National
Qualifications
2023

2023 History

British, European and World History

Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

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General marking principles for Higher History — British, European and World History

Always apply these general principles. Use them in conjunction with the detailed marking instructions, which identify the key features required in candidates' responses.

(a) Always use positive marking. This means candidates accumulate marks for the demonstration of relevant skills, knowledge and understanding; marks are not deducted for errors or omissions.

(b) If a 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.

(c) Where the candidate is instructed to choose one part in a section but instead answers two parts, mark both responses and record the better mark.

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

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

(f) The detailed marking instructions are not an exhaustive list. Award marks for other relevant points.

(g) The question stems used in this paper are

- How important . . . ?
- To what extent . . . ?
- *Quote* . . . How valid is this view . . . ?

Marking principles for each question type

Essay questions (22 marks)

Historical context
Award **3 marks** where candidates provide two points of background to the issue and identify relevant factors. These should be connected to the line of argument.

Conclusion
Award **3 marks** where candidates provide a relative overall judgement of the factors, which are connected to the evidence presented, and which provide reasons for their overall judgement, e.g., t*his factor was clearly more significant in bringing about the event than any other factor because . . .*

Use of knowledge
Award **6 marks** where candidates give evidence which is detailed and which is used to support a viewpoint, factor or area of impact.

Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are:
- 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 (e.g., explain, analyse).

Analysis

Award **up to 6 marks** for analytical comments.

Analysis involves identifying parts, the relationship between them, and their relationship with the whole. It can also involve drawing out and relating implications.

Award an analysis mark where candidates use their knowledge and understanding to identify relevant factors (e.g., political, social, economic, or religious — although they do not need to use this terminology), or aspects within a factor (e.g., success versus failure; different groups, such as elderly versus 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 and/or interpretations
- the relative importance of components
- understanding of underlying order or structure.

Examples of relationships between identified factors could include:

- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies within factors, e.g., *while they were successful in that way, they were limited in this way . . .*
- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies between factors, e.g., *while there were political motives for doing this, the economic factors were against doing this.*
- Establishing similarities and consistencies between factors, e.g., *in much the same way as this group were affected by this development, this group were also affected in this way.*
- Establishing links between factors, e.g., *this factor led to that factor.*

  OR

  At the same time there was also . . .
- Exploring different interpretations of these factors, e.g., *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

Award **up to 4 marks.**

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria.

Candidates make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, e.g.:

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

  OR

  However, more recent research tends to show that . . .
- The overall impact and/or significance of the factors when taken together, e.g., *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, e.g., *given the situation which they inherited, these actions were more successful than they might appear*.

Award marks where candidates develop a line of argument which makes a judgement on the issue, explaining the basis on which the judgement is made. Candidates should present the argument 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	3 marks	2 marks	1mark	0 marks
Historical context	**3**	Candidates establish at least two points of relevant background to the issue **and** identify key factors **and** connect these to the line of argument in response to the issue.	Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue **and** identify key factors **or** connect these to the line of argument.	Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue **or** identify key factors **or** a line of argument.	Candidates make one **or** two factual points but these are not relevant.
Conclusion	**3**	Candidates make a relative overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue and explain how this arises from their evaluation of the presented evidence.	Candidates make an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.	Candidates make a summary of points made.	Candidates make no overall judgement on the issue.
		6 marks			**0 marks**
Use of knowledge	**6**	Up to **a maximum of 6 marks**, award **1 mark** for each developed point of knowledge candidates use to support a factor or area of impact. Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are • 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 (eg, explain, analyse)			Candidates use no evidence to support their conclusion.
Analysis	**6**	Up to **a maximum of 6 marks,** award **1 mark** for each comment candidates make which analyses the factors in terms of the question. Award **a maximum of 3 marks** where candidates make comments which address different aspects of individual factors.			Candidates provide a narrative response.
		4 marks			
Evaluation	**4**	Award **4 marks** where candidates connect their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue and takes account of counter-arguments or alternative interpretations.	Award **3 marks** where candidates connect their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue.	Award **2 marks** where candidates make isolated evaluative comments on different factors that recognise the issue.	Award **1 mark** where candidates make an isolated evaluative comment on an individual factor that recognises the issue.	Candidates make no relevant evaluative comments on factors.

Marking instructions for each question

SECTION 1 — British

PART A — Church, state and feudal society, 1066–1406

1.	**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 social, economic development and even in politics. **Social:** • the importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven • the church through its ceremonies offered opportunities for the peasants to meet and socialise • 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. These could include baptism, confirmation, marriage and penance. **Other factors:** **Differing roles of the secular and regular church:** **Regular church:** • medieval society saw the regular church as the First Estate. This is because the clergy lay nearest to God. The regular church consisted of monks and friars who lived according to a rule. They were normally cloistered or cut off from the world in monasteries. **Secular church:** • medieval society saw the secular church as different. This is because the clergy did not take strict vows. The secular church consisted of priests who lived according to a worldly view. They were found in the village church working among the people. **Religious:** • 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 • 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 (the Crusades were part of this, the motivation of recovery of the Holy Land from Muslim rule for religious reasons was a powerful one for many Crusaders) 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. **Political:** • 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, for example, 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. **Economic:** • 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

2.	**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. **Religion:** • 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. Other grants of land included Benedictine at Dunfermline and the Augustinians at St Andrews and Holyrood • David's actions were important in the monastic economic development of land and because 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. David established Diocese at Moray and Ross, and down the east coast from St Andrews to Edinburgh (East Lothian) • David was also sensitive to local needs and displayed reverence to the native saints, for example, St Mungo of Glasgow and St Columba of Iona. **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 Alan in Renfrewshire and East Lothian • there was penetration into Fife and beyond. There was land given in feudal due 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 • 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.

Military:

- 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
- the feudal forces and the common army raised by the Mormaers 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 and Matilda in England extended Scotland's border further south than ever before.

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
- 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
- a Justiciar was appointed to complement the sheriffs — highest administrative and judicial officer.

Economic:

- 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.

Royal government:

- during David I's reign, he developed new offices such as Constable, Butler, Chamberlain and Chancellor. Supporters like Hugh de Morville and Ranulf de Soules became David's constable and butler
- however, his household kept the Gaelic speaking 'Rannaire' (Divider of Food) and the royal bodyguard (the 'Durward')
- sheriffdoms 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 David used the structures that already existed.

Any other relevant factors.

3.	**Context:** King John was the youngest, and favourite, son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. On the death of his elder brother Richard, he became King of England despite the claims of his nephew, Arthur. He struggled to hold the widespread Angevin Empire together in the face of the challenges of the Capetian monarch of France and his own barons. **Impact of the loss of Normandy:** • had an impact on the royal finances as it reduced John's income • the recovery of the royal lands north of the Loire became the focus of John's foreign policy and led to policies which eventually led to challenges to his authority • the need to fund warfare to recover Normandy led to the frequent use of scutage to raise cash. It was used much more frequently than under Henry II and Richard I, levied 11 times in 17 years. **Taxation:** • John was more efficient in collecting taxes • he used wardships to raise cash • John introduced new taxes: for example, 1207 tax on income and moveable goods • he improved the quality of silver coinage. **John's personality:** • he could be generous, had a coarse sense of humour and was intelligent • however, he could also be suspicious and cruel: vicious in his treatment of prisoners and nobles • Arthur, his nephew, died in mysterious circumstances • powerful lords like William de Braose fell from favour and were persecuted. William's wife and son were imprisoned and died. He died in exile in France. **Relations with the nobility:** • nobles refused to fight in France. This was especially true of the northern barons who had little stake in France • nobles felt their status was reduced by use of mercenaries • John became increasingly suspicious of the nobles • high cost of titles led to nobles becoming overly indebted • John took hostages to ensure nobles behaved. He showed he was prepared to execute children if their father opposed him.

	Relations with the church: • John fell out with Pope Innocent III over the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent insisted on the appointment of Langton which John opposed • papal interdict laid on England and Wales for 6 years • in 1213 John made England a fief of the papacy • noble uprising led by Archbishop of Canterbury. **Administration of government:** • John filled many of the roles in the royal household with new men, especially from Poitou. This was not popular with the English barons. **Military power:** • John established the Royal Navy • John relied on extensive use of mercenaries rather than feudal service • he was able to exert his military strength against the nobility and the French • John was an able military commander; for example, when conflict started with France and his nephew Arthur, he defeated them and captured his nephew • his forces and his allies were decisively beaten at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214. **Law and justice:** • increasingly partial judgements were resented • John increased professionalism of local sergeants and bailiffs • he extended the system of coroners. **Magna Carta:** • relations worsened throughout his reign, ending with Magna Carta and rebellion of many barons. **Any other relevant factors.**

4.	**Context:** The decline of feudalism happened as the previous order of society where land was exchanged for economic or military service was challenged. Economic developments, such as the growth of towns, changed the relationship between peasants and lords' manor as well as the development of new ways to trade and pay for labour/service led to its decline. **Growth of towns:** • a number of towns were granted market status and had grown around local trades • many found the freedom of burgh life allowed them to develop trade without the burden of labour services or restrictions in movement • there was a movement from the countryside to the towns which saw a growth • economy in towns did not depend on the ownership of land, rather on the production and selling of goods. **Other factors:** **Black Death:** • the population decreased between 33% and 50% during the Black Death • the decline in the population meant that the survivors, particularly of the lower classes, could demand and often received better wages for their labour. Wage levels in England roughly doubled. Indeed, the shortage of labourers is often seen as causing the decline of serfdom in Western Europe • landowners for the first time needed to negotiate for their serfs' services, leading to higher wages and better living conditions for those that survived. **Peasants' Revolt:** • in England, the attempts of the Statute of Labourers in 1351 to force peasants back into serfdom were widely and strongly resisted. The extent of the revolt and the impressive way in which it was organised shows that the old feudal consensus had broken down • there is an argument that the Peasants' Revolt was a reaction to the attempts to force peasants to return to the old ideas of labour services • the use of the Poll Tax was a trigger to the revolt by secular leaders, John Ball and Wat Tyler. **Growth of trade and mercantilism:** • with markets for their goods fluctuating considerably, many nobles came to understand their weak economic position. For some it was better to let their peasants' become tenants who rented their land than to continue as their feudal protector • others discovered that sheep were a far more profitable resource than peasants could ever be. The monasteries in particular turned over large areas to sheep pasture to capitalise on the strong demand for wool • peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could propel themselves upwards on the social ladder.

	Changing social attitudes: • social mobility was increasing for a number of reasons, including the move to an economy based more on cash than service • in England the wars against France had brought riches to some, and enabled them to climb the social ladder • peasants who could afford to purchase or rent extra land could move up the social ladder, for example, the de la Pole family in Hull rose from traders to become royal bankers, and the Paston family rose out of serfdom to become country gentry • it became impossible to tell the difference from 'knave and Knight', because they dressed alike. **Any other relevant factors.**

5.	**Context:** In 1625 Charles I succeeded his father James I as king of both England and Scotland, although his sovereignty was disrupted by the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. He continued to rule in Scotland until his death by execution in 1649 at the hands of the English Parliament. During his reign there were considerable challenges facing the king in his attempts to enforce his policies in Scotland whilst facing parliamentary opposition in England simultaneously. Some of these difficulties led to instability in his control of England, which itself led to confidence amongst his parliamentary opponents that they could challenge his royal authority there too. **Policies of Charles I in Scotland:** • 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. **Imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland:** • 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 proceeded to oversee 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 1636 William 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 • 23 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, James Hannay, 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.

National Covenant:

- February 1638: the Tables, a committee formed by middle-class opponents of the king, drew up the National Covenant, publicly unveiling it at Greyfriars Kirk; in the following 3 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 fortunes of king's enemies.

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 19th 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 26 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 a grouping of English peers known as Magnum Concilium; the so-called 'Long Parliament' was called in November 1640 represented a downturn in the king's political fortunes in England.

Any other relevant factors.

6.	**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, 1603–1625, 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. The legacy of James I was a factor contributing towards the war; religious, political, economic and financial factors all played a part as did the actions of Charles I and Parliament from 1640. **Actions of Charles I and Parliament from 1640:** • by 1640-1641, Puritans and the High Church were in bitter dispute over proposed reforms of the 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 5 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 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 standard at Nottingham. The English Civil War had begun. **Other factors:** **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. In 1604 James I rejected the Millenary Petition and persecuted Puritan leaders. This caused resentment amongst Puritan MPs • in addition, he adopted a 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 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.

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
- Archbishop Laud's imposition of the Book of Common Prayer 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 1640–1642 led to drastic action by Parliament in forming its own army.

Political issues:

- Charles I's 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 the 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'. **Economic and financial 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 Tonnage 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's 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. **Any other relevant factor.**

7.	**Context:** After the Interregnum which began in 1649, the monarchy was restored by Parliament in 1660. Charles II then reigned until 1685, although he used loopholes in the Restoration Settlement to rule without Parliament from 1681 onwards. Following his death, his brother James II ruled from 1685, but his attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688-1689. His eldest daughter Mary and her Dutch husband Prince William of Orange were asked by Parliament to become joint monarchs, under terms known as the Revolution Settlement, which included a Bill of Rights and other legislation passed over the next decade. **Political issues:** • James II's use of the Suspending and Dispensing Powers in 1687, although not illegal, was seen by Parliament as a misuse of royal privilege. Questions had also been raised by MPs over monarchical control of the army after the king called troops to London in 1685, which was perceived as another abuse of power • as in the pre-Civil War era, both post-Restoration Stuart monarchs advocated Divine Right and practised absolutism. Charles II's dismissal of Parliament in 1681 and James II's dissolution in 1685 resembled Charles I's conduct at the start of his 'Eleven Year Tyranny' in 1629 • Charles II's Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, had been unpopular due to his mishandling of the Second Anglo-Dutch War between 1665 and 1667, and was even blamed for the Great Plague of 1665 and the Fire of London in 1666. MPs opposed his influence at court and impeached him in 1667, forcing him into exile • so, in June 1688 as crisis approached, James II hastily promised to recall Parliament by November and announced that Roman Catholics would be ineligible to sit in it. He also replaced Roman Catholic advisors, as well as those in the high ranks of the army and navy, with Protestant ones. **Other factors:** **Role of Charles II:** • the king, exiled in France for the Interregnum, had accepted limitations on his power when the monarchy was restored in 1660. However, loopholes in the Restoration Settlement allowed him to make policy without Parliament. This caused indignation among MPs • the legal terms of the 1660 Restoration had upheld the Triennial Act and the abolition of prerogative law courts and prohibited non-Parliamentary taxation. It also stated that Charles II should live off his own finances and not receive money from Parliament, although in return, Parliament granted the king taxation on alcohol • in 1677 the king's Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Danby, who was anti-French, was persuaded by some MPs to arrange the marriage of the king's niece, Mary, to William of Orange, a Dutch prince. This was a response to Charles II's foreign policy which broke the 1668 Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, by allying himself with Louis XIV. This did not reduce Parliament's alarm at the king's pro-French and Roman Catholic leanings • nevertheless, towards end of reign Charles II ruled alone for 4 years after dissolving Parliament in March 1681 and ignoring the Triennial Act in 1684. In 1683 he imposed a new Charter for the City of London which said that all appointments to civil office, including Lord Mayor, should be subject to royal approval.

Role of James VII/II:

- the king, a Roman Catholic, ruled absolutely by dismissing Parliament in November 1685 before it could condemn Louis XIV's persecution of Huguenots, French Protestants. He then stationed a 16,000-strong army, including Roman Catholic officers, outside London
- James II imposed his will on the judicial system, re-establishing Prerogative Courts in 1686. In 1687, used the monarch's Suspending Powers to suspend laws against Roman Catholics, and used the Dispensing Powers later that year to dismiss these laws from the statute books
- James II replaced Anglican advisors and office-holders with Roman Catholic ones, including making the Earl of Tyrconnell the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Sir Roger Strickland the Admiral of the Royal Navy. He appointed Roman Catholics to important posts at Oxford and Cambridge Universities
- in late 1688 as MPs made clear their determination to invite the king's Protestant daughter Mary to become queen, he tried to use the Stuarts' links with Louis XIV to appeal for military and financial assistance. However, the French king offered little more than vocal support.

Religious issues:

- James II issued the First Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687 which suspended the Test Act, which stated that all holders of civil office, both military and political, should be Anglican and should swear an oath against Roman Catholic doctrine
- the king also issued the Second Declaration of Indulgence in May 1688, which stated that toleration towards Roman Catholics, should be preached in every church in England on two successive Sundays
- Charles II had been an Anglican but had secretly signed the Treaty of Dover in 1670, a deal agreeing with Louis XIV that he would declare himself Roman Catholic when his relations with Parliament improved. He entered the Third Anglo-Dutch War in alliance with France in 1673, and eventually declared himself a Roman Catholic on his death bed
- James II promoted Roman Catholics to key posts in government and the army. The new heir to the throne, born in 1688, was to be raised as a Roman Catholic. The religious crisis this created in the minds of MPs drove the momentum for Parliamentarians to send for William and Mary
- the Restoration Settlement in 1660 had stated that the Church of England would carry on using the Prayer Book approved by the Stuarts. There were hostile divisions between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

Role of Parliament:

- Parliament resented James II's abuses of power but took comfort from thought that he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary. However, the king's wife had a son, James Edward, in June 1688, to be raised as Roman Catholic. This led to Parliament writing to Mary, by now married to the Dutch Prince William of Orange, offering her the Crown
- William and Mary arrived at Torbay in November with an army of 15,000, and after many in the House of Lords declared their support for William, on Christmas Day James II fled to France. Parliament had also persuaded the king's younger daughter Anne, as well as leading generals, to declare their support for Mary. Subsequent to these events, William and Mary became joint sovereigns on February 13th, 1689
- with no document resembling a Bill of Rights that would formalise the powers held by monarch and Parliament, some MPs felt that a settlement involving William and Mary would have to include one. Without one, future monarchs, including William and Mary, could preach notions of Divine Right, absolutism and passive obedience. This meant that Parliament wanted limitations on the power of the monarchy to be written into law

	• in March 1689, therefore, Parliament drew up a Declaration of Right, which legalised a new relationship between Crown and Parliament in matters such as finance, law, the succession and religion. This became the Bill of Rights in December that year and had to be signed by William and Mary as a condition of their remaining on the throne. The importance of the Bill of Rights confirms the view that the blurred lines between monarchs and Parliament had been a problem in the past. **Any other relevant factors.**

8.	**Context:** After the reign of Charles II, James II ruled between 1685 and 1688, but his actions persuaded Parliament that he was intent on establishing an absolutist monarchy. After a series of negotiations, the king's own daughters gave assurances that they would support a change in monarch, which led to the Revolution of 1688-1689. Parliament invited the king's eldest daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, Prince William of Orange to become joint monarchs. A series of agreements made between 1689 and 1701, legalising the division of power between Parliament and the Crown, became known as the Revolution Settlement. This included the Bill of Rights which limited the power of the monarch in relation the status held by the Crown at the start of the seventeenth century. **Religious power:** • Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689: toleration of all Protestants except Unitarians, those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity, and Roman Catholics, Jewish people, and atheists. Parliament ensured Roman Catholicism could no longer be accepted • although Non-Conformist Protestants could now worship freely, the new law maintained an Exclusion from Public Office clause, so they could not obtain teaching positions at universities or elected posts in towns or the House of Commons • the Toleration Act insisted that Non-Conformists take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of their religious freedom • Toleration Act stated the king was supreme Head of the Church of England. 400 Non-Jurors — priests and bishops refusing to acknowledge William III — were expelled from their posts by Parliament • however, the king, as head of the church, now had the power to appoint bishops and archbishops. **Legal powers of Crown and Parliament:** • 1689 Bill of Rights stated monarchs could no longer require excessive bail to be demanded from defendants nor ask judges to impose cruel punishments • Ministers impeached by the House of Commons could not be pardoned by the Crown • in 1695 the Treason Act was altered to give defendants the rights to be told the indictment against them, to be defended by Counsel, to call witnesses in their defence, and to demand that there be two witnesses against them to prove a case instead of the previous one • Act of Settlement 1701 stated judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this • however, monarchs could still appoint judges. **Political issues:** • William and Mary agreed to the Bill of Rights in December 1689, legalising new relationship between Crown and Parliament • Bill of Rights made it clear monarchs could no longer use royal prerogative to suspend or dispense with laws passed by Parliament, and could not interfere in Parliamentary elections • Bill of Rights also stated from now on MPs and peers could not be punished for exercising Parliamentary freedom of speech • Licensing Act was repealed in 1695, removing restrictions on freedom of the press to report Parliamentary criticism of Crown • Revolution Settlement provided for a Triennial Act passed in 1694. This was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion. Parliament was now more relevant to voters than ever before, although voters were still the landed classes • however, the Revolution Settlement still allowed monarchs executive power, so they could dismiss Parliament at will and also rule alone for up to three years and could still appoint peers.

