as a Great Power • fears that Britain could not defend the Empire against simultaneous threats in Northern Europe, the Mediterranean and the Far East. In 1934 the Committee for Imperial Defence warned that Britain was not strong enough to fight Japan, Germany and Italy together • some accommodation with at least one of the unsated powers was thought essential • there was also concern about whether the Empire would answer the call to help Britain in the event of war. At the 1937 Imperial Prime Ministers' Conference, the leaders of the Empire Dominions were unwilling to give a firm commitment to resist Hitler. All had their own memories of sacrifice during World War One. **Military weakness:** • run-down state of armed forces following WW1 as Britain disarmed • army: conscription ended post-WW1, scaled right down in size. This, plus the demands of Empire, meant that the British army was stretched. There was also a lack of investment in developing military technology • navy: not so run-down as other military arms due to the Empire, but not fully maintained. There were many obsolete ships, plus a disturbing lack of awareness of the power of aerial attack • air force: lack of adequate air defences and fear of aerial bombing. However, there were technological innovations that would save Britain in 1940 such as the development of radar and effective fighter aircraft, but time was needed to develop military strength. Some believed that appeasement gave Britain that time • exaggerated assessments of German military strength. **Fear of the spread of Communism:** • to many in Britain, communism was the greater political threat to Britain: there was suspicion of Soviet Russia as a result • Nazi Germany was also seen as a buffer against communism by some and destabilising the Nazi regime might lead to questions over communist revolution in Germany • fear of spreading communism into Western Europe; distrust of French Popular Front government; alarm at actions of the Left (more than of the Right) in Spain. **Beliefs of Chamberlain:** • Chamberlain's personal control of foreign policy after 1937 • Chamberlain believed that problems could be solved rationally, by negotiation. **Any other relevant factors.**

54.	**Context:** Britain's foremost foreign policy aim was the maintenance of peace in Europe. Up to March 1938, this was only partly achieved due to conflicts in Abyssinia and Spain. **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: rearmament:** • 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 exaggerated by the Germans and over estimated by the British and French. **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. **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 7th 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 of 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 1940. **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 12th 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.**

55.	**Context:** The death of Stalin in 1953 and the offer of many roads to socialism by the new Soviet leadership seemed to offer an opportunity for greater freedom for the satellite states. However, Soviet tolerance of change only ran so far. **The international context:** • 1955 — emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader on death of Stalin. He encouraged criticism of Stalin and seemed to offer hope for greater political and economic freedom across the Eastern European satellite states • speech to 20th Party Congress, Feb 1956: Khrushchev attacked Stalin for promoting a cult of personality and for his use of purges and persecution to reinforce his dictatorship. Policy of de-Stalinisation • development of policy of peaceful co-existence to appeal to the West • development of policy of different roads to Socialism to appeal to satellite states in Eastern Europe who were becoming restless. **Soviet reactions to events in Poland (1956):** • riots sparked off by economic grievances developed into demands for political change in Poland • on the death of Stalinist leader Boleslaw Bierut in 1956, he was replaced by Wladyslaw Gromulka, a former victim of Stalinism which initially worried the Soviets • Poles announced their own road to Socialism and introduced reforms • release of political prisoners (including Cardinal Wyszynski, Archbishop of Warsaw); collective farms broken up into private holdings; private shops allowed to open, greater freedom given to factory managers • relatively free elections held in 1957 which returned a Communist majority of 18 • no Soviet intervention despite concerns • Gromulka pushed change only so far. Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact as a part of the important 'buffer zone'. Political freedoms were very limited indeed. Poland was a loyal supporter of the Soviet Union until the 1980s and the emergence of the Solidarity movement. Limited challenge to Soviet control. **Soviet reactions to events in Hungary (1956):** • Hungarians had similar complaints: lack of political freedom, economic problems and poor standard of living • encouraged by Polish success, criticism of the Stalinist regime of Mátyás Rákosi grew and he was removed by Khrushchev • popular upsurge of support for change in Budapest led to a new Hungarian government led by Imre Nagy, who promised genuine reform and change • Nagy government planned multi-party elections, political freedoms, the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and demands for the withdrawal of Soviet forces • Nagy went too far. The Soviet Union could not see this challenge to the political supremacy of the Communist Party and the break-up of their carefully constructed buffer zone. They intervened and crushed the rising brutally • successful intervention against a direct challenge to Soviet control, but lingering resentment from mass of Hungarian people, through some economic flexibility allowed the new regime of Janos Kadar to improve economic performance and living standards.

	Soviet reactions to events in Berlin (1961): • problem of Berlin — a divided city in a divided nation • lack of formal boundaries in Berlin allowed East Berliners and East Germans to freely enter the West which they did owing to the lack of political freedom, economic development and poor living standards in the East • many of those fleeing (2.8 million between 1949 and 1961) were skilled and young, just the people the Communist East needed to retain. This was embarrassing for the East as it showed that Communism was not the superior system it was claimed to be • concerns of Ulbricht and Khrushchev: attempts to encourage the Western forces to leave Berlin by bluster and threat from 1958 failed • Kennedy of America spoke about not letting the Communists drive them out of Berlin. Resultant increase in tension could not be allowed to continue • building of barriers: barbed wire then stone in August 1961 to stem the flood from East to West • success in that it reduced the threat of war and the exodus to the West from the East to a trickle. To an extent it suited the West as well as they did not like the obvious threat of potential conflict and escalation that Berlin represented • frustration of many in East Germany. Propaganda gift for the US and allies, though Soviets had controlled the direct challenge. **Military and ideological factors:** • buffer zone could not be broken up as provided military defence for Soviet Union • use of force and Red Army to enforce control in late 40s and early 50s • need to ensure success of Communism hence policy. **Domestic pressures:** • intention to stop any further suffering of Soviet Union in aftermath of WW2 made leadership very touchy to change • some economic freedoms were allowed, but at the expense of political freedoms • need to stop spread of demands for change. **Any other relevant factors.**