Financial settlement:

- Parliament granted William III and Mary II £1,200,000 for court expenses in 1689, including £700,000 to pay civilians working for the state; these became fixed annual amount in the Civil List Act of 1697
- a Procedure of Audit was established for MPs to check royal expenditure; Crown financial independence was no longer possible
- the 1689 Bill of Rights stated the monarch could no longer levy taxes without Parliamentary consent; House of Commons now agreed an annual Budget proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who between 1690 and 1694 was Richard Hampden; fiscal power now lay in the hands of Parliament rather than the Crown
- however, the monarch benefited from no longer having to resort to unpopular methods of raising revenue; from now on it would be Parliament that incurred the wrath of citizens for increasing taxation.

Loopholes in the settlement:

- the Crown still greatly influenced Scotland by appointing ministers who would not challenge English policy
- successive monarchs would be able to control legislation in Scotland as well as interfere in Scotland's external affairs, especially in relation to trade with England's enemies
- William and Mary were able to break promises made to Roman Catholics in Ireland, imprisoning Irish rebels who had previously been guaranteed safe passage to Ireland in the wake of William's 1690 campaign to enforce his sovereignty in Ireland
- William held sway over many MPs who voted to impose the Penal Laws of 1693-1694, excluding Roman Catholics in Ireland from the learned professions and elected public office
- the monarch still exerted control over English foreign policy, having the final say on the decision to send the army to war or to sign peace treaties
- King William used his patronage to appoint officers in both the army and navy, maintaining favour with those who owed him their promoted positions
- the Hanoverian Succession was desired by William anyway, and so the crown was getting its own way
- the Bill of Rights had declared James II's removal from the English throne as an act of abdication, which accorded the monarch, and future monarchs, a status which Parliament could not challenge.

Any other relevant factors.

PART C — The Atlantic slave trade

9.	**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. **Profits accruing from tropical crops:** • the climate and land in the West Indies were suited to the growing of luxury crops such as sugar, coffee and tobacco. The popularity of these products grew as Britain became reliant on the consumption of these status goods • Britain made large profits from the trade in fashionable products such as sugar and tobacco which became very popular with British people • Britain's status in Europe and the rest of the world was enhanced by profits from the slave trade • the slave trade provided the raw materials for industrial exports — and large profits — to Europe. **Role of the trade in terms of navigation:** • the Atlantic slave trade aided the growth of the both the Royal Navy and the United Kingdom's merchant navy • the Royal Navy grew out of the fight for control of the colonies and then protected British control and trading from these colonies • the Navigation Acts required that all overseas trade should take place in British ships, manned by British sailors, when trading between British ports and the colonies • additional laws limited the ability of other countries to compete with British traders; the 1733 Molasses Act, which banned foreign sugar being imported into North America and the 1739 Direct Export Act, which allowed plantation owners to ship goods directly to Europe • the development of the Triangular Trade • the Atlantic trade trained experienced sailors, who could serve in the Royal Navy • high casualty rate among sailors on trade ships. **Manufacturing:** • the cotton industry was integral to the development of the Atlantic slave trade. Cities like Manchester exported cotton to Africa as part of the triangular trade. Cotton was the key industry that helped stimulate the Industrial Revolution • manufactured goods made in Britain were traded for enslaved Africans. These included goods made in the new factories of the Industrial Revolution such as wool and metal goods such as pots, pans and cutlery • without the Atlantic slave trade, planters would have struggled to meet the growing demands for the luxury tropical crops • the slave trade was important to the economic prosperity and well-being of the colonies.

	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 Atlantic slave trade went into the Welsh slate industry. Canals and railways were also built as a result of investment of profits from 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 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 Atlantic 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 enslaved people. 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 ship building site for the slave trade 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

10.	**Context:** In essence, the Atlantic 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 enslaved people 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, enslaved people were treated better and had better conditions, but the prime motivation was the transport of as many enslaved people as possible to the auctions in the West Indies, alive • enslaved people were chosen for their ability to work, little thought was given to family bonds • to extract as much work from enslaved people as possible on the plantations, enslaved people were often beaten or worse • as enslaved people 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:** **Humanitarian concerns:** • humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of enslaved people in Africa or on the Middle Passage. Participants were not in daily close contact with enslaved people and did not get to know them personally • the West Indian plantations, on the other hand, were often small communities. On such plantations there were examples of enslaved people being treated less harshly. Where such personal ties did not exist, there was less moderation in the brutalities towards enslaved people • some slave ship captains were more humane and lessened the harsh conditions of the Middle Passage. **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. Passages from the Books of Genesis and Exodus, especially the Curse of Ham which illustrated Israelite enslavement of the Canaanites were presented as evidence for the morality of slavery • slave traders/owners claimed that enslaved people were being exposed to Christianity. Enslavement was therefore good for them, as it gave them the chance of eternal salvation through Christianity • some participants were religious and moderated their treatment of enslaved people accordingly.

	Fear of revolt: • on both ships and plantations there was a constant fear of a revolt because of the intolerable conditions, which enslaved people might risk their lives to escape from • on ships, security was paramount, as crews were heavily outnumbered by their cargoes. This meant that enslaved people 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 ships carrying enslaved people grew so did the costs, 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 • Maroons raided plantations, killed militia and freed slaves. Due to the inability of the planters to crush them, they entered into a treaty 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 enslaved people 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 • enslaved people were treated not as fellow human beings but as moveable property. This was illustrated by the case of the Zong. The killing of enslaved people was not considered to be murder in the eyes of the law. **Any other relevant factors.**

11.	**Context:** The early progress of the abolitionist campaign was slow owing to a range of vested interests and events outside Britain. One such event was the French Revolution, which led to a fear of change for Britain's politicians. However, by the 1790s the abolitionists were winning the moral argument. **Effects of the French Revolution:** • the French Revolution had a detrimental effect on the progress of the abolitionist campaign as there was the belief among many British MPs that the abolitionist cause was associated with French revolutionary ideas • sympathy for the French Revolution disappeared with the execution of Louis XVI. Wealthy people reacted with horror to the idea that similar societal upheaval could happen in Britain. Many wealthy people associated abolitionism with the dangerous radicalism in France • the abolitionist cause was associated with revolutionary ideas, for example the abolitionist campaigner Thomas Clarkson openly supported the French Revolution • general fears about law and order led to laws limiting the right of assembly and protest. Even abolition campaigners like William Wilberforce supported these laws. As a result of these laws the growth of abolition societies was limited • after 1799, Britain became involved in the Napoleonic Wars leading to a decrease in support for abolition • supporters of the slave trade argued that it was necessary to pay for Britain's involvement in the French Revolutionary wars; it seemed unpatriotic not to support the slave trade • radicals used similar tactics as abolitionists to win public support — associations, petitions, cheap publications, public lectures, public meetings, pressure on Parliament. This linked abolitionism with political radicalism in peoples' minds during the French Revolutionary wars • by the late 1790s very few, apart from hardened radicals, still supported abolition, and so the momentum towards abolition had slowed down as a direct result of the French Revolution. **Other factors:** **Slave rebellion in St Domingue:** • pro-slavery groups pointed to this rebellion as an example of what would happen if enslaved people were to gain their freedom. The revolt began in 1791 and continued until 1804. An independent country calling itself Haiti was set up under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture. It is estimated that as many as 200,000 people died. The general fear of a revolt by enslaved people was increased as a result • unsuccessful attempts by colonial French troop to regain control shocked the British Government. There were fears that the rebellion could spread to neighbouring British islands such as Jamaica. Any attempts to abolish the slave trade were thwarted because it was claimed that the West Indies could become unsafe and unstable • the British were humiliated when their attempts to regain control of Haiti were also unsuccessful • such violence as reported from St. Domingue played into the hands of the pro-slave trade lobby, confirming their warnings of anarchy if enslaved people became free after abolition.

Importance of the trade to the British economy:

- the Atlantic slave trade generated finance, being an important source of tax revenue from slave shipping companies who made massive profits and the developing banking and insurance industries who also profited greatly from their clients
- West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours so if abolition occurred then taxes would have to be raised to compensate for the loss of trade and revenue
- abolition could help foreign rivals such as France as other nations would fill the gap left by Britain
- British cotton mills, particularly in Lanarkshire and Lancashire, depended on cotton produced by enslaved people
- individuals, businesses and ports in Britain prospered on the back of the slave trade
- Africa provided an additional market for British manufactured goods, which benefitted not just ports but also manufacturing towns such as Manchester and Stoke
- shipbuilding benefited, as did maritime employment in areas such as ropemaking and sail making.

Anti-abolition propaganda:

- vested interests spurred on by bankers, insurance executives and shipping magnates conducted a powerful propaganda campaign to counter that of the abolitionists, even though some of the arguments and evidence were specious
- lobbyists like the West Indies lobby conducted a powerful propaganda campaign to counter that of the abolitionists, producing countless letters and articles for newspapers
- pro-slavery campaigners produced books and plays supporting the slave trade for example, in 1788 William Beckford wrote a book on: 'Remarks Upon the Situation of Negroes in Jamaica'; Thomas Bellamy wrote a play in 1789 called 'The Benevolent Planters' telling the story of black enslaved people separated in Africa, but reunited by their owners
- slave owners and their supporters argued abolition of the slave trade was not legal because it would undermine a central tenet of British law; the right to private property. They successfully discouraged the Government from contemplating abolition without compensation because of the legal battle that would ensue.

Attitudes of British governments:

- successive governments were more concerned with maintaining revenue and the rights of property for their wealthiest citizens rather than those of enslaved people who had no political stake or influence in Britain
- wealthy merchants from London, Liverpool and Bristol ensured that their MPs influenced successive governments to help maintain/protect the slave trade. They either bought votes or put pressure on others
- the nature of politics at this time meant that there were not distinct political parties but various interest groups. Parliament was dominated by the West India lobby, which for a long time was the most powerful group in the Commons. The Duke of Clarence, one of George III's sons, was a member of the West India interest group
- Governments were often coalitions of different interest groups, often pro-slavery. This ensured that opposition to the slave trade did not gather government support
- many absentee plantation owners or merchants held high political office or were MPs themselves, thus influencing the attitude of British governments, for example, William Beckford, owner of an estate in Jamaica, was twice Mayor of London. In the later 18th century, over 50 MPs represented the slave plantations

	• MPs used delaying tactics to slow down or prevent legislation, for example, Henry Dundas, the unofficial 'King of Scotland', Secretary of State for War and First Lord of the Admiralty used his position to protect the interests of slave owners and merchants. In 1792, he effectively 'killed' Wilberforce's Bill banning the slave trade by proposing a compromise that any abolition would take place over several years, which Dundas knew Wilberforce could not accept • attitudes were influenced by direct pressure from slave merchants on the government for example in 1775, a petition was sent from Bristol urging support for the slave trade. **Any other relevant factors.**

12.	**Context:** At the end of the 18th century, even as slave owning remained profitable, there were growing demands for abolition of the trade and slavery itself. By the end of the century the British economy was changing, therefore the slave trade was declining in importance. **Decline in the economic importance of slavery:** • impact of wars with France — as a result the slave trade declined by two-thirds • the Industrial Revolution had increased the importance of manufactured British goods and agriculture; Britain became less dependent on trading goods • the Atlantic slave trade became less important in economic terms — less demand for large numbers of slaves to be imported to the British colonies • there was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it • growing competition from parts of the Empire like India, who were producing crops like sugar on a larger scale and more cheaply. **Other factors:** **Effects of slave resistance:** • successful rebellions by enslaved people like in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) increased the general fear of revolt • abolition of the slave trade would mean conditions would have to improve because enslaved people would become more valuable. There were concerns that unless conditions improved, more revolts would follow • in Jamaica, a substantial number of runaways lived outside the control of the authorities in the mountains. Successive attempts to bring escaped enslaved people under control had failed, which made it harder to maintain slavery without changes. **Military factors:** • the abolition of the trade would undermine Napoleon's effort to restore French control in the Caribbean; the abolition campaign helped British interests • the 1806 Act banning any slave trade between British merchants and foreign colonies was aimed at attacking French interests by limiting their ability to engage in a lucrative trade. **Campaign of the Anti-Slavery Society:** • Thomas Clarkson toured ports and cities connected with the Atlantic slave trade to obtain witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations of the slave trade which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches • the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade published books and pamphlets, for example, eyewitness accounts from former enslaved people such as Olaudah Equiano • female Abolitionists ran campaigns to boycott goods produced by slaves in the West Indies such as sugar. Supporting the selling of products like sugar, which had not been produced by slave labour • Hannah More was the most influential female member of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade • public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of the slave trade, for example, John Newton; churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda • organised petitions and subscription lists supporting the abolition of slavery, also artefacts and illustrations, for example, Wedgwood pottery • lobbying of MPs to get promises that they would oppose the slave trade

	• effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox to support their cause; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions • the religious revival of the late 18th century was at the heart of the anti-slavery movement. Many of the early leaders came from non-Conformist churches such as Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists. **Role of Wilberforce:** • William Wilberforce spent eighteen years putting forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament • his speeches in Parliament were effective in drawing attention to the cause • he was well connected politically; Wilberforce was friends with William Pitt the Younger who was Prime Minister, for example • his Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform. Wilberforce linked the need to reform factory conditions in Britain with the need to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the British Empire • importantly Wilberforce collaborated with other abolitionists to achieve his aims, including the Quakers, Thomas Clarkson and Olaudah Equiano. **Any other relevant factors.**

13.	**Context:** Political change in Britain was an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, process. These slow 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. **Widening of the franchise:** • the Representation of the People Act of 1867 gave most skilled working-class men living in towns the vote. The Act increased the electorate to nearly 2.5 million • the 1884 Representation of the People Act extended this to the countryside which now meant that approx. 60% of men had gained the franchise • after 1914, the 1918 Representation of the People Act entitled all men over the age of 21 to the vote and granted suffrage to women over 30 — as long as they were either owners of property, or married to owners of property • however, it was not until the 1928 Representation of the People Act (Equal Franchise) that all men and all women over the age of 21 were given the vote. **Distribution of seats:** • the 1867 and 1868 Representation of the People Act disenfranchised 11 boroughs in England and Wales and crated eight new seats in Scotland • the acts also reduced the number of MPs in many constituencies to just one • this act gave growing towns the right to send more MPs to Parliament and a redistribution of 142 seats took place. This cut the old dominance of southern England and increased Scottish representation to 72. **Corruption and intimidation:** • in 1872 the Secret Ballot Act allowed voters to vote in secret during an election which reduced bribery and intimidation and allowed voters to vote for their choice without pressure • the Corrupt and Illegal Practices act of 1883 established what a candidate could spend on election expenses and what the money could be spent on. Allegations of illegal acts during elections did decline after this Act was passed and average election expenditure of candidates also fell • harsh penalties were imposed on those that broke these new rules • however, although corruption in elections was reduced it did not die out completely. **Widening membership of the House of Commons:** • the property qualification to be an MP was abolished in 1858 • payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling more working-class men to stand as candidates for Parliament • by 1918 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 — voting system still first past the post in UK.

	Role of the House of Lords: • the 1911 Parliament Act reduced the power of the House of Lords and changed their veto with the ability only to delay bills from the House of Commons for two years • the Lords could not now interfere with any 'Money Bills', meaning that the Commons could make up its own mind about what money it raised through taxation. **National party 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 Labour Representation Committee by 1900 (Labour Party from 1906) thereby offering a wider choice to the electorate • as the size of the electorate grew, individual political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate, for example development of National Liberal Federation, Conservative Central Office, Primrose League. **Any other relevant factors.**

14.	**Context:** In 1918 some women in Britain were given a vote by the Representation of the People Act. 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 Suffragists' campaign led the movement for change over several decades. Women finally gained the right to vote on equal terms as men in 1928. **Suffragist campaign:** • many women's suffrage group were founded all over Britain. In 1897, 17 of the groups joined together to form the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) • Millicent Fawcett was leader of the NUWSS. The NUWSS believed in moderate, peaceful tactics to win the vote, such as meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary support • NUWSS tactics also involved lobbying MPs as well as providing help at election time for pro-female suffrage candidates • membership remained relatively low at about 6,000 until around 1909, however it grew to 53,000 by 1914 as women angered by the Suffragettes' campaign, found a new home • Suffragists' tactics although law abiding, could be easily ignored by the media • the Conciliation Bills of 1910, 1911 and 1912 show the Suffragists' quiet tactics were influencing some politicians. **Other factors:** **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'. From 1888 women could vote in many local council elections • several laws were passed to improve female standing in society, for example, 1873 Infant Custody Act, 1882 and 1893 Married Women's Property Acts • women increasingly became involved in work that was seen as traditional male jobs such as teaching and white-collar jobs • Millicent Fawcett, the leader of the NUWSS, had argued that wider social changes were vital factors in the winning of the right to vote. **Suffragette campaign:** • 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, for example, 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 Prisoners' (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 I But for opponents the militant campaign provided an excellent example of why women could not be trusted with the vote.

	Women in the war effort, 1914–1918: • Britain declared war on Germany on 4 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. **Example of other countries:** • many parts of the British Empire had given women the vote. Women in New Zealand were given the vote in 1893, Australia in 1902 and some areas of Canada in 1916 • Finland was the first country in Europe to give women the right to vote in 1906. Some US states such as Washington, Oregon and Kansas gave the vote to women before WWI • potentially embarrassing if the 'mother of parliaments' did not give women the vote at home • little evidence of parliamentary debates showing concerns or worry about parts of the Empire enfranchising women. **Any other relevant factors.**

15.	**Context:** Attitudes towards poverty in the 19th century were laissez-faire. Although the Liberals had not been elected on a social reform manifesto in 1906, 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 aimed at the young, old, sick, unemployed and employed, introduced by the Liberal Party. **The young:** • children were thought to be the victims of poverty and unable to escape through their own efforts. In this way they were seen as 'the deserving poor' • the Education Provision of School Meals Act, 1906 allowed local authorities to raise money to pay for school meals but the law did not force local authorities to provide school meals • medical inspections were made compulsory for children after 1907 but no treatment of illnesses or infections found was provided until 1912 • the Children's Act (the Children's Charter) 1908 banned children under 16 from smoking, drinking alcohol, or begging. New juvenile courts were set up for children accused of committing crimes, as were borstals for children convicted of breaking the law. Probation officers were employed to help former offenders in an attempt to avoid reoffending • the time taken to enforce all the legislation meant the Children's Charter only helped improve conditions for some children during the period. **The old:** • Rowntree had identified old age as the time when most people dropped below his poverty line. Old age was inescapable and so was clearly associated with the problem of poverty • Old Age Pensions Act, 1908 gave people over 70 up to 5 shillings a week. Once a person over 70 had income above 12 shillings a week, their entitlement to a pension stopped. Married couples were given 7 shillings and 6 pence • the level of benefit was low. Few of the elderly poor would live until their 70th birthday. Some of the old were excluded from claiming pensions because they failed to meet the qualification rules • by 1914 one million people were receiving a pension. **The sick:** • illness was seen as both a cause and consequence of poverty • the National Insurance Act Part 1, 1911 applied to workers earning less than £160 a year. Each insured worker got 9 pence in contributions from an outlay of 4 pence — 'ninepence for fourpence'. As a result, workers received 10 shillings a week if they could not go to work because they were too sick • only the insured worker got free medical treatment from a doctor. Other family members did not benefit from the scheme. The weekly contribution was in effect a wage cut which might simply have made poverty worse in many families.

	The unemployed: • unemployment had been identified as a cause of poverty • the National Insurance Act Part 2, 1911 only covered unemployment for some workers in some industries and like Part 1 of the Act, required contributions from workers, employers and the government. (7 shillings 6 pence for 15 weeks - 2 ½ pence per week from the worker and 2 ½ pence from the government). For most workers, no unemployment insurance scheme existed • only some trades were involved, for example, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, construction and iron founding • Labour Exchanges Act, 1909 was supposed to help the unemployed find employment. **The employed:** • in 1906 a Workman's Compensation Act covered a further six million workers who could now claim compensation for injuries and diseases which were the result of working conditions • in 1909, the Trade Boards Act tried to protect workers in the sweated trades like tailoring and lace making by setting up trade boards to fix minimum wages • both the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1908 and the Coal Mines Act, 1911, as well as the Shops Act, 1911, improved conditions for some workers. **Any other relevant factors.**

16.	**Context:** In his report in 1942, William Beveridge identified Five Giants: Want, Disease, Squalor, Ignorance and Idleness. In the aftermath of the Second World War there was a desire to build a better Britain for all. Reforms based on Beveridge's report were passed by the new Labour government. **Want:** • 1946 the first step was made: The National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities • it was said to support people from the 'cradle to the grave' which was significant as it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives • the Industrial Injuries Act 1946 was very effective as it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, this act can be criticised for its failure to go far enough • benefits were only granted to those who made 156 weekly contributions • in 1948 the National Assistance Board was set up in order to cover those for whom insurance did not do enough. This was important as it functioned as a safety net to protect these people • this was vital as the problem of people not being aided by the insurance benefits was becoming a severe issue as time passed. Yet, some criticised this as many citizens still remained below subsistence level showing the problem of want had not completely been addressed. **Disease:** • the establishment of the NHS in 1948 dealt effectively with the spread of disease • the NHS was the first comprehensive universal system of health in Britain • offered vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain's most deadly illnesses • it also offered helpful services to Britain's public, such as medical care for children, the introduction of prescriptions, health visiting and provision for the elderly, providing a safety net across the whole country: the fact that the public did not have to pay for their health meant that everyone, regardless of their financial situation, was entitled to health care • NHS could be regarded as almost too successful. The demand from the public was overwhelming, as the estimated number of patients treated by them almost doubled. Introduction of charges for prescriptions, etc. **Squalor:** • after the war there was a great shortage of housing as the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes; and the slum clearing of the 1930s had done little to rectify the situation which was leading to a number of other problems for the government • tackling the housing shortage and amending the disastrous results of the war fell upon Bevan's Ministry of Health • Labour's target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. 157,000 prefabricated homes were built to a good standard; however this number would not suffice and the target was difficult to meet every year • Bevan encouraged the building of council houses rather than privately funded construction • the New Towns Act of 1946, aimed to target overcrowding in the increasingly built-up older cities. By 1950, the government had designed 12 new communities

	• in an attempt to eradicate slums the Town and Country Planning Act provided local communities more power in regard to building developments and new housing • by the time Labour left government office in 1951 there was still a huge shortfall in British housing. **Ignorance:** • reform started by the wartime government: The 1944 Education Act raised the age at which people could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc • Labour introduced a three-tiered secondary schooling whereby pupils were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. The pupils who passed the '11+ exam' went to grammar schools, those who did not went to secondary moderns and technical schools • those who went to grammar schools were expected to stay on past the age of 15 and this created a group of people who would take senior jobs in the country thus solving the skills shortages. Whilst this separation of ability in theory meant that children of even poor background could get equal opportunities in life, in practice the system actually created a bigger division between the poor and the rich. In many cases, the already existing inequalities between the classes was exacerbated rather than narrowed • Labour expanded university education: introduction of grants so all could attend in theory. **Idleness:** • unemployment was basically non-existent so the government had little to do to tackle idleness • the few changes they did make were effective in increasing the likelihood of being able to find work, because they increased direct government funding for the universities which led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945—1946 and 1950—1951, which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This provided more skilled workers and allowed people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue a higher education, aiming to keep unemployment rates down • the Labour government also nationalised 20% of industry — the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This therefore meant that the government were directly involved with people employed in these huge industries which were increasing in size dramatically • this tackled idleness by the government having control which meant that employees were less likely to lose their job through industries going bankrupt and people were working directly to benefit society. **Any other relevant factors.**

17.	**Context:** Initially World War I brought prosperity to Ireland. The demands on manufacturing and farming brought low unemployment thus improving relations between Britain and Ireland. However, Sinn Féin, 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 many Irish people 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 the war to help ensure Home Rule was passed after the war (Irish Volunteers, under Eoin MacNeill, were dead set against the war effort) • recruitment was successful in the south as almost ¼ million men join up • opposition to war very much a minority in 1914 but supported by Sinn Fèin 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. **Impact of the Easter Rising:** • rebels saw war as a chance to rid Ireland of British by force • felt it was an 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 the Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as press for unnecessary death and destruction. Over 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2.5 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 the Rising by small group of rebels, majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists Party • strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners of the rebels for destruction of the city centre • 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 • the 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 Féin 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:

- many Irish opposed the 1918 Military Service Bill, which planned to conscript 150,000 Irishmen, and this pushed people towards Sinn Féin
- caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster
- Sinn Féin and Nationalists organised campaigns, for example general strike 23 April 1918
- the anti-conscription committee drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription
- conscription was not extended to Ireland which Sinn Féin was given credit for
- conscription campaign drove Sinn Féin underground which improved their organisation.

Decline of the Nationalist Party:

- Redmond was weakened in 1914 in the formation by Sinn Féin members of the militaristic Irish Volunteers. His enthusiastic support for the British war effort alienated many Catholics
- when the situation worsened in WWI, a new Conservative-Liberal coalition government was formed in May 1915. Redmond was offered a seat in its cabinet, which he declined. This was welcomed in Ireland but greatly weakened his position after his rival, unionist leader Carson accepted a cabinet post
- the Easter Rising in April 1916 began the decline of constitutional nationalism as represented by the Nationalists and the ascent of a more radical separatist form of Irish nationalism
- Irish Convention failed to reach agreement, which weakened the position of the Nationalists and led to a feeling that the British could not be trusted and Nationalists could not deliver
- three by-election wins for Sinn Féin gave impression they spoke for people not Nationalists which increased tension between Ireland and Britain politically
- in March 1918 Redmond died which accelerated the decline of the Nationalists. Sinn Féin gained influence and popularity as a result
- many moved from the Nationalist Party as they felt Sinn Féin was doing more for Ireland.

Rise of Sinn Féin:

- after the Easter Rising, there was a shift in opinion from support for Home Rule to support for Irish Independence. Within a year of the Rising membership of Sinn Féin had increased ten-fold and Sinn Féin establishes itself as the leading nationalist party in Ireland
- large numbers of Irish Volunteers join Sinn Féin
- in 1917, at Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, Éamon de Valera was elected President of Sinn Féin and of the Irish Volunteers, and for the first time the political and military wings of nationalism were under one leader
- Sinn Féin campaigns against conscription, anti-conscription rallies were held around the country and 2 million people signed anti-conscription pledge
- on 17 May 1918 the British Government ordered the arrest of key leading members of Sinn Féin including de Valera, whilst Sinn Féin were banned by the Government. These actions increased support for Sinn Féin
- in the 1918 General Election Sinn Féin won 73 seats, largest Irish party
- Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence.

Any other relevant factors.

18.	**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. **Role of the Dáil (Declaration of Independence):** • 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 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 IRA. **Other factors:** **Irish attitudes to British rule after World War I:** • the aftermath of the Easter Rising, and the anti-conscription 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 • the IRA was prepared to wage an armed struggle against the British. At Croke Park, where there was a Gaelic football match taking place, RIC members fired into the crowd, killing 12 people and injuring 60 • Unionists had made a huge blood sacrifice in the First World War and naturally expected this to be reflected in any post-war settlement in Ireland. **Position of Ulster Unionists:** • Ulster Unionists won an extra 10 seats and now had 26 seats in Westminster, making partition increasingly likely • influence of Carson; Unionists were the most significant Irish voice at Westminster; Unionists argued successfully for the 6 counties to be given a separate parliament, causing much friction • Unionists had made a huge blood sacrifice in the First World War (for example on the Somme) and expected this to be reflected in any post-war settlement in Ireland.

	Policies and actions of the British government: • the Government of Ireland Act. The Act was intended to establish separate Home Rule institutions within two new subdivisions of Ireland: the six north-eastern counties were to form Northern Ireland, while the larger part of the country was to form Southern Ireland • the British aim between 1918 and 1921 was to reduce Ireland to obedience within the United Kingdom. The Dáil was declared illegal by the British authorities and in doing this the British government relied increasingly on military force, introducing special powers of arrest and imprisonment • RIC members were instructed to challenge civilians from ambush and shoot them if they did not obey the RIC officers, sometimes innocent people were killed. RIC officers were protected by their superiors • some members of the RIC 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 1920, the Lord Mayor of Cork, Tomás Mac Curtain was shot dead by RIC men • the violence led to a drift to extremism, culminating in the sacking of Cork city. **IRA tactics and policies:** • the IRA campaign used guerrilla tactics against a militarily stronger foe, for example, 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.**

19.	**Context:** By the early 1960s Northern Ireland was relatively stable. However, the Northern Ireland Nationalists were discriminated against in terms of housing, employment and electorally. In 1964 a peaceful civil rights campaign started to end the discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland. **Issue of civil rights:** • from the autumn of 1968 onwards, a wide range of activists marched behind the civil rights banner, adopting civil disobedience in an attempt to secure their goals. Housing activists, socialists, nationalists, unionists, republicans, students, trade unionists and political representatives came together across Northern Ireland to demand civil rights for Catholics in Northern Ireland • the demand for basic civil rights from the Northern Ireland government was an effort to move the traditional fault-lines away from the familiar Catholic-Protestant, nationalist-unionist divides by demanding basic rights for all citizens of Britain • civil rights encouraged by television coverage of civil rights protest in the USA and student protests in Europe. Widening TV ownership; in 1954, 10,000 TV Licences, by 1962 there were 200,000. This led to increased Catholic awareness of the issues that affected them • as the Civil Rights campaign gained momentum, so too did unionist opposition. Sectarian tension rose: was difficult to control, and civil disobedience descended into occasions of civil disorder. Peaceful civil rights marches descended into violence in October 1968 when marchers in Derry defied the RUC and were dispersed with heavy-handed tactics • many Catholics were impatient with the pace of reform and remained unconvinced of Prime Minister O'Neill's sincerity. Founding of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in 1967. NICRA did not challenge partition, though membership was mainly Catholic. Instead, it called for the end to seven 'injustices,' ranging from council house allocation to the 'weighted' voting system. **Other factors:** **Unionist political ascendancy in Northern Ireland:** • population of Northern Ireland divided: two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic: it was the minority who were discriminated against in employment and housing • in 1963, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Viscount Brookeborough, stepped down after 20 years in office. His long tenure was a product of the Ulster Unionist domination of politics in Northern Ireland since partition in 1921 • before 1969 local elections not held on a 'one person, one vote' basis: gerrymandering used to secure unionist majorities on local councils. Local government electoral boundaries favoured unionist candidates, even in mainly Catholic areas like Derry. Also, right to vote in local elections restricted to ratepayers, favouring Protestants, with those holding or renting properties in more than one ward receiving more than one vote, up to a maximum of six. This bias was preserved by unequal allocation of council houses to Protestant families • challenges as Prime Minister O'Neill expressed desire to improve community relations in Northern Ireland and create a better relationship with the government in Dublin, hoping that this would address the sense of alienation felt by Catholics towards the political system in Northern Ireland • post-war Britain's Labour government introduced the welfare state to Northern Ireland, and it was implemented with few concessions to traditional sectarian divisions. Catholic children in the 1950s and 1960s shared in the benefits of further and higher education for the first time. This exposed them to a world of new ideas and created a generation unwilling to tolerate the status quo

	Cultural and political differences between communities: • the Catholic minority politically marginalised since the 1920s, but retained its distinct identity through its own institutions such as the Catholic Church, separate Catholic schools, and various cultural associations, as well as the hostility of the Protestant majority • Catholic political representatives in parliament refused to recognise partition and this only increased the community's sense of alienation and difference from the Unionist majority in Northern Ireland • Nationalists on average 10–12 seats in Northern Ireland Parliament compared to average 40 Unionists. In Westminster 10–12 Unionists to 2 Nationalists • as the Republic's constitution laid claim to the whole island of Ireland, O'Neill's meeting with his Dublin counterpart, Seán Lemass, in 1965, provoked attacks from within unionism, for example, the Reverend Ian Paisley • violence erupted between the two communities in 1966 following the twin 50th anniversaries of the Battle of the Somme and the Easter Rising. Both events were key cultural touchstones for the Protestant and Catholic communities. **Economic issues:** • Northern Ireland was left relatively prosperous by World War II, with the boom continuing into the 1950s. But by the 1960s, as elsewhere in Britain, these industries were in decline, for example Harland and Wolff profitable until the early 1960s, but the government helped in 1966. Largely Protestant workforce protected as a result • Catholic areas received less government investment than their Protestant neighbours. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed or in low-paid jobs than Protestants in Northern Ireland. Catholic applicants also routinely excluded from public service appointments • the incomes of mainly Protestant landowners were supported by the British system of 'deficiency payments' which gave Northern Ireland farmers an advantage over farmers from the Irish Republic • Brookeborough's failure to address the worsening economic situation saw him forced to resign as Prime Minister. His successor, Terence O'Neill set out to reform the economy. His social and economic policies saw growing discontent and divisions within his Unionist party. **Role of the IRA:** • rioting and disorder in 1966 was followed by the murders of two Catholics and a Protestant by a 'loyalist' terror group called the Ulster Volunteer Force, who were immediately banned by O'Neill • peaceful civil rights marches descended into violence in October 1968 when marchers in Derry defied the Royal Ulster Constabulary and were dispersed with heavy-handed tactics. The RUC response only served to inflame further the Catholic community and foster the establishment of the Provisional IRA by 1970 as the IRA split into Official and Provisional factions • the Provisional IRA's strategy was to use force to cause the collapse of the Northern Ireland administration and to inflict casualties on the British forces such that the British government be forced by public opinion to withdraw from Ireland • Provisional IRA were seen to defend Catholic areas from Loyalist attacks in the summer of 1970. **Any other relevant factors.**

20.	**Context:** The civil rights movement of the mid to late 1960s saw a backlash against it from elements of the unionist community, including the largely Protestant RUC. The Provisional IRA emerged as defenders of the Northern Ireland Nationalist community. The two sides: Nationalist and Unionist, were increasingly polarised through the period with communities dividing, socially and politically, along sectarian lines. The deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and imposition of Direct Rule saw the conflict widen. **Role of the British Army:** • the so-called 'Battle of Bogside' in 1969 only ended with the arrival of a small force of British troops at the request of Chichester Clark. An acknowledgement that the government of Northern Ireland had lost its grip on the province's security • by 1971 policing the province was fast becoming an impossible task, and the British Army adopted increasingly aggressive policies on the ground • on 30 January 1972, the army deployed the Parachute Regiment to suppress rioting at a civil rights march in Derry. Thirteen demonstrators were shot and killed by troops, with another victim dying later of wounds. Appalling images of 'Bloody Sunday' led to increased recruitment by Provisional IRA • the British Army's various attempts to control the Provisional IRA, such as house-to-house searches and the imposition of a limited curfew, only served to drive more recruits into the ranks of the paramilitaries. **Other factors:** **Religious and communal differences:** • the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a Church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it very difficult for both communities to come together • these divisions further enhanced by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the 'marching season', which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport and language • many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the Nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority • the speeches and actions of Unionist and Nationalist leaders such as Reverend Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province, and emphasised the divisions between both communities. **British government policies:** • new Prime Minister Brian Faulkner reintroduced internment, that is detention of suspects without trial, in 1971 in response to unrest. The policy was a disaster, both in its failure to capture any significant members of the Provisional IRA and in its sectarian focus on Nationalist rather than loyalist suspects. The reaction was predictable, even if the ferocity of the violence was not. Deaths in the final months of 1971 reached over 150 • a number of reforms had followed on from the Downing Street Declaration of 1969, that is on allocation of council housing, investigate the recent cycle of violence and review policing, such as the disbanding of the hated 'B Specials' auxiliaries

- the British government, now led by Prime Minister Edward Heath, decided to remove control of security from the government of Northern Ireland and appointed a secretary of state for the province which led to the resignation of the Stormont government.
- Direct Rule imposed
- despite attempts to introduce some sort of self-rule, such as the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973, it failed in the face of implacable unionist opposition and led to the reintroduction of Direct Rule. It would last for another 25 years.

Role of terrorism:

- paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation
- the more militant Provisional IRA broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. Provisional IRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and would use violence to achieve its aims
- Unionist paramilitaries were also organised. The Ulster Volunteer Force was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971
- examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year
- Provisional IRA prisoners protest at loss of special status prisoners leading to hunger strikes. Second hunger strike in 1981, led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes called off in October 1981
- Anti-H Block won the by-election following Sands' death. Electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Féin could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland
- indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion turned against Provisional IRA
- in 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been.

Role of the Irish government:

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

Any other relevant factors.

21.	**Context:** Inspired by religious motives, 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. However, there was also the need to escape an overcrowded Western Europe. **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. Pope 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 the crusading knight was killing 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 1102 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. **Other factors:** **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. **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. **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. **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 and it was also a chance to see the Holy Land • a sense of adventure offered a way out for many serfs from their lives in bondage. **Any other relevant factors.**

22.	**Context:** Despite many hardships, the First Crusade was a unique and overwhelming success. The constant fighting in 11th century Europe had well prepared the organised and disciplined knightly classes for warfare. The military power of the Crusader knights was very much to their advantage and assisted them in their victories. However, the divisions among the Islamic states were also a crucial reason in their success. **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; he was off raiding his Muslim neighbours when Nicaea came under attack • further evidence of division among 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 Duqaq of Damascus. Infighting among the Turkish leaders led to Kerbogha being abandoned at the battle's critical moment • the fundamental division of Muslims between the Fatimids and the Seljuk is shown by the Egyptians' seizure of Jerusalem. The Egyptian Army used siege engines to reduce the walls of Jerusalem in a siege that lasted 6 weeks. This not only damaged the defences of the city but reduced the number of defenders available. The Fatimids sent embassies to the Crusaders offering them Jerusalem in exchange for an alliance against the Seljuk. **Other factors:** **Military power of the Crusader knights:** • the First Crusade had been unexpected by local Muslim leaders. Those who witnessed the ineptitude of the People's Crusade expected Christian knights to be as weak in combat. However, the Christian knights were often ferocious fighters, used to long campaigns in Europe, whereas the knights of the east were 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 an awesome sight. This full-frontal charge of the knights contrasted with 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 used heavy 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
- the Christians had an ideological motivation not yet encountered by the Islamic leaders
- 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.

Aid from Byzantium:

- the First Crusade was the only crusade to have significant support from Constantinople. Even though Alexius' 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.

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 Desiderius 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 15 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.

Any other relevant factors.

23.	**Context:** The Third Crusade is viewed as the greatest-ever crusade in Europe to be launched against the Muslim East. Both heroic military leadership and diplomatic negotiations were features of the Third Crusade. Despite defeating Saladin in battle and forcing Saladin to a peace treaty, King Richard I of England ultimately failed to recapture Jerusalem. **Saladin's military role:** • Saladin counter-attacked at Acre. Saladin's troops launched fierce attacks on the Crusaders at given signals from the Muslim defenders and launched volley after volley of Greek fire, putting Richard on the defensive as all three of his giant siege towers went up in flames. Saladin also sent a huge supply ship with 650 fighting men in an attempt to break into Acre's harbour. After destroying several English vessels, it scuttled itself rather than have its cargo fall into Christian hands • on the march south to Jaffa, Saladin's army unleashed a relentless series of forays and inflicted constant bombardment, tempting the Christians to break ranks. Saladin's skilled riders made lightning strikes on the Crusaders showering the men and their horses with arrows and crossbow bolts. The Crusaders lost many horses and as many as 10 arrows or crossbow bolts protruded from the chain mail of many of the Crusaders • Saladin massed his forces from Egypt and across Syria and launched an intense bombardment on the Crusaders which tested the Crusader knights' discipline and patience not to react to the absolute limits • at the Battle of Arsuf, despite the devastating impact of the Crusader charge, Saladin's own elite Mamluk units rallied and offered fierce resistance • to prevent the Crusaders taking Ascalon, Saladin made the decision to pull down Ascalon's walls and sacrifice the city • while the Crusaders remained in Jaffa and strengthened its fortifications, Saladin took the opportunity to destroy the networks of Crusader castles and fortifications between Jaffa and Jerusalem • in October 1191 as the Crusaders set out from Jaffa and began the work of rebuilding the Crusader forts along the route to Jerusalem, they were repeatedly attacked by Saladin's troops • at the end of July 1192 Saladin decided to take advantage of the Crusaders' retreat from Jerusalem by launching a lightning attack on Jaffa in an attempt to break the Christian stranglehold on the coast. In just 4 days the Muslim sappers and stone throwers destroyed sections of Jaffa's walls which left only a small Christian garrison trapped in the citadel. Saladin's forces blocked help coming from overland which meant that relief could only arrive by sea • arguably Saladin's greatest military achievement was to gather and hold together (despite divisions) a broad coalition of Muslims in the face of setbacks at Acre, Arsuf and Jaffa. Although the consensus is that Saladin was not a great battlefield general (it could be argued that his triumph at Hattin was down more to the mistakes of the Crusaders than his own skill), Saladin was still able to inspire his troops and fight back. Saladin's continued resistance had ensured that Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands • Saladin found it increasingly difficult to keep his large army in the field for the whole year round. In contrast to the Crusading army, many of his men were needed back on their farms or were only expected to provide a certain number of days' service • Saladin's authority was ignored when the garrison at Acre struck a deal with Conrad of Montferrat to surrender. Saladin lost control of his men at Jaffa • the stalemate at Jaffa showed that Saladin was incapable of driving the Crusaders out of southern Palestine.

Other factors:

Richard's military role:

- despite Muslims and Christians having fought an on–off battle over Acre over 2 years, Richard's leadership and expertise broke the deadlock and forced the surrender of Acre after 5 weeks of bombardment, mining and repeated assaults
- Richard's arrival in June 1191 with money and the advantage of western military technology in the form of enormous siege engines which terrified opponents, enabled him to seize control of the battle and to intensify the bombardment
- Richard switched tactics at Acre after the destruction of his war machines. He offered his soldiers four gold coins for every stone they could remove from the base of one of the towers, putting so much effort on the one point that a breach in the wall was created
- further evidence of Richard's leadership skills at Acre were shown when, despite falling ill with 'arnaldia', he ordered himself to be carried to the walls in a silken quilt and there, protected by a screen, fired his crossbow at the city which further inspired his troops
- the capture of Acre was a major boost for the Crusaders and brought the unimpeded rise of Saladin to a halt
- Richard demonstrated firm, if brutal, leadership in August 1191 when he took the decision to massacre the 2,700 Muslim prisoners taken at Acre when Saladin failed to meet the ransom payment. Richard knew feeding and guarding the prisoners would be a considerable burden and suspecting that Saladin was deliberately using delaying tactics to pin him down, Richard resolved the situation quickly and effectively in order to carry on his momentum and capitalise on his victory at Acre
- Richard demonstrated that he was a great military strategist on the march from Acre down the coast to Jaffa. Under Richard's leadership, the Crusader army of 12,000 men set out along the coast in immaculate formation. Inland were the foot soldiers with their vital role of protecting the heavy cavalry. The cavalry were lined up with the Knights Templar at the front and the Knights Hospitaller at the back — the strongest men to protect the most vulnerable parts of the march. Between the cavalry and the sea was the baggage train — the weakest, slowest and most difficult part to defend. Finally, out to sea was the Crusader fleet to provide the well-defended columns with essential supplies
- Richard's military leadership was crucial to the survival of the Crusaders on the march to Jaffa. Forced to face terrible conditions, Richard allowed the soldiers rest days and prevented fights over the meat of dead horses. Despite the constant attacks, Richard showed discipline as he kept his troops marching even as they were being attacked by arrows. Richard was insistent that no Crusader should respond and break formation, denying Saladin the chance to defeat the Crusader forces. Richard wanted to charge on his own terms, discipline which showed him to be a military genius
- at the battle of Arsuf, Richard reacted immediately to the breaking of the Crusader ranks and personally led the attack which eventually defeated the Muslims. Richard turned his whole army on the Muslims and fought off two fierce Muslim counter-attacks. Led by Richard, the Crusaders charged into Saladin's army forcing them to retreat. Richard's planning and attention to detail allowed his personal bravery to stand out. The victory of Richard's army over Saladin's forces at the Battle of Arsuf, and the success of the Crusaders in reaching Jaffa, was an important turning point in the Third Crusade, breaching Saladin's success
- at the battle of Jaffa, Richard displayed inspired military leadership and personal bravery. When he heard that Saladin had stormed the port of Jaffa in July 1192, he responded by rushing south from Acre with a tiny force of only 55 knights and crossbowmen at the head of a seaborne counter-attack. Despite being heavily outnumbered, Richard ordered his men to attack and was one of the first to wade ashore at the head of his small army. The surprise of his attack turned the battle around and gave the Crusaders an improbable and dramatic victory. The Muslim troops were overawed by Richard's courage and nerve. Richard's highly disciplined and organised army had again proved too much for Saladin's men and they retreated

- Richard's ability as a military tactician was shown by his caution on the march to Jerusalem. To ensure his advance on Jerusalem could be properly sustained, Richard carefully rebuilt several fortresses along the route
- Richard also demonstrated his strategic competence when he withdrew twice from Jerusalem, realising that once recaptured, Jerusalem would be impossible to defend due to insufficient manpower and the possibility that their supply lines to the coast could be cut off by the Muslims. Despite his personal desire to march on Jerusalem, Richard was a general and his military sense told him that his depleted force of 12,000 men and lack of resources couldn't hold Jerusalem against Saladin's vast army drawn from across the Muslim world
- that Richard was a strong military strategist was also demonstrated on his journey to the Holy Land when he captured Cyprus and sold part of it to the Templars. Richard recognised the long-term importance of Cyprus as a base for crusading armies to use when supplying and reinforcing expeditions to the Holy Land
- Richard also realised that Egypt was the key to Saladin's wealth and resources. Ever the military strategist, Richard wanted to take the mighty fortress of Ascalon which would threaten Saladin's communications with Egypt. Richard was aware that in order to keep Jerusalem after it was captured, Egypt would need to be conquered first. The Crusader army was not interested and wanted to proceed to Jerusalem
- although the Third Crusade failed in its aim of the recovery of Jerusalem, Richard's leadership played a crucial role in providing the Crusaders with a firm hold on the coastline which would provide a series of bridgeheads for future crusades. Compared to the situation in 1187, the position of the Crusaders had been transformed
- Richard also failed to draw Saladin into battle and inflict a decisive defeat. He failed to comprehensively defeat Saladin.

Richard's use of diplomacy:

- during the siege of Acre and despite his illness, Richard opened negotiations with Saladin showing his willingness to use diplomacy
- that Richard was skilled in the art of diplomacy was shown in his negotiations with Saladin's brother, Al-Adil. A bond was forged between them and Richard even offered his sister Joan to be one of Al-Adil's wives as part of a deal to divide Palestine between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Richard's connection with Al-Adil was enough of an incentive for Saladin to agree to a truce with Richard
- Richard negotiated a 5-year truce over Jerusalem
- Richard showed poor diplomacy towards his allies. After the victory at Acre, Richard's men pulled down the banner of Count Leopold of Austria, claiming his status did not entitle him to fly his colours alongside the king of England, even though Leopold had been fighting at Acre for almost 2-years. This resulted in Leopold leaving Outremer in a rage, taking his German knights with him (18 months later he imprisoned Richard after the king was captured returning through Austria)
- Richard also failed to show subtlety in his dealings with King Philip of France. Richard's inability to share the spoils taken during this attack on Cyprus with Philip helped persuade the ill king that he was needed at home. The one thing Richard had wished to do was keep Philip with him on the crusade; now he had to worry about French incursions into his Angevin Empire.

Saladin's use of diplomacy:

- during the siege of Acre and alongside the military skirmishes as the Crusaders set out on their march to Jerusalem, Saladin and Richard were engaged in diplomacy. Both sides were willing to find areas of agreement at the same time as engaging in brutal combat
- following Richard's victory at Jaffa, Saladin knew he could not maintain such a level of military struggle indefinitely. He recognised the need to make a truce with Richard. On 2 September 1192, the Treaty of Jaffa was agreed which partitioned Palestine in return for a 3-year truce. While Saladin was to retain control of Jerusalem, the Crusaders were allowed to keep the conquests of Acre and Jaffa and the coastal strip between the two towns. Christian pilgrims were also allowed access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem

	• Saladin faced increasing discontent from his Muslim allies • Saladin negotiated a 5-year truce over Jerusalem despite his strong position. **Rivalry between the Crusader leaders:** • against advice, Richard backed Guy de Lusignan to become King of Jerusalem, against the popular Conrad of Montferrat, perhaps because he was the favourite of King Philip. This continued support of Guy resulted in a compromise that nobody liked • the assassination of Conrad was suggested by some to be Richard's fault. The result was the withdrawal of the support of Conrad's forces and those of the Duke of Burgundy's remaining French knights. **Any other relevant factors.**

24.	**Context:** At Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II preached a holy war to recover Jerusalem from Muslim rule. However, material motivations and the use of the Crusaders against Venice's political enemies in the Fourth Crusade showed just how far the ideals of the Crusade and the religious zeal of the Crusaders had declined by 1204. **Coexistence of Muslim and Christian states:** • there were many attempts at peace between Muslim and the Crusading States during the reign of Baldwin IV, before his death and the fall of Jerusalem • other examples include the treaty of mutual protection signed between King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Emir of Damascus. **Corruption of the crusading movement by the church and nobles:** • there are many examples of nobles using the Crusade for their own ends. Examples include Bohemond and Baldwin in the First Crusade and arguably Richard in the Third Crusade. The greed of many nobles on the Fourth Crusade was very different from the religious ideals of the early Crusaders • at the end of the Fourth Crusade, the Pope accepted half of the spoils from the Crusaders despite his earlier excommunication of them. **Effects of trade:** • trade links directly into the Fourth Crusade and the influence of Venice • the Italian city-states (Genoa, Pisa and Venice) continued to trade with various Muslim powers throughout the crusading period • Pisa and Genoa both had a lot of influence in events during the Third Crusade; they both had favoured candidates for the vacant throne of Jerusalem for example, and used trade rights as a bargaining chip to get what they wanted. **Fourth Crusade:** • the initial inspiration of the Fourth Crusade had a strong crusading ideology behind it. Pope Innocent III was a highly effective pope. He had managed to settle the problem of the Investiture Contest with Germany, and hoped to sort out the issue of the Holy Lands as well. Innocent believed that the inclusion of medieval monarchs had caused the previous two Crusades to fail, unlike the First Crusade that was nominally under the command of Bishop Adhemar. This Crusade would fall under the command of six papal legates. These men would hold true to the ideal of the Crusade and not be bound by earthy greed of politics • however, the Fourth Crusade has also been described as the low point of the crusading ideal. Hijacked by the Venetians, the Crusade instead became a tool for their growing political and economic ambitions • while attacking Zara, Alexius, son of the deposed emperor of Byzantium, arrived with a new proposal for the Crusaders. He asked them to reinstate his father, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and if they agreed they would be handsomely rewarded. He also promised to return control of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The Church was against such an attack on another Christian city, but the prospect of wealth and fame led the Crusade to Constantinople • when the Crusaders discovered that Alexius and his father could not, or would not, meet the payment as agreed, the Crusaders stormed the city. The murder, looting and rape continued for three days, after which the Crusading army had a great thanksgiving ceremony • the amount of booty taken from Constantinople was huge: gold, silver, works of art and holy relics were taken back to Europe, mostly to Venice. Most Crusaders returned home with their newly acquired wealth. Those that stayed dividing up the land amongst themselves, effectively creating several Latin Crusader States where Byzantium had once stood.

	Role of Venice: • by 1123 the city of Venice had come to dominate maritime trade in the Middle East. They made several secret trade agreements with Egypt and North African emirs, as well as enjoying concessions and trade agreements within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium however, remained a constant rival for this dominance of trade and in 1183 Venice was cut off from the lucrative trading centres of the empire • Venice's participation in the Crusade was only secured when the Pope agreed to pay huge sums of money to Venice for the use of its ships, and supplies as well as half of everything captured during the Crusade on land and sea • Venice's leader, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, had sold the Crusaders three times as much supplies and equipment as required for the Crusade. The Crusading leader, Boniface of Montferrat, found that he was unable to raise enough money to pay, and the Crusaders were all but imprisoned on an island near Venice. Dandolo's proposal to pay off the Crusaders' debt involved attacking Zara, a Christian city that had once belonged to Venice but was now under the control of the King of Hungary, a Christian monarch. Thus, the Crusade had become a tool of the Venetians • the Fourth Crusade's intended target, Egypt, was totally unsuitable from a Venetian perspective. Thus, when the Pope's representative approached the Venetians in 1201, they agreed to help transport the Crusaders, hoping to divert the Crusade to a more useful target for the Venetians. The final target for the Fourth Crusade was therefore determined by politics and economics. **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	**Context:** Since the 1600s, the thirteen colonies of North America had been part of the British Empire. During the mid-1700s the once harmonious relationship between Mother Country and the colonies grew more hostile. George III's attempts to impose British authority firmly after 1760 caused a political movement in America. By 4 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 vocal opposition by colonists to British rule. The action by the delegates in Philadelphia led to the American War of Independence. **Punishment of Massachusetts:** • 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 5 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. **Other factors:** **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 the 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 by colonist 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
- in 1773, tea duties in the colonies were reduced by the Tea Act, designed by the 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 not only 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 16 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.

Boston Massacre:

- on 5 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 eight 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 two were found guilty of manslaughter and the rest were acquitted. 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, the all thirteen colonies' Committees worked together to investigate the legality of all British actions towards them from now onwards.

Military events of 1775:

on 19 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 over 16–17 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 10 May, decided in June to form the Continental Army in June with George Washington of Virginia appointed as its Commander • Congress's 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 enslaved people 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 influences many middle-class, educated colonists. **Rejection of Olive Branch Petition:** • the 2nd Continental Congress had written an appeal to the King in July 1775, known as the Olive Branch Petition • the Olive Branch Petition, whilst pledging colonists' allegiance to the crown, expressed bitterness towards Parliament, the Prime Minister 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 • Colonists expressed a willingness to remain within the British Empire under royal authority • this last hope of compromise was ignored as George III rejected the petition in October, declaring the colonists to be in rebellion • the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition led several colonist politicians to consider that independence was the only way of bringing about change in their relationship with Britain, as British intransigence seemed steadfast • in less than a year, 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**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. **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 10 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. **Other factors:** **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.

British 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 disregarded 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 the 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
- Lord Grenville was Prime Minister 1763–1765, 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 1765–1766, 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 1768–1770, 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
- the election of John Wilkes as an MP in 1768 resulted in Parliament refusing 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.

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's 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. **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 went unheeded, as Parliament ignored his pleas for conciliation and his assertion that America could not be beaten if war broke out. **Any other relevant factors.**

27.	**Context:** The American War of Independence took place between 1776 and 1781, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against a Mother Country that imposed tyranny, wielded monarchical power as a political weapon and created a real threat of enslavement. The war was fought not only on American soil, but also at sea, and across the world once other European Powers became involved. The war ended on land in 1781 and the Treaty of Paris signed at Versailles formally ended hostilities in 1783, when Britain officially recognised the United States of America. The main reasons for the colonists' victory were the role of George Washington, British military inefficiency, the importance of French entry, control of the seas and the role of local knowledge and people. **Control of the seas:** • the strength of French navy meant Britain had to spread its forces worldwide, particularly as France attacked British colonies in the Caribbean Sea and Indian Ocean. In addition, there were attempts to raid Portsmouth and Plymouth in order to land soldiers on the British mainland • Admiral d'Orvilliers defeated the Royal Navy in the Battle of Ushant in the English Channel in July 1778, weakening British defences in preparation for further attacks on the south-coast of England • Admiral de Grasse successfully deceived British fleets in the Atlantic to arrive at Chesapeake Bay in September 1781 prior to the Yorktown surrender • the unsuccessful command of Admiral Howe led to him leaving his post, and a 1779 parliamentary investigation into his conduct proved inconclusive • French action against the Royal Navy gave Spain and Holland the confidence to attack British interests in India and the southern colonies • Spain entered into the war in June 1779, intent on mounting an attack on the British mainland • Dutch entry into war came in December 1780, providing another threat of invasion • these European powers stretched British resources even further and made British less effective in its overall military effort • the Armed League of Neutrality was formed in December 1780. The involvement of Russia, Denmark and Sweden in an agreement to fire on the Royal Navy, if provoked, placed extra pressure on Britain • the war at sea was a vital feature of Britain's weaknesses. British concentration was diverted from maintaining control of the colonies on land towards keeping control of maritime access to its wider Empire. Ultimately, with the surrender at Yorktown, it was loss of control of the seas which led to the eventual British defeat. **Other factors:** **British military inefficiency:** • on several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to instructions, such as when Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for America, hatched a plan to separate the New England colonies from the others in mid-1777. This involved General Howe moving his forces north from New York, but Howe misinterpreted his orders and moved south during August, rendering the plan futile

- meanwhile, General Burgoyne, commander of British forces in Canada, had received orders to march south into the Hudson valley towards Ticonderoga in early 1777. Burgoyne, however, was left isolated in the Hudson valley after capturing Ticonderoga because Howe had gone south and General Clinton was too slow to move north in place of Howe, and so, confronted by large American forces, Burgoyne was forced to surrender his men and equipment at Saratoga in October 1777
- furthermore, changes in personnel hindered operations, as politicians such as Lord North and Lord Germain promoted or appointed officers frequently, causing inconsistency and lack of stability at command level
- petty jealousies amongst military leaders also obstructed progress, so that even after military campaigns had been waged successfully or battles had been won, there was no co-operation, leading to the British losing land gained, particularly after French entry in 1778.

Role of George Washington:

- Washington was aware that the British forces would hold the advantage in open battle, so he fought using guerrilla warfare effectively, for example at the significant crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776
- this was part of a surprise raid on British posts which resulted in Washington's small bands of men crossing the river back to their positions in Pennsylvania with captured supplies and arms. Guerrilla warfare, therefore, was an effective weapon in Washington's armoury
- in addition, Washington taught his troops to fire accurately from distance on those occasions when they were engaged in open battle, particularly in the fight to control the New Jersey area in the first half of the war
- during the attack on Princeton in January 1777 and the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, Washington's forces successfully drove the British from the battlefield
- Washington's 'scorched earth' campaign during the summer of 1779 was aimed at Iroquois settlements in New York in revenge for their co-operation with the British early in the war
- this policy deterred further collaboration between Native Americans and the British Army. Although brutal, this strategy increased colonists' chances of winning the war on land
- moreover, Washington had experience of serving with British Army during the Seven Years' War and had been a leading figure in the British capture of Pittsburgh in 1758. He was aware of British military practice and the weaknesses in the chains of communication between London and North America
- he was a self-made Virginian who had become a successful tobacco planter in the 1760s and involved himself in local politics as a member of the Virginia legislature
- as a military hero from the Seven Years' War, his choice as Commander of the Continental Army in 1775 gave heart to many
- Washington's business and political reputation were key features of his authority during the war
- his personal qualities included the ability to give speeches to his troops, emphasising the incentive of independence if they won the war. Washington was aware of the political aspect of the conflict, and turned military defeats, of which he suffered many, into opportunities to inspire his forces to fight on
- Washington's leadership at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778 saw him preserve the morale of his 10,000-strong army in terrible conditions, particularly by his allowing soldiers' families, known as Camp Followers, to remain with the troops
- his appointment of celebrated Prussian drill sergeant Baron Friedrich von Steuben to maintain discipline meant firearms skills stayed of a high quality

- his promotion of Nathaniel Greene through the ranks from Private to Quartermaster-General meant regular food for the soldiers as well as adequate supplies of ammunition and uniforms, including boots
- the trust he showed in the French General Lafayette led to Congress commissioning Lafayette into the Continental Army before the French entered the war, allowing him an important role in strategic planning.

Importance of French entry:

- the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance was signed Franklin and Louis XVI at Versailles in February 1778. This formalised French recognition of the United States, the first international acknowledgement of American independence
- from this period onward, the French guaranteed the colonists abundant military support in the form of troops sent to fight on land and a naval contribution on the Eastern seaboard, around Britain and across the world
- in addition, France provided the Continental Army with ammunition, uniforms, expertise, training and supplies
- importantly, the forces under the command of Count Rochambeau who landed at Rhode Island in 1780 hampered the British army's attempts to dislodge colonist strongholds in Virginia throughout 1780 and 1781
- Rochambeau's co-operation with the colonist General Lafayette and the clear lines of communication he established between himself and de Grasse led to the trapping of General Cornwallis at Yorktown and the French navy's arrival in Chesapeake Bay
- the entry of France into the conflict encouraged Spain and Holland to follow suit.

Role of local knowledge and people:

- the main theatre of the land war was on American soil, with the main battles being fought out in Massachusetts, the Middle Colonies and Virginia. Even if the British gained ground, the revolutionary forces knew the terrain well enough to find ways of re-occupying lost territory
- key colonist victories such as the Battle of Princeton on 3 January 1777, the Battle of King Mountain on 7 October 1780, and the Battle of Yorktown between September and October 1781 were in no small part due to colonist forces' ability to utilise local geography to their advantage
- British forces constantly found themselves having to react to the movement of the Continental Army
- furthermore, as witnessed in British victories such as the Battle of New York City between August and October 1776, the Battle of Fort Ticonderoga on 6 July 1777, and the Battle of Brandywine on 25 August 1777, colonist troops had intimate knowledge of the surrounding areas and were able to avoid capture, and so withdrew to safety in order to fight another day
- on occasions, such as during the Saratoga campaign, local people burned their crops rather than let them fall into British hands. The distance between Britain and the colonies already meant that supplies were slow in arriving at the front.

Any other relevant factors.

28.	**Context:** The American Constitution was written in 1787 and signed by members of the United States Congress the same year. It was entered into United States legislation in 1789. The constitution was drafted by colonist politicians and lawyers in the years following the American War of Independence which took place between 1776 and 1783, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and the threat of enslavement. The war was fought not only on American soil, but on the high seas and across the world once other European Powers became involved. The American Constitution was an attempt to move away from the type of government which had been imposed by Britain. **Americans' reflection of their experience under British rule:** • as part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by King and British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law. As a result, there had been no checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial processes • the notion of 'No Taxation without Representation' had been a source of much of the original resentment towards British colonial policy • during their experience of being ruled by Britain, colonists had learned to be suspicious of all forms of government, and they feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch • they designed the Constitution to thwart any future attempts of American heads of state to act in a similar manner as George III. **Significance of the Constitution:** • central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration • the colonists built in a separation of powers to the Constitution, providing a system of checks and balances • this was driven through by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison who had disapproved of the too-powerful Continental Congress • the separation of powers is considered to be the most revolutionary aspect of the Constitution • no branch of government should ever be subordinate to any other — the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary had to remain apart • each strand of government acted independently of each other • the Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1791 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, after several states refused to ratify the Constitution as it stood • these states' delegates at Philadelphia wanted greater protections for citizens against the federal government. Therefore, the Bill of Rights became an important document that set out the limitations of the power of Congress • the Bill of Rights established liberty for individual citizens in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states • the Articles of Confederation had been written in 1776, signed in 1781, and acknowledged in 1787, to declare that states would retain individual sovereignty and provided for state representatives to Continental Congress • the Constitution stated that 'all men are created equal' and that everyone was entitled to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' • from now on, people would be asked to ratify many of the stages within democratic processes at state and national level • however, women and blacks were excluded from the franchise, and in reality, only one-fifth of eligible voters turned out for national elections

- in relation to religion, the church was separated from the state in order to ensure equality was extended to include freedom of belief for everyone
- regarding the question of slavery, in northern states measures were taken for the practice, already declining, to be gradually abolished, although pro-slavery sentiment in south intensified simultaneously.

Role of the presidency:

- executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet
- the first President, George Washington, was elected in February 1789, and could make all key decisions and establish policy
- members of the Executive, including the President, or Thomas Jefferson, who became the USA's first Secretary of State, could be removed from office by the electorate in four-yearly elections
- the Philadelphia Convention introduced an elitist system of electors in Presidential elections voting for an electoral college. The electoral college consisted of educated men who would vote for the President, a system which still exists today
- the President could not take a seat in Congress.

Congress and Supreme Court:

- the Senate was set up with each state equally represented and the House of Representatives was set up with states represented proportionately to size and population
- in addition, Congress was given responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations
- the newly formed Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine judges, would hold judicial power in the United States
- the Supreme Court was formed in order to prevent legal matters becoming entwined with political ones
- Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President upon advice from his Cabinet and political staff. New appointments had to be ratified by Congress after a rigorous vetting process
- Congressmen could not be part of the Supreme Court, and members of the Supreme Court could only be appointed by an agreed confirmation between President and Congress
- central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration
- the Bill of Rights stated that neither Congress nor the government could pass laws which established religion as a part of state institutions, for example within the education system. School prayer was, therefore, prohibited
- the Bill of Rights protected the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceable assembly. Also it set out the rights of citizens who were under investigation or being tried for criminal offences; for example, no-one could be compelled to give evidence which might incriminate them
- any powers which had not been written into the Constitution as being delegated to the federal government would be delegated to state governments.

	Legislature and judiciary: • legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and Representatives • the job of Congress was to pass laws and raise taxes • the Supreme Court could be called upon to debate the legality of new laws enacted by Congress. It also acted as the highest court of appeal in the United States. **Any other relevant factors.**

29.	**Context:** The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 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 revolution led to a decade of terror and war for French people, and stability was only brought about by the establishment of a dictatorial consulate under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. The Ancien Régime, a system of government dating back three hundred years, had been weakened gradually over several decades before a combination of political, economic and social factors contributed to revolution. **Effects of the American Revolution:** • French involvement in the war in the colonies contributed to the massive financial problems of the Régime, with the total cost being an estimated 1.2 billion livres (pounds) • taxes went up in France as a result of the country's involvement in the America Revolution, which brought the national debt up to over 3.5 billion livres • the Controller General Calonne wished to tax nobles in order to pay off national debt, but their resistance at court to this idea and the king's siding with them created resentment amongst the educated bourgeoisie who would have to bear the cost themselves • news from America also reinforced amongst the educated middle-classes the principles of 'no taxation without representation' and liberty from centralised authority • links between America and France had been strengthened by Benjamin Franklin's visit to Paris in 1776 • the Franco-American Alliance of February 1778 was the first official recognition of the legitimacy of the United States by a European Power • the watchwords of the American Revolution — liberty, equality, brotherhood, democracy, republicanism were recognised by educated French citizens as values they themselves held dear • 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 • the roles of great generals such as Lafayette and Rochambeau gave French people a pride in having helped bring about American independence • the American experience acted as an inspiration to French political leaders.

Other factors:

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.

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.

Crisis of 1788–1789:

- 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
- 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 de doléances 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
- the politically motivated bourgeoisie were able to understand the works of the philosophers and use them as inspiration for ideas as to how France could be transformed during this time of turbulence.

	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 Regime 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

30.	**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 role of Louis XVI, activities of the émigrés, outbreak of war in Europe in 1792, the role of the National Assembly, and the effects of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. **Civil Constitution of the Clergy:** • the Civil Constitution of the Clergy made clergymen state employees which Roman Catholic priests objected to • new diocese districts were created which were based on administrative Departments, reducing the number of bishops from over 130 to 83 • the government's actions against the Church were unpopular with the peasantry who understood these issues more than they did the more complex political questions of the day • the fact that the king did not approve of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy but eventually had to agree to it illustrated the weakness of the monarchy • the election of priests from now on meant that the Church — and Pope Pius VI — lost power within France, furthering Papal support for Austria • senior members of the Catholic Church longed for the rebirth of the Ancien Régime, which had prevented Protestants from holding public office. **Other factors:** **Role of Louis XVI:** • 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 • 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 viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure

- monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry
- Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality
- queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge.

Role of the National Assembly:

- the fact that the President of the National Constituent Assembly (which the National Assembly evolved to become) was a Protestant (Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint Etienne) infuriated the Catholic Church and created opposition to the monarchy
- 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 6 months of the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly in October 1791 (after the National Constituent Assembly was dissolved) the king had been exercising his veto in a manner unacceptable to the Girondists and Jacobins
- the Legislative Assembly was ridden with factions, and in its 12-month existence, having 23 different Presidents did not make for the easy passage of reforms
- disagreements between the Feuillants and Jacobins over the trustworthiness of a Constitutional monarchy led to shifts from measures that supported the king's constitutional powers to the adoption of extreme revolutionary policies
- the economy had been damaged by events of the Revolution (and was already in crisis before 1789) and both the National Constituent Assembly and the Legislative Assembly were unable to control the situation
- 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 who saw the Revolution as benefitting them in no way whatsoever
- the financial benefits of the Revolution were perceived as being enjoyed by the wealthy and bourgeoisie.

Activities of the émigrés:

- the so-called First Class of émigrés, as categorised by the Legislative Assembly, actively organised support for counter-revolutionary measures
- émigrés from the nobility wished for a restoration of the monarchy and a reversal of the achievements of the Revolution, and this created disquiet within France
- First Class émigrés sought support from governments such as that in Britain, and recruited soldiers from other European countries where monarchs encouraged volunteering
- the Assembly declared that these émigrés' actions were punishable by execution
- Second Class émigrés were threatened with being stripped of their French nationality as well as their earnings (many were soldiers or elected and appointed local authority officials) if they did not return from abroad
- Second Class émigrés were involved in establishing forces such as the Armee des Princes, the Legion des Pyrenees and the Armee de Bourbon, adding to the sense of insecurity within France under the constitutional monarchy
- Third Class émigrés, although not perceived as a major threat to the Revolution, still supported First and Second-Class émigrés through serving in the households of the French nobility or senior French military figures around Europe
- despite there being little hostility towards Third Class émigrés from the Assembly, their activities still helped perpetuate émigré activity around the continent which destabilised the constitutional monarchy.

	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 — Austria • 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 • war only created a need for increased taxation which made the constitutional monarchy even more unpopular in the provinces • the revolutionary government had to recruit heavily from the provinces which again made them unpopular with ordinary French people • the final overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 had become inevitable under the pressures exerted by the war. **Any other relevant factors.**

31.	**Context:** The French Revolution of 1789 brought the end of the Ancien Régime which had lasted for three centuries before then. After a failure to establish a constitutional monarchy between 1789 and 1792, the monarchy was abolished, and the king and queen were later executed. The period of Terror then took place until 1795, at the end of which the new Directory was created, but this was brought to an end with the creation of the Consulate by Napoleon Bonaparte and others in 1799. The Consulate became a dictatorship which resulted in Napoleon's coronation as Emperor in 1804. **Constitution of 1795:** • policy-makers framed a new constitution which sought to reconcile the bitterness of the preceding years by imposing checks and balances against the emergence of one dominant individual, group or faction. In so doing, many historians argue that the new constitution was a recipe for instability in the years which followed • a bi-cameral legislature was established wherein each chamber counter-balanced the power of the other. By so doing it inhibited strong and decisive government • to ensure continuity, the new Convention was to include two-thirds of the outgoing deputies from the old. This enraged sections of the right who felt that the forces of left-wing radicalism still prevailed in government • the resulting mass protests in October 1795 were put down by the army under Bonaparte. The principle of using extra-parliamentary forces to control the State had been established with Bonaparte right at the heart of it. It was to prove a dangerous precedent • annual elections worked against consistent and continuous policy-making • so did the appointment of an Executive — the Directory — one of whose members rotated on an annual basis • again, the counter-balance between the legislature and the executive may have been commendable but it was to prove inherently unstable in practice. **Other factors:** **Political instability:** • in the late summer of 1794 France was emerging from two years of increasing radicalisation in the wake of a revolution whose leaders had mixed motivations • growing bitterness between opposing factions within the country, particularly as the Terror developed and leading figures became divided as revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, with an atmosphere of distrust and fear across the nation • the Jacobins, under Robespierre, had been overthrown and a 'White Terror' was soon to sweep the country in revenge for the excesses of the radical left during the Terror • France had been torn apart by civil war, with suspicions existing within communities in both urban and rural areas • the country was threatened by foreign armies encouraged by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow the Revolution • France was riven by religious conflict occasioned by the State's opposition to the primacy of the Catholic Church.

	Increasing intervention of the army in politics: • even before the 1795 constitution was ratified the army had been used to quell sans-culottes insurgents who sought to invade the Convention and to repel an émigré invasion at Quiberon • Napoleon's use of a 'whiff of grapeshot' to put down the disturbances in October merely underlined the parlous nature of politics at the time • the army was deployed in May 1796 to put down the left-wing Babeuf Conspiracy • the Directory reacted with the Coup of Fructidor in September 1797 when the first 'free' Convention elections returned a royalist majority. **Role of Sieyès:** • Abbe Sieyès, a clergyman and champion of the Third estate during the revolution, was afraid that France would descend into anarchy as a result of the on-going political conflict and deemed the 1795 constitution unworkable • Sieyès had always objected to privilege and patronage- he had voted in favour of the execution of the king in January 1793- and wanted to avoid their continuation under a different guise once the revolution settled • Sieyès enlisted the aid of Bonaparte in mounting a coup against the constitution • the Convention, the Directory and the legislative councils had run their course and few, if any, mourned their passing. **Role of Bonaparte:** • following participation in warfare in Europe and the Middle East, Bonaparte returned in October • public perception was of Bonaparte as a hero, someone who could restore France to its former glory after years of revolutionary chaos and confusion • Bonaparte himself had political ambitions and planned to support Sieyes in the dissolution of the Directory and then seize power himself • he cited the Coup of 18 Fructidor to the Council of Five Hundred as evidence of their own culpability in the imminent downfall of the Directory • Bonaparte led the army in deposing the Directory in November 1799 • his use of the military gave him greater authority in later dealings with Sieyès. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context:** The French Revolution took place in 1789 and within the space of ten years it eradicated the Ancien Régime which had existed in power for over three centuries. This event is widely considered to be one of the most important historical events in human history, signaling the beginning of the period of modern history. The revolution's effects within France were profound and lasting. In particular, the devastating impact on the French aristocracy and clergy was long lasting as was the enduring French liking for Republicanism. Despite the revolutionary values of 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' which were meant to extend to all in French society, liberty, equality and fraternity reached the educated middle-class bourgeoisie more so than the oppressed peasantry and urban workers who gained little in comparison. **Peasants:** • in contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution • the ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the Cahiers des Doleances presented to the Estates-General in 1789 • the revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of church lands in November 1789, transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their obvious advantage • however, not all peasants benefited equally from this- only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase the Church lands which had been seized by the National Assembly. **Urban workers:** • at key points throughout the Revolution overt demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses — particularly in Paris — impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing the mob • however, any modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard • the passing of the Chapelier Law in June 1791, by a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions • the Revolution brought few tangible economic or political gains for urban workers. **Bourgeoisie:** • the Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the bourgeoisie • the ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change, for example, facilitating the development of capitalism • the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in the month did the same for political life. In both cases the main beneficiaries were the bourgeoisie • successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the 1790s favoured the bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications • the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class • France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where increasingly merit was what counted • the educated bourgeoisie were best placed to benefit from the profound change taking place within French society.

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

33.	**Context:** Following the Napoleonic wars a sense of national identity developed among the German peoples for several reasons of which the most important was, perhaps, the impact of Romanticism on culture and politics. However, it is not easy to gauge exactly the degree to which German nationalism had grown by 1850. One way to do this is to look at who was supporting nationalism and who was opposing it as well as at events that reflected nationalism's growth and limitations. **Supporters of nationalism:** • support for nationalism was strongest among the educated middle class • they were deeply affected by the spread of Romanticism via the works of German philosophers such as Fichte who 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 state • the German middle class subscribed to the view that there was a single German *Volk* and this ethnic identity was reflected in German language and in an uniquely German culture and history • many among the middle class were also liberals. They wanted to see limits placed on the power of monarchs through written constitutions and elected parliaments • Liberals supported nationalism because they thought liberal ideals could best be achieved through the formation of a single German nation • middle class support for nationalism can also be seen in the growth and development of student societies (*Burschenschaften*) which generated patriotism • students organised nationalist celebrations and festivals that were attended by increasing numbers of people during 1815-1850, and this despite the attempts by the authorities to put a stop to students' nationalist activity • 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 • middle class nationalists were often supporters, too, of the *Zollverein*, which by the 1840s included most of the major German states but significantly, excluded Austria • middle class businessmen, entrepreneurs and financiers benefited from the closer cooperation among the states that the *Zollverein* facilitated and so became strong supporters of political nationalism as the natural follow-on from economic union • however, it is important to remember that the middle class, though hugely influential culturally, economically and politically, were a minority, not all of whom were liberal • 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

- in addition, through repressive measures such as the Carlsbad decrees (1819) the rulers of the German states did have some success in limiting the spread of nationalism
- 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.

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. Were German nationalism to succeed then Austria feared that other ethnic groups would agitate for their national identity to be recognised too leading to the break-up of the empire
- the rulers of the individual German states were also fiercely opposed to nationalism and worked with the Austrians to suppress it. A united Germany would put an end to the power, privileges and wealth the individual rulers enjoyed, and they were not about to give these all up willingly
- at the Congress of Vienna, the political organisation of the German states was designed to enable the German princes presided over by Austria, to work together but to preserve their monarchical power and to prevent the development of a single German state
- 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
- not all the middle classes supported German nationalism either. Some businessmen, for example, argued that the *Zollverein* was dominated by Prussia to the detriment of smaller member states and that if the *Zollverein* was anything to go by then any political union that flowed from it would also be dominated by Prussia
- in addition, differences in religion and customs among the Germans states, between the Protestant north and the Catholic south, for example, militated against support for German 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.

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
- middle class liberals argued that conservative Austrian and German rulers and aristocracy were working against the interests of all the German people and in any case were often incompetent. 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
- support for nationalism was also clearly visible during the 1840 war scare resulting from threats from France to seize German territory in the Rhine area. Germans were outraged with many students flocking to the Rhine in support of German soldiers being deployed there to defend 'the Fatherland'.

Frankfurt Parliament:

- 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
- the Frankfurt Parliament came about because of the 1848 revolution. German rulers, including the King of Prussia, granted concessions in response to liberals' demands for change
- the Frankfurt Parliament consisted of 585 members elected from across the German states. This quasi-national parliament drew up a German Constitution, and openly discussed and debated the form a united Germany should take
- 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.

Collapse of revolution in Germany, 1848–1849:

- the failure of the 1848-1849 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
- the revolution in Germany did not achieve all its goals because, in the end, when King Frederick William IV of Prussia was not prepared to support the Frankfurt Parliament militarily or politically. His rejection of the crown of a united Germany signalled the end of revolutionary activity
- as the initial momentum of the revolution dissipated the old rulers were able to re-establish their control
- the middle-class base of support for the revolution was too narrow. Peasant support was limited. Even so, the revolution gave a strong indication of the degree to which nationalism was an increasingly dynamic force in German society politically and economically as well as culturally

	• the recovery of Austria and Prussia indicates that while nationalism was increasingly dynamic, it was not yet strong enough to lead to German unification • 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.**

34.	**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. However, there were a variety of internal divisions ranging from religious to political, as well as outside influences such as resentment of Austria, which proved to be an obstacle to unification. **Indifference of the masses:** • popular apathy — most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany; nationalism affected mainly the educated and business classes • lack of consciousness between political boundaries and ethnic or 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. **Other factors:** **Divisions among the nationalists:** • nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; Grossdeutschland and Kleindeutschland 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. **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 Austria was considered to be the major German power • Metternich opposed liberalism and nationalism. He used diplomacy and threats of force, for example, Carlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles. He made use of the police state, repression and press censorship • Austria controlled the administration and management of the Holy Roman 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. **German princes:** • the leaders of the German states obstructed unification and were 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. **Religious differences:** • northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic • the Protestant north looked to Prussia for help and protection while the Catholic south looked to Austria • Catholics numbered about only a third of the national population across the German states. **Any other relevant factors.**

35.	**Context:** The coming to power of the Nazis in 1933 was not the inevitable consequence of the collapse of the Weimar republic that was 'doomed from the start'. However, it was the result of long-term and short-term political and economic factors that together created conditions in which Hitler and the Nazis came to seem like they offered the best chance of stabilising, and indeed restoring Germany, which by 1932 was in an economic and political crisis. **Resentment towards the Treaty of Versailles:** • opponents of Weimar democracy benefited hugely from the fact that the Treaty of Versailles was universally unpopular from the moment it was published • Germans had expected that there would be a punitive aspect to the treaty, but they were shocked by what they believed was the harshness of the treaty • the new government went out of its way to stoke this reaction to the treaty, partly to counter nationalist propaganda that the government had accepted the treaty and was therefore weak and partly to gain some leverage to get the Allies to make concessions • the loss of territory such as the Polish corridor created resentment because it meant that some Germans now found themselves living in a foreign country • the loss of Alsace-Lorraine was especially galling because these areas had been taken from France at the end of the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871) • the military restrictions especially the reduction of the army to 100,000 men were hated because they seemed to be a deliberate attempt to leave Germany weak and vulnerable to attack from hostile power especially France • reparations, set at 132 billion marks, were viewed as deliberately designed to undermine German post-war economic recovery • Article 231 of the treaty, which held Germany responsible for causing the war, was deeply resented because it suggested that the 2 million German dead had died for a dishonourable cause • led to a growth in criticism; 'November Criminals', and the 'Stab in the back' myth, discredited the Weimar Government • the treaty was viewed as a *diktat* because the Germans were given no opportunity to negotiate the terms or to revise them. **Other factors:** **Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic:** • it is wrong to view the Weimar republic as 'doomed from the start' and to view it as merely the prelude to the Nazis. It is also misleading to suggest that the republic was universally unpopular from 1919-1933. Nevertheless, the republic had weaknesses that are part of the broader context within which the rise of the Nazis ought to be set and understood. There was a lack of support among key groups for the new form of government after 1918 • the Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') — arguably Germany was too democratic. 'The world's most perfect democracy — on paper' • the Weimar constitution and the liberal democratic state it delineated was deeply unpopular among Nationalists and Communists • Nationalists viewed democracy as weak and as a foreign imposition that Germany had to accept because of defeat in World War I

- Communists wanted a revolution as had happened in Russia in 1917. They despised democracy as a bourgeois-capitalist conspiracy to oppress the workers
- many top-ranking civil servants had been appointed under the old *Kaiserreich* and really wanted that system to be restored. The same was true among top ranking judges
- German army officers were even more hostile to the new regime steeped, as they were, in nationalism, anti-Semitism, belief in the superiority of the German people and culture, and fury about the outcome of World War I
- the army officer corps were highly effective in managing to ensure that the 'stab-in-the-back myth' became the generally accepted account of why German lost the war: Germany *could have won* had it not been for the actions of Socialists, Communists and Jews who had signed the armistice (the 'November criminals') and then the Treaty of Versailles (the 'shameful peace')
- Versailles encouraged uprisings of the extreme right in the early 1920s such as the Kapp *Putsch* (March 1920) and the Munich Putsch (November 1923) while hatred of liberal democracy prompted the Communists to attempt to bring about a Russian-style revolution (the Spartacist Revolt, January 1919). These uprisings unsettled some people because they gave the impression that democracy was weak
- political assassinations, especially by extreme right-wing groups, made people anxious about living in a democracy
- lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, with the exception of Stresemann
- by the late 1920s there were thirty political parties. This undermined the PR system for elections because it led to fragmentation of the vote and therefore the necessity of forming coalition governments, which often did not last for long. For some people this suggested that the republic was inherently unstable.

Economic difficulties:

- debt and inflation immediately following the end of the war made recovery difficult, a situation exacerbated by the British naval blockade
- the economic crises of 1923 and then 1929-1933 helped to undermine people's confidence in the republic and republicanism. in each case, the economic crisis could be directly linked to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles enabling opponents of the republic to construct a narrative that democracy did not work, and that Versailles was a consequence of trusting democrats
- over-reliance on foreign loans left the Weimar economy subject to the fluctuations of the international economy
- the 1923 hyperinflation crisis was sparked by the French-Belgian occupation the Ruhr following Germany's defaulting on its reparations' payments for 1923.
- hyperinflation destroyed the value of the mark. This resulted in severe effects on the middle classes, people on pensions or other fixed incomes were ruined. People's savings became worthless
- though Germany recovered from the hyperinflation crisis and moved to a period of economic stability 1924-1928, these 'Golden years' were not without significant economic problems including a high level of government borrowing facilitated by the Dawes plan and high levels of unemployment (1.3 million)
- the 1929 Wall Street Crash led to the Great Depression — arguably without this the Republic might have survived. Germany's dependence on American loans showed how fragile the recovery of the late 1920s was. The pauperisation of millions again reduced Germans to despair
- unemployment rose from 1.6 million in October 1929 to 6.12 million in February 1932. Around 1/3 of the workforce were unemployed
- the Great Depression also polarised politics in Germany — the drift to extremes led to a fear of communism, which grew quickly with the growth of support for the Nazis.

	The appeal of Hitler and the Nazis after 1928: • the messages from Hitler and the Nazis between 1928 and 1933 were exactly the same as they had given out in the early 1920s to no effect. However, in the context of the Great Depression, Nazi propaganda cut through to voters and interest groups • in the context of economic disaster Hitler's promises had much more appeal than ever before • Hitler promised to 'smash Versailles', which most Germans agreed with • he promised to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (National/Racial community) that would prioritise the needs of 'ethnic Germans' above everyone • his virulent anti-Semitism now began to seem like it made sense • Hitler promised he would destroy the Communists, a message attractive to businessmen and financiers • he promised the Nazis would act to ensure economic recovery the key feature of this would be getting rid of unemployment • Hitler gave people hope in a time of despair • the Nazis became a popular party of protest with a broad range of support • the Nazi Party became a highly effective campaigning organisation • the NSDAP's propaganda machine, spearheaded by Joseph Goebbels, was highly organised and successfully honed Hitler's image as 'the coming man', 'the man of destiny', the only man with the 'superhuman' qualities needed to save Germany • Hitler's speeches, public appearances and his depiction in photos and posters were all carefully choreographed to project the image of him as a man of the people but one blessed with semi-divine powers. **Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents:** • splits in the left after suppression of Spartacist Revolt in 1919 made joint action between the SPD and KPD in the 1930s very unlikely • the SPD's identification with the Weimar Republic became increasingly problematic for the party as the economic crisis in Germany deepened • Hugenberg's Nationalist Party, the DNVP, swung in behind the Nazis • roles of Kurt von Schleicher German Chancellor June 1932 — January 1933 and Franz von Papen, first as German Chancellor May 1932 — December 1932, then as Vice-Chancellor to Hitler January 1933 • 1932 political intrigue. Von Papen and Oskar von Hindenburg (the President's son) met secretly and backed Hitler to become Chancellor • Hindenburg and von Papen underestimated Hitler. Once appointed as Chancellor they soon realised they had miscalculated Hitler and his intentions • weakness and indecision of the President of Germany Paul von Hindenburg. In particular his misuse of Article 48. **Any other relevant factors.**

36.	**Context:** Hitler was appointed Chancellor in January 1933. By summer 1934 Hitler had successfully consolidated his position. The new regime had put an end to civil rights, Hitler was Head of State and internal opponents had been suppressed. Although the Nazi Party had never gained a majority of the popular vote, it was nevertheless supported by a wide cross-section of the German people. To stay in power the Nazis continued to use all the methods they had deployed to consolidate power during 1933-1934 and also pursued economic and social polices they hoped would be popular and so strengthen support for the regime. **Propaganda:** • propaganda played an important role in persuading people to accept the regime • under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels, the Ministry of Propaganda imposed strict censorship of *all* cultural output and activities ranging from art, sculpture and music to journalism, cinema and sport • Nazi propaganda was used to promote ideological messages constantly throughout German society in all areas of life and work • mass media, especially the radio and newspapers, were used to ensure that Nazi messages entered every household. The sale of cheap radios to the German population encouraged this • cinema was used to provide distraction and to generate a feel-good factor among people • mass rallies, for example the spectacular Nuremburg Rallies, strengthened commitment to the Nazi regime and created feelings of wishing to belong to the Nazi movement • propaganda succeeded in expanding popular support for the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* • propaganda succeeded in creating a society in which persecution of Jews became normalised • propaganda also succeeded in creating the 'Hitler Myth', the idea that Hitler embodied the state and that he was semi-divine and so could do no wrong because everything he did was for the good of the *Volksgemeinschaft* • the 'Hitler Myth' was the 'glue' that successfully papered over the cracks in the regime. **Other factors:** **Establishment of a totalitarian state:** • on 27 February the Reichstag was set on fire. The new government blamed the Communists. On the strength of that claim President Hindenburg was persuaded, acting under Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, to suspend civil liberties in emergency decrees issued on 28 February • the Enabling Act (23 March 1933) as passed by the Reichstag under pressure gave Hitler dictatorial powers for four years • Communists and other opponents of the regime were now arrested and taken into 'protective custody' in hastily improvised concentration camps set up in derelict factories or old school building. Within the camps inmates were beaten, tortured and humiliated • Hitler now sought a fresh election hoping he would achieve a majority. However, the March election, though not democratic (many Communists and Social Democrats were imprisoned), did *not* give the Nazis a majority. The NKVD then swung in behind the Nazis. That gave the Nazi a majority in the Reichstag • 14 July 1933 the Nazis banned all other political parties creating a one-party state • the Law for the Reconstruction of the State (30 January 1934) abolished state (local) governments and Nazi Gauleiters (leaders of local branches of the Nazi Party) were appointed to run states

- in the course of 1934 Hitler dealt with growing opposition from the SA. On 30 June, 1934 the SA leaders, including SA chief Ernst Rohm, and other critics and potential opponents of the regime were murdered. In his claim that these measures were necessary to protect the state Hitler was supported by the Judiciary
- on 1 August Hitler became Head of State
- when Hindenburg died (2 August 1934) Hitler combined the posts of Chancellor and President which secured Hitler's grip on power. The army then took an oath of allegiance to Hitler
- within eighteen months of being appointed Chancellor, Hitler had established a legal dictatorship. Germany was no longer run according to the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

Fear and state terrorism:

- fear and terror were important in Hitler's rise to power and continued throughout the time of the Nazi regime and played a vital role in strengthening the Nazi dictatorship
- support for the Nazis Violence, coercion and terror were at the heart of Nazi ideology and of the Nazi regime from 1933
- the suspension of civil rights following the Reichstag fire enabled the Nazis to arrest people and hold them in 'protective custody'. What that actually meant was that political opponents of the regime, especially Communists, were rounded up and sent to concentration camps
- concentration camps were operational from the very beginnings of the regime. The early concentration camps were places in which inmates were treated with extreme brutality sometimes to the point where they died
- the SS became a key agent in the violent suppression of any and all opposition to the regime
- by 1936 all aspects of police, policing and state security were under the control of the SS and its chief, Heinrich Himmler
- the SS operated outside the law almost as a state within the state
- the Gestapo was perhaps the most feared institution of the SS complex even though the actual numbers of Gestapo officers was relatively small
- the Gestapo managed to generate such a climate of fear that it led to the creation of a culture of denunciation
- while it is true that people actively participated in this culture of denunciation, that does not mean that the importance of coercion and terror should be minimalised
- to speed up the punishment of 'enemies of the regime', a system of 'People's Courts' was set up. In effect these courts dispensed summary justice often prosecuting political opponents of the regime without referring to any evidence.

	Economic policies: • the immediate aims of Nazi economic policy were to tackle the Depression in Germany and to restore full employment. The other priority was to prepare Germany for war • under Hjalmar Schacht as Minister of Economics, the Nazi government increased government spending and invested in a massive programme of public works which included the construction of the motorway network, the *autobahnen*. Increased employment and a small rise in living conditions helped to gain the support of workers • despite economic recovery being underway in 1932, Hitler was given the credit for drastically reducing unemployment which helped to win popular support • to maintain workers' loyalty, the Nazis set up organisations such as Strength through Joy (designed to reward loyal workers with rewards such as cruises and vacations at Nazi holiday camps) and Beauty of Work (designed to persuade employers to improve working conditions) • from 1936 rearmament and conscription helped to create almost full employment which was popular with the army and big business • Hitler attempted to maintain the support of the Mittelstand (shop keepers and skilled craftsmen) by banning the opening of new department stores as part of the Nazi belief in 'Blood and Soil' a number of measures were introduced to help farmers • the Nazis increased tariffs on imported food and attempts were made to cancel farmers' debts. The Reich Entailed Farm Law prohibited the sale of small farms. The Reich Food Estate was created to run the rural economy, fix wages and prices, establishing food quotas • Goering's Four-Year Plan (1936) stressed autarky (self-sufficiency) and rearmament, which created tension between the demand for guns or butter. By 1936 workers were becoming increasingly discontented and in addition the promises to lower middle-class groups remained unfulfilled. **Social policies:** • the Nazis attempted to create a Volksgemeinschaft (national community) in which the German people would act together and support the Nazi regime • the Nazis' vision of a Volksgemeinschaft also involved the exclusion of 'outsiders.' Nazi propaganda won people over to the persecution of Jews and other minority groups viewed by the Nazis as a threat to the regime • to indoctrinate the young, Nazi youth organisations were set up, for example the Hitler Youth, to prepare boys for military service and the League of German Girls to prepare young women for motherhood. Nazi youth organisations became compulsory from 1936 • with the aim of controlling Germany's youth, the Nazis made changes to the education system. Education was now used to instil Nazi ideology especially anti-Semitism. The curriculum, teachers and textbooks were all Nazified to ensure that Nazi ideology was transmitted to young people • the Nazi view of women could be summed up in the slogan *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen). Nazi policies towards women including marriage loans, abortion was prohibited, and women who bore children were awarded medals in recognition of their achievement. The setting up of women's organisations were viewed positively by many women • although many Germans were not committed Nazis, they accepted the Nazi regime as for many, life was better than under the Weimar. **Any other relevant factors.**

37.	**Context:** Support for Italian nationalism grew in the years before 1850. This was largely within the educated classes, although there was some general popular support as well. However, the forces that opposed nationalism, such as the Austrians, meant that a unified Italian state had not emerged by 1850. **Supporters of nationalism:** • Risorgimento saw 'patriotic literature' from novelists and poets including Pellico, and Leopardi. These inspired the educated middle-class • Gioberti, Balbo and Mazzini promoted their ideas for a national state, this inspired nationalism amongst the middle-classes • some liberals and business classes were keen to develop an economic state • 'Italian' intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship • Napoleon Bonaparte had built roads and encouraged closer trading. One system of weights, measures and currency appealed • French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state • there was a growing desire for the creation of a national state amongst students; many joined Mazzini's 'Young Italy' • operas by Verdi and Rossini inspired growing feelings of patriotism • the use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism • membership of secret societies such as the Carbonari grew. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs which included desire for a national state. **Opponents of nationalism:** • resentment against Austria and its restoration of influence in the Italian peninsula after the defeat of Napoleon. Austrian use of spies and censorship helped increase support for the nationalist cause. However, any progress made by nationalists was firmly crushed by the Austrian army. Strength of the Quadrilateral fortresses. Austrians never left Italian soil • Carbonari revolts in the Kingdom of Naples 1820 — 1821, Piedmont 1821, Modena and the Papal States 1831 all crushed by the Austrian army • during 1848 — 1849 revolutions, Austrian army defeated Charles Albert twice — Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark/San Marco • the mass of the population were illiterate and indifferent to politics and nationalist ideas • peasants did revolt during bad times as can be seen in 1848 — but these revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not necessarily inspired by feelings of nationalism.

Italian rulers:

- individual rulers were opposed to nationalism as it would see them lose power. They used censorship, police and spies as well as the Austrian army, to crush revolts. Throughout this period their military forces generally remained loyal
- 1820 revolt in Naples against the government of King Ferdinand I. Initially successful and Ferdinand was forced to make concessions to save his throne. However, he asked for Austrian help to restore his power. Metternich was happy to help, and the rebellion was crushed
- 1821 revolt in Sardinia was, again, initially successful. Turin was taken by the rebels and the King Victor Emmanuel was forced to flee. Once again Austrian forces crushed the rebellion and restored the traditional ruler
- 1831 rebellions across Parma, Modena and the Papal States. Carbonari rebels tried to take over, but again, the rebellions were put down with Austrian help.

Position of the Papacy:

- Pope Pius IX. Nationalist movement had high hopes of new Pope Pius IX, initially thought of as a liberal and sympathetic to nationalist cause
- however, when Pope Pius IX was put under pressure to supply troops to support Charles Albert during the 1848-1849 revolutions, he denounced the nationalist movement instead saying, *'some at present desire that We too, along with the other Princes of Italy and their subjects, should engage in war against the Austrians. We have thought it convenient to proclaim clearly and openly in this our solemn Assembly, that such a measure is altogether alien from our counsels'*
- Pius IX was unwilling to fight against Austria, a leading Catholic power
- his opposition was a bitter blow to devout Catholics in Italy who favoured nationalism.

The failures of the revolutions of 1848:

- these showed that nationalist leaders would not work together, nor did they seek foreign help thus hindering progress
- Charles Albert's 'Italia Fara da se' declared that Italy would do it alone — she did not. Lombardy and Venetia suspected Charles Albert's motives and were reluctant to work with him. Venetians put more faith in Manin
- all progress was hampered when Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism
- Charles Albert hated Mazzini and would not support the Roman Republic
- Austrian military might, based on the Quadrilateral fortresses defeated Charles Albert twice — at Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark/San Marco
- the French crushed the Roman Republic.

Any other relevant factors.

38.	**Context:** By 1850 the forces supporting nationalism had grown in Italy. The Revolutions of 1848-1849 showed this, but it also illustrated the divisions within the nationalist movement. The opposition of traditional rulers, the continuing differences between the regions of Italy as well as the power of Austria were all factors that meant Italy had not unified by 1850. **Economic and cultural differences:** • geographical difficulties hindered the spread of nationalist ideas across the Italian peninsula • the north of Italy was relatively well developed industrially compared to the poor and backward south. For example, the north had a developed road and rail network comprising about 75,500 km of roads and over 2,000 km of railways compared to the south which had only about 14,000 km of roads and 180 km of railways. The north had a developing industrial economy compared to the rural south of Italy • literacy rates in the north were much better than the south of Italy • there were different levels of civilisation between the north and south. For example, the Bourbon rulers of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily were strong supporters of feudalism who feared the spread of ideas and tried to keep the south insulated from the agricultural and industrial revolutions that were having an impact in the north • attitudes in the north [Piedmont] towards the south were not positive and they saw their southern neighbours as underdeveloped and barbaric. **Other factors:** **Political differences within the nationalists:** • secret societies lacked clear aims, organisation, leadership, resources and operated in regional cells • the 1848-1849 Revolutions showed that nationalist leaders did not trust one another (Manin and Charles Albert) or would not work together (Albert and Mazzini) • there was division between those desiring liberal changes within existing states and those desiring the creation of a national state • other differences included those who wanted to unite Italy under the leadership of the Piedmontese royal family, [who were the only native Italian royal family in the peninsula] and those like Mazzini who wanted a republic • failure to capitalise on Austrian weakness in 1848. **Dominant position of Austria:** • following the 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, 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 a first-class commander in Field Marshal Count Joseph Radetzky von Radetz. In 1848 Charles Albert's army won two skirmishes but Radetzky awaited reinforcements then defeated Albert at Custozza forcing an armistice. Radetzky re-took Milan in August • after Albert's renewal of war Radetzky took just three days to defeat him again (Novara). He then besieged Venetia until the Republic of St Mark/San Marco surrendered on 22 August 1849. Austrians re-established control across north and central Italy. **Italian rulers:** • individual rulers were opposed to nationalism. They feared for their position within a united Italy • Italian rulers crushed rebellion when they had to. King Ferdinand I of Naples and Sicily had granted a constitution in 1820 but used Austrian help to restore his authority • Charles Albert of Piedmont granted a constitution in 1821 but fled and the revolution was crushed. Similar events in Parma Modena and the Papal States • after a seemingly positive start to his pontificate, he released two thousand political prisoners, Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism in 1848, seeing it as a threat to stability • in the 1848-1849 Revolutions, despite offering some concessions and constitutions the Italian rulers retained the loyalty of their armed forces and reasserted control. **Indifference of the masses:** • patriotic literature inspired intellectuals and students but did not reach the vast majority of the population who were illiterate (up to 87% of the population in the south of Italy) • strong regional identities, particularly between north and south Italy meant that a consistent nationalism across Italy did not emerge • peasants were more inclined to show loyalty to their local leaders than the idea of a unified Italy. **Any other relevant factors.**

39.	**Context:** After 1918 Mussolini emerged as an able and charismatic political leader. He developed the Fascist movement into an effective political force which was able to exploit the weaknesses of the Italian political system in order to achieve power. **Appeal of Mussolini and the Fascists:** • Mussolini had a key role in selling the Fascist message with his powerful oratory. He played on conservative fears of the 'Socialist threat' leading to the rapid grown of the Fascist party • Mussolini seized his opportunity and kept his nerve to seize power and survive the Matteotti crisis • they exploited weaknesses of other groups by excellent use of Mussolini's newspaper 'Il Popolo d'Italia' • the Fasci Italiano di Combattimento began as a movement not a political party and thus attracted a wide variety of support giving them an advantage over narrower rivals • by 1921 — fascism was anti-communist, anti-trade union, anti-socialist and pro nationalism and thus became attractive to the middle and upper classes • Fascism became pro-conservative, appealed to family values, supported church and monarchy; promised to work within the accepted political system. This made fascism more respectable and appealing to both the monarchy and the papacy • Squadristi violence was directed against socialism so it gained the support of elites and middle classes • violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless. It appealed to many ex-soldiers • Fascists promised strong government. This was attractive after a period of extreme instability • Fascists promised to make Italy respected as a nation and thus appealed to nationalists • Fascist policies were kept deliberately vague to attract support from different groups. **Other factors:** **Weaknesses of Italian governments:** • Parliamentary government was weak in Italy. Political parties did exist, but they acted more as labels for groups of ambitious men who wanted to gain power • until 1912 only 25% of adult men could vote which led to many Italians feeling alienated from the political system • Government was conducted by very weak coalitions of different factions. This system of coalition building became known as Trasformismo • in the period from 1900 to 1911 there were nine governments with only one lasting more than two years • bribery and corruption were commonplace in the Italian political system • the growth of Socialist and Nationalist movements before 1914 challenged the old system of government coalitions dominated by the Liberals • World War I worsened the situation; wartime coalitions were very weak. 1918; universal male suffrage and 1919 Proportional Representation; relied on 'liberals' — unstable coalitions • Giolitti made an electoral pact with Mussolini (1921); Fascists gained 35 seats then refused to support the government. Over the next 16 months there were three ineffective coalition governments • Fascists threatened a 'March on Rome' — the King refused to agree to martial law; Facta resigned; Mussolini was invited to form coalition. 1924 Acerbo Law.

	Resentment of the Peace Settlement: • Italy had entered World War I in 1915. They had not performed well militarily and there was a large loss of life [approximately 700,000 men were lost] in frustrating campaigns in the Alps and the Carso • as one of the victors Italy expected that her sacrifice would be recognised in the peace settlement. In 1915 the Treaty of London had promised Italy substantial territorial gains from the Austrian and Ottoman empires • the peace settlement of 1919-1920 gave Italy Trentino, South Tyrol, Istria, part of Dalmatia and the port of Trieste • the Italian Prime Minister, Orlando, had expected to gain the port of Fiume, the whole of Dalmatia and some colonial territories. He left the peace conference in disgust • 'Mutilated victory' — Italian nationalists fueled ideas that Italy had been betrayed by her government. **Social and economic divisions:** • World War I imposed serious strain on the Italian economy. The government took huge foreign loans and the National Debt was 85 billion lira by 1918. The lira lost half of its value, devastating middle class savers. Inflation was rising; prices in 1918 were four times higher than 1914 • economic problems had an impact on all sections of society: there were no wage rises, food shortages with two million unemployed 1919. Many firms collapsed as military orders ceased. Disillusionment of the middle-classes whose savings were badly damaged by rising inflation. This led to people becoming willing to turn to political extremes in search of a solution • membership of Trade unions and PSI rose — strikes, demonstrations, violence. 1919 -1920 'Biennio Rosso' in towns — general strike 1920; army mutiny; occupation of factories • industrialists/middle classes were fearful of revolution. Governments failed to back the police so law and order broke down • in the countryside, there was seizure of common land — peasant ownership increased. **Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents:** • D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume was not stopped by the government • Government failed to get martial law to stop fascist threat. Some liberals supported the Acerbo Law • Socialist General Strike July 1922 — failed. Socialists' split weakened them; refused to join together to oppose fascism • Liberals fragmented into four factions grouped around former PMs. They were too weak to effectively resist. Hoped to tame Fascists • PPI were divided over attitude to fascism — right wing supported fascism. Aventine Secession backfired; destroyed chance to remove Mussolini. **Any other relevant factors.**

40.	**Context:** Between 1922 and 1939 Mussolini was the Fascist leader of Italy. Control of Italy was maintained by a combination of meeting the needs of ordinary Italians and developing methods of control. Political opposition was crushed, the economy was managed, and an active foreign policy pursued. However, much of the success of the Italian state was illusory, based on deficit finance, and Italy remained a weak country by European standards. **Foreign policy:** • Mussolini was depicted by Fascist propaganda heroically defending Italian interests abroad • 1923 Corfu incident. Italian forces bombarded and occupied Corfu after the Greek government refused to apologise when an Italian general was assassinated in Greece. League of Nations referred the matter to the Conference of Ambassadors which largely supported Italy. However, Italy was forced to withdraw its forces from the island • the Balkans, 1924-1926. Albania became an Italian satellite state and Mussolini destabilised Yugoslavia by supporting Croat separatist groups • 1925 Locarno Treaties. Italy was treated as a major European power which pleased Mussolini • 1935 Stresa Front. Mussolini was concerned about Hitler's Germany rearming. Conference with France and Britain criticised Germany and agreed to support an independent Austria • 1935 invasion of Abyssinia. Eventual victory was popular in Italy but the economic costs were huge and it led to a falling out with Britain and France • Mussolini's role in the Munich Conference of 1938 was his last foreign policy triumph • as Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. Italian intervention in Spain proved a huge drain on Italy's resources, for example. The invasion of Albania in March 1939 was a fiasco. The Fascist Grand Council removed him in 1943. **Other factors:** **Establishment of the Fascist state:** • November/December 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) — gave him support if the army turned against him — and Fascist Grand Council — a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship began • opposition weak and divided were eventually crushed. Liberals had divided into four factions so were weakened • the Left had divided into three — original PSI, reformist PSU and Communists — they failed to work together against Fascists • Pope forced Sturzo to resign and so PPI (Catholic Popular Party) was weakened and it split • Acerbo Law passed. 1924 elections — Fascists won 66% of the vote • opposition parties failed to take advantage of the Matteotti crisis. By walking out of the Chamber of Deputies (Aventine Secession) they gave up the chance to overthrow Mussolini; they remained divided — the Pope refused to sanction an alliance between PPI and the socialists. The King chose not to dismiss Mussolini • Communists and socialists did set up organisations in exile but did not work together. Communist cells in northern cities did produce some anti-fascist leaflets but they suffered frequent raids by OVRA • PPI opposition floundered with the closer relationship between Church and State (Lateran Pacts)

- 1926 — opposition parties were banned. A one-party state was created
- 1928 — universal suffrage abolished
- 1929 — all Fascist Parliament elected.

Fear and intimidation:

- Mussolini favoured complete State authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party
- the squadristi were organised into the MVSN Milizia Voluntaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces causing fear with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil
- after 1925-1926 around 10,000 non-fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals
- the Secret Police, OVRA was established in 1927 and was led by Arturo Bocchini. Tactics included abduction and torture of opponents. 4000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison
- penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape
- opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad
- the death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death.

Propaganda:

- as a former journalist, Mussolini knew how powerful the media could be. Press, radio and cinema were all controlled
- in 1934 the General Directorate of Cinema was created. It regulated the cinema and brought all films into line with Fascist ideology
- films by the Fascist film agency glorified the regime and its successes
- radio was important as it could reach remote rural areas of Italy and did not require listeners to be literate. In 1933 a special radio agency, the ERR was set up and became an important channel of Fascist propaganda
- Mussolini's speeches were broadcast live via loudspeakers
- the cult of Il Duce. A cult of personality was created around Mussolini. He was presented as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy — heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, incorruptible.

Economic and social policies:

- Fascist economic policy initially aimed for economic self-sufficiency or 'autarky'. For example, tariffs were introduced on imports to encourage Italian businesses
- with the great depression the Fascist Government intervened more in the Italian economy, for example moving to control the banks which undoubtedly helped save many small businesses from bankruptcy
- spending was increased on public works and money was spent on welfare in the 1930s
- Fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives, for example, the 'Battle for Grain'. While superficially successful, they did tend to divert resources from other areas
- development of transport infrastructure, with building of *autostrade* and redevelopment of major railway terminals, for example, Milan
- Mussolini encouraged ski resort building in the Alps providing work and encouraging tourism. Mussolini could also be photographed on skis adding to his dynamic persona

	• however, raw materials were very scarce, prices increased and living standards for peasants and workers declined in the 1930s compared to the 1920s • when the Second World War broke out in 1939 Italy could not join the fighting because a shortage of foreign currency meant they could not import the raw materials needed for military preparations • one major success was the crushing of organized crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939 • Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro [OND] was created in 1925. It had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training; sports provision, day-trips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the fascist state's most popular institution • workers were controlled through 22 corporations, set up in 1934; overseen by National Council of Corporations, chaired by Mussolini • corporations provided accident, health and unemployment insurance for workers, but forbade strikes and lock-outs • there were some illegal strikes in 1930s and anti-fascist demonstrations in 1933 but these were limited • the majority of Italians got on with their own lives conforming as long as all was going well. Middle-classes/elites supported fascism as it protected them from communism • in 1926, youth organisations were set up for children and teenagers under the umbrella organisation, Opera Nazionale Balilla, known as the ONB • youth knew no alternative to fascism, were educated as fascists and this strengthened the regime. Youth movements provided sporting opportunities, competitions, rallies, camps, parades and propaganda lectures — 60% membership in the north. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**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. **Military defeat in the war against Japan:** • defeat in the war with Japan highlighted Tsarist Russia's major problems and its incompetence • 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 • though the war arose from Russian expansionist policy, the Minister for Internal Affairs, Vyacheslav von Plehve, may have viewed it as an opportunity to divert attention from problems at home and to generate patriotic support for the Tsar • but the war was an unmitigated disaster for Russia. The Russians totally underestimated Japan and overestimated their own superiority • the incompetence of the government during the war made social unrest worse rather than dampening it • troops suffered from low morale after the defeats and there were complaints about poor pay and conditions • 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 • among the key reasons for the humiliating defeat of Russia on land an at sea were the fact that the Japanese army and navy were better trained, better led, better organised and were operating much closer to home. For example, land battle: decisive defeat at Mukden, sea battle: defeat at Tsushima Strait. The destruction of the Russian fleet in the Tsushima Straits was a catastrophe justifying opposition claims that Russia needed radical change • 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. **Other factors:** **Working class discontent:** • in the last decade of the nineteenth century Russia was industrialising fast. The economy grew and peasants flowed into overcrowded towns and cities to work in industry • living and working conditions were appalling, and though strikes were illegal militancy among workers grew • in 1900 a deep economic depression affected all areas of the economy. Workers lost their jobs and discontent led to more strikes and more internal disorder • 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 • although not at this stage supported by large numbers of workers, revolutionary parties were taking shape, spreading their ideology, and giving voice to workers' discontent.

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 and 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.

Political problems:

- political problems for the regime were piling up. On the one hand the regime supported industrialisation but on the other the government responded to unrest with repression and intransigence, refusing to initiate reform
- industrialisation also gave rise to a growing middle class who wanted Russia to modernise in line with European countries. They wanted to be included in government. Middle class liberals wanted the regime to allow the setting up of political parties and an elected Duma (parliament)
- middle class liberals were also finding common cause with other organisations pressing for reform such as trade unions. Nevertheless, they continued to be ignored
- the Mensheviks had influence in the Soviets and the Bolsheviks were involved in the Moscow Rising
- students rioted, and carried out assassinations
- the gentry tried to convince the Tsar to make minor concessions
- Tsar Nicholas II was seen as being too weak and unable to make good decisions for Russia in a crisis
- Nicholas II stoked up resentment among national minorities by continuing to press ahead with Russification, which national minorities hated
- revolutionary ideologies did not yet have mass support, but they were beginning to gain traction among some workers and peasants.

Bloody Sunday:

- somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 workers and their families led by the Orthodox priest, Father Gapon, marched towards the Winter Palace on 9 January 1905 to present a petition to the Tsar asking for help for starving workers
- Nicholas II was not at the palace. Troops opened fire on the demonstrators, who were also charged down by Cossacks. Several hundred people died or were injured
- reaction to this event was dramatic. The actions of the soldiers and the Cossacks were greeted with outrage across the empire. Strikes and protest marches against the Tsar broke out in St Petersburg and quickly spread to other towns and cities

	• order broke down and the government lost control of events. Strikes, protests, marches, demonstrations and terrorist acts were common and widespread • Bloody Sunday sparked the revolution and broke the bond between the traditional image of the Tsar, known as the 'Little Father', and the people of Russia. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**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. **Nature of events in 1905:** • the revolution of 1905 occurred in part due to the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 which led to a wave of political and social unrest across the Russian Empire • loyalty to the Tsar was weakened by events like Bloody Sunday, though it was not completely eroded • there were military mutinies, but these were disorganised, and the armed forces remained mostly loyal and were widely used to control the 1905 unrest • events led to the promise of reform by Tsar Nicholas. He promised the formation of a consultative assembly, religious tolerance, freedom of speech and a reduction in peasant's redemption payments. **October Manifesto and the Duma:** • the October Manifesto was written by Sergei Witte and Prince Alexis Obolensky. It promised reform granting basic civil rights, the formation of political parties and an intention to allow universal suffrage. It was widely welcomed, but Nicholas was never happy with it and only signed it after arguing for three days • 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 the middle class's 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 3rd 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. Yet most Russians still had no political voice in Russia. **Repression:** • Stolypin was given the job of restoring order after the rural violence, industrial strikes and terrorism during and after the 1905 Revolution. He used radical 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. Although there was still discontent in some areas.

	Stolypin's reforms: • Stolypin's main plan for restoring order and preventing another revolution was 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, encouraged freedom from the commune, Peasant Loan Bank and more land available. Peasants were encouraged to 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 • the land reforms did not modernise as much as had been hoped and there was an economic slump, which made life difficult for people and affected their loyalty to the Tsarist state. **Fundamental Laws:** • the Russian constitution of 1906 was a major revision of the 1832 Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire and attempted reform to preserve the Tsarist monarchy • in theory the constitution allowed for the Tsar to share power with an elected parliament which was made up of an upper house known as the State Council and a lower house called the State Duma • the Tsar had power in that he appointed half of the State Council. Its power was also increased by the Tsar to be equal to that of the Duma • Tsar Nicholas II was able to limit the powers of the Duma, for example, proclaiming that only he had the authority to appoint/dismiss ministers • the Tsar also had the right to veto legislation and could dismiss the Duma. **Any other relevant factors.**

43.	**Context:** Following the abdication of the Tsar a Provisional Government was formed to rule Russia until elections for a Constituent Assembly could be held. The Provisional Government faced formidable problems: the issue of redistribution of land, the need for radical reforms, conflicting views about the war, and the difficulty of managing autonomy for national minorities. By late summer 1917 the authority of the Provisional Government was draining away. In a revolution in October the Bolsheviks seized power. The appeal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks was an important reason for their success, but that appeal must be seen in the context of the failures of the Provisional Government. **Appeal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks:** • leadership of Lenin: Lenin's return in April 1917 immediately broke the initial co-operation of the Bolsheviks with the other revolutionary parties after the February Revolution. He called for a second socialist revolution • the popularity of the Bolsheviks grew in the summer of 1917 as workers and soldiers became disillusioned with the policies of the Provisional Government • in August Kerensky called on the Bolsheviks to help him deal with the threat of a military *coup* led by General Kornilov • the Bolsheviks were now able to claim that they were the true defenders of the February Revolution. As such they benefited from a wave of popular support. They were now elected in large numbers onto the soviets • on 9 September the Bolsheviks gained overall control of the Petrograd Soviet and on 25 September Trotsky was elected its president. The Bolsheviks took control of the Moscow Soviet too • even before September support for the Bolsheviks had been growing. For example, in the elections to the Petrograd City Duma in August the Bolsheviks gained 33% of the vote • the clarity of Bolshevik polices — summed up in the slogan 'Peace, Bread, Land' — as set out by Lenin in his April theses, helped the Bolsheviks to build a broad base of support • by late summer 1917 Lenin's demand for no cooperation with the Provisional Government had become increasingly appealing to workers and soldiers • Bolshevik propaganda kept the Bolshevik message fresh in people's minds, undermined the Provisional Government and created the sense of urgent need for radical change • Lenin led the Bolsheviks with skill and ruthless determination. He could not control everything in the party, but nevertheless he managed to maintain party discipline and in October convinced the Bolshevik Central Committee to support an armed uprising • Trotsky was also important. He persuaded Lenin to wait until the meeting of the Second Congress of All-Russian Soviets on 26 October before launching an armed uprising, and he set up and controlled the Military Revolutionary Committee to plan and implement an armed uprising.

Other factors:

Dual Power:

- Dual Power describes the division of authority between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies after the collapse of the Tsarist government in February 1917
- the Provisional Government was made up mainly of liberals from the former Duma, dominated by the Kadets. At the same time as the Provisional Government was being formed so was the Petrograd Soviet. The Petrograd Soviet was made up of workers and soldiers' representatives and socialist intellectuals, mainly Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. Its Executive Committee was dominated by Socialist intellectuals
- the Petrograd Soviet's main aim was to protect the interests of workers and soldiers. In early March it passed Order No 1: soldiers would only obey orders from the provisional Government if the Soviet agreed
- acts such as the eight-point programme which included an amnesty for all political offences, freedom of speech and elections for a Constituent Assembly were counter-productive as revolutionaries freed from jail were able to work against the Provisional Government
- through its soldier and worker representatives the Soviet controlled the railways, the Petrograd garrison, factories, power supplies and communications enabling it to monitor the activities of the Provisional government, but it kept its distance from the Provisional Government
- 'Dual Power' made decision-making difficult for the Provisional Government, which in any case was meant to be a temporary administration. To begin with there was a degree of cooperation between the two organisations but as problems mounted the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet diverged more and more. This situation was especially serious for the Provisional Government because it did not have a base of popular support, which soviets certainly did including the Petrograd Soviet
- in September 1917, the Bolsheviks won majorities in both the Petrograd and Moscow soviets with Trotsky becoming chairman of the Petrograd Soviet
- the weakness of the Provisional Government can be seen in the Kornilov Affair as Kerensky had to ask the Soviets and Red Guards to help defend Petrograd when the Supreme Commander of the Russian army sent troops back to Petrograd after falling out with Kerensky.

Decision to continue the war:

- the Provisional Government decided to continue the war, and in June the Minister of War, Kerensky, launched a huge offensive
- the June offensive quickly fell apart. Rates of desertion were high, and soldiers mutinied. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were killed for no gain
- the failure of the offensive plunged the Provisional Government into crisis and led to a popular uprising in Petrograd in July
- the Provisional Government managed to survive but its credibility was seriously undermined
- moderate socialist leaders who were part of the in the Provisional Government lost the support of soldiers and workers.

	Political discontent: • economic problems continued (food shortages, rising prices, falling ages, bread queues) giving rise to growing political discontent • the July Days, an armed uprising of workers and soldiers supported by 20 000 sailors from the Kronstadt naval base and encouraged by the Bolsheviks, had to be suppressed by the Provisional Government • Bolshevik leaders were arrested, and Lenin went into hiding. Kerensky appointed General Kornilov as Supreme Commander of Russian forces with the idea of bringing trustworthy troops to Petrograd to secure the city from any further threat from the Bolsheviks • Kornilov decided this was his chance to crush radical socialists, take control of the government and establish military control • Kerensky now called on the Soviet to defend Petrograd from counter-revolution and he released Bolsheviks, imprisoned following the July Days, and armed them too • the overall impact of the July Days and the Kornilov affair was the destruction of the credibility of Kerensky, the Provisional Government and the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary leaders associated with Kerensky and the Provisional Government. **Land issue:** • the failure of the Provisional Government to organise redistribution of the land in the countryside led to anarchy in the countryside • encouraged by the Bolsheviks, Peasants had started taking land from April 1917. By summer 1917 they were taking more and more land • the Provisional Government wanted land redistribution to take place within a framework of law organised by the Constituent Assembly once that had been set up. They also wanted landowners to be compensated. To peasants this all seemed like an attempt to prevent redistribution of land • the harvest of 1917 failed causing a grain crisis. The Provisional Government sent out requisition brigades into the countryside to seize grain. This increased peasant hostility to the government and led to rising levels of violence in the countryside. **Any other relevant factors.**

44.	**Context:** From 1918-1921 Russia was engulfed in a brutal civil war. The war was fought in conditions of extreme hardship and by its end perhaps as many as 10 million people had died as a result of military action or hunger or disease. The Whites were essentially a conglomeration of different groups with different aims and this disunity helped contribute to the victory of the Reds in the Russian Civil War. However, the Reds' victory was not inevitable, but in the end the geographical advantages of the Red Army, the leadership of Lenin and the organisational abilities of Trotsky as well as the failure of foreign intervention enabled to Reds to prevail. **Disunity among the Whites:** • the Whites were made up of different groups with different aims and beliefs. This caused disagreement and confusion • disagreement on aims and beliefs made cooperation difficult and prevented the Whites from developing a political strategy • they were also split by their differing views on nationalities. Old Tsarists opposed independence for the nationalities whereas liberals supported independence for nationalities • division also prevented the Whites from developing a coordinated military strategy, and White generals often would not work together because they did not trust each other. There were at least three important White leaders; Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin, but no overall commander-in-chief or clear chain of command • it was not unusual for the Whites to fight one another. **Other factors:** **Strengths of the Reds:** • the Red Army had a single, unified command structure and a clear ideological outlook which contributed to its development as a highly organised fighting force • the Reds benefited in particular from geographical advantages. For example, the Bolsheviks never lost control of the central area of the Russian Empire, which included Moscow and Petrograd. They moved their capital to Moscow enabling them to control the railway network which had Moscow as its hub • the central area also contained Russia's major armaments factories so the Bolsheviks could continue to produce war materials • the Reds had also taken over the equipment of the old Russian army • the central area was also heavily populated so the Bolsheviks had a much greater pool of men to conscript from and to provide labour for factories. Red armies often outnumbered their White opponents by a considerable amount • by contrast the Whites were scattered around the edges of this central area often separated by large distances. Communications were difficult hampering efforts to organise the movement of men and weapons needed to launch coordinated attacks • the Reds also had greater support among the peasants than the Whites. Lenin promised the peasants land whereas the Whites said the land would be returned to its former owners • to workers and soldiers the Reds seemed to offer the best chance of protecting the gains made in the revolutions of 1917.

	Leadership of Lenin: • Lenin ensured that the Reds had a clear ideological outlook, which helped unify the Red Armies • Lenin provided the political leadership of the new Bolshevik regime • Lenin and Trotsky took strategic decisions together, but Lenin gave Trotsky political support when necessary, for example, he supported Trotsky's decision to use ex-tsarist officers in the Red Army • to ensure that that the whole economy of the Red-held part of Russia was geared to the needs of the Red Army Lenin introduced War Communism • a key element of War Communism was the Red Terror, which Lenin authorised. He was ruthless in pursuit of victory and had no qualms about the systematic use of terror to back up War Communism and deal with opposition • Lenin also authorised the assassination of the Tsar and the Tsar's family, which he knew, in the long run, would help to undermine the Tsarist cause. **Role of Trotsky:** • Trotsky was an inspirational leader with an ability to boost soldiers' morale through powerful oratory and personal charisma • Trotsky directed special forces to sectors of the front where the fighting was fiercest • he also built a highly effective fighting force using a mixture of 'carrot and stick'. Soldiers were subjected to harsh discipline including execution for retreating or desertion. But soldiers were also given incentives, for example, they were given wristwatches to encourage punctuality • Trotsky organised the Red Army on strict hierarchical lines bringing back thousands of ex-Tsarist officers to train and command army units. These officers' families were held hostage to ensure they stayed loyal • he also deployed political commissars to each army unit to make sure officers stayed ideologically correct • when it looked as though Petrograd might fall to the forces of Yudenich, Trotsky took the decision to rush forces to defend the 'home of the revolution'. **Effects of foreign intervention:** • foreign intervention did bring in supplies and weapons for the Whites, but it was a half-hearted effort and ineffective overall • bringing in supplies was often so disorganised that the weapons and materials in fact fell into the hands of the Reds • foreign governments were not prepared to commit military forces on a large scale. The Japanese never left Siberia and the British and French headed for areas which contained industrial assets lost in the October Revolution, for example the British headed for Baku, centre of the Russian oil industry • the Allies were war-weary and there was little popular support for intervention in Russia • foreign intervention was a propaganda gift for the Reds who could present themselves as the defenders of 'Mother Russia' against foreign forces. **Any other relevant factors.**

45.	**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 a lack of political influence. Black people also faced discrimination, segregation and popular prejudice. **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 • the 'Grandfather' clause was 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. **Other factors:** **Legal impediments:** • the Southern states passed a series of discriminatory measures against black Americans known as Jim Crow laws, for example, 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 • Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in 1930s fearing the loss of Democrat support in the South.

Popular prejudice:

- since the institution of slavery the status of black Americans was stigmatised, and this stigma was the basis for the racism that persisted, particularly in the Southern States
- popular prejudice led to continued migration of black Americans from the South to the North
- 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.

Activities of the Ku Klux Klan:

- the Ku Klux Klan was a secret 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 many rich and powerful individuals, including the police, judges and politicians. The atrocities were carried out by some poor, young white people, as well as some white professionals
- 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
- 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.

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' figure, in part due to the fierce disagreement between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois
- in contrast Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored 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.

46.	**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. They began before 1929 with the failure of Republican administrations following a policy of laissez-faire throughout the 1920s. **Overproduction of goods and underconsumption:** • 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 were being made than people could buy. The USA was experiencing the serious problem of overproduction. Radios, telephones, washing machines, refrigerators and other goods were piling up in warehouses across the country • the enormous output of goods required a corresponding increase of consumer buying power (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. **Other factors:** **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 Great 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 Great Depression were described as 'too little too late'.

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. The normal banking system almost ceased to exist and without an efficient banking system, the economy could not function.

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.

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 21 October prices began to fall. On 24 October 1929, Black Thursday, the Wall Street Crash began. On 29 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 played a role in the Great Depression, but its significance was more as a trigger. The Wall Street Crash led to a collapse of credit, and of confidence. It revealed how fragile and unstable the economic boom of the 1920s really was.

Any other relevant factors.

47.	**Context:** Despite modest progress in black Americans' civil rights, several events highlighted the continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination in post-war America. While these events publicised the full horrors of segregation, they also demonstrated that segregation could be challenged by the role of black civil rights organisations which was a significant factor in the development of a more organised mass movement for civil rights after 1945. **Role of black civil rights organisations:** • a group of black and white college students created the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help coordinate, support and publicise the sit-in campaign. Their first target was segregated lunch counters and their use of non-violent protest in the face of provocation gained the Civil Rights movement support across the country • the SNCC joined with young people from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in boycotts, marches and freedom rides