56.	**Context:** In the years before 1959, Cuba was ruled by a military dictatorship led by General Batista. Batista's government was corrupt and inefficient. A revolution led by Fidel Castro successfully overthrew Batista. Castro eventually moved into the Communist sphere of influence. **Ideological differences:** • America was very sensitive about the presence of communism so close to Florida. It might be used as a launch-pad for further communist risings in Latin America, which the US regarded as its own domain (Monroe Doctrine). The huge inequalities in many Latin American countries made such risings seem possible • Cuba was one of a series of flash-points between communism and capitalism around the world, as part of the wider Cold War. This was played out at a number of levels, such as espionage and the arms race, all of which increased international tension. **Other factors:** **Kennedy's domestic context:** • US interests and investments in Cuba had been lost in the revolution • Cuban exiles in Florida were vocal in their demands for US action against Castro • background of attempts by the CIA to destabilise Cuba. Kennedy inherited a plan to invade Cuba by exiles in order to overthrow Castro's regime. Bay of Pigs incident, 1961, where 1400 exiles landed and were crushed by Castro's army • American aggression seemed to be confirmed by the United States practising the invasion of a Caribbean island with a dictator named Ortsac: Operation Mongoose overseen by Robert Kennedy. **Castro's victory in Cuba:** • Castro had come to power in 1959-60 after overthrowing the corrupt, American-backed Batista regime in a Communist revolution • Castro was not liked by the US who objected to his policies which redistributed wealth and took over large sugar plantations controlled by US business interests. Castro increasingly pushed towards the USSR, who, for example, bought Cuba's sugar crop when the USA did not • Khrushchev was sympathetic to Castro. Some historians argue that he wanted to use Cuba as a launch pad for revolution in Central America. Missile deployment would provide protection for the revolution • argument that Bay of Pigs incident forced Castro to start preparing to defend himself against another attack and drew him closer to Khrushchev and the Soviet Union. Castro asked for significant conventional military aid. **Khrushchev's domestic position:** • criticism of Khrushchev at home over cuts in the armed forces, economic failures and the issues surrounding de-Stalinisation. He believed a foreign policy coup would help improve matters for him at home • foreign policy criticisms: ongoing deadlock over Berlin; shadow of events in Hungary 1956, etc • rise of China as a rival for leadership of the Communist world; pressure on Khrushchev from influential circles within USSR to assert Soviet leadership.

	Khrushchev's view of Kennedy: • Khrushchev felt that Kennedy was a weak president after the Bay of Pigs; June 1961 summit in Vienna to discuss Berlin; East Germany's unopposed construction of Berlin Wall. He felt that Kennedy was weak and inexperienced and would make concessions during the Cold War. **US foreign policy:** • the presence of a Communist country so close the US mainland was objectionable to the US governments who feared the spread of Communism • the United States had placed their Jupiter missiles in Turkey and now the USSR felt very threatened. Kennedy had originally placed the Jupiter missiles in Turkey in 1961 because the United States had feared the possible nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union. These missiles became a major threat to the Soviets because they were capable of striking anywhere in the USSR • in order to defend themselves, and let the United States know what it was like to be surrounded by a deadly threat, the Soviets placed missiles in Cuba. Counter view that the missiles were obsolete. **Mistakes by the leaders:** • the Soviets wanted to place nuclear missiles in Cuba because they were trying to balance out the number of nuclear arms between themselves and the United States. Khrushchev underestimated the US reaction • Kennedy's use of the media played well in the US, and to an extent in the wider world, but it meant that international diplomacy was being conducted in the full glare of the world. It made it much more difficult for either leader to back down without a major loss of face. **Any other relevant factors.**

57.	**Context:** The policy of containment and a belief in the so-called domino theory led to increased American military involvement in Vietnam, in order to stop the growth of communism. The Americans faced a variety of problems that eventually led to their withdrawing from Vietnam. **International isolation of the USA:** • the media war showing the horrors of the Vietnam conflict 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 • no NATO countries offered physical military support • feeling that Vietnam was handing huge propaganda bonuses to the enemies and rivals of the US • even allies who had supported the USA, such as Australia, reacted to the demands of their own population and began to withdraw their own forces. **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 were 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 c.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.

	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 • the North Vietnamese were well-led with an inspirational leader in Ho Chi Minh • 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. For example, their help enabled the Vietnamese to develop a sophisticated air defence system which led to significant American losses • corruption and decay of South Vietnamese government, especially in Saigon. A Catholic elite controlled the population. Persecution of the Buddhist population was frequent and led to considerable unease from the American supporters of the South. America constantly sought greater tolerance from the South Vietnamese government • lack of political and social cohesion in South Vietnam led to divisions and turmoil which filtered through to their armed forces. Low morale and corruption. **Any other relevant factors.**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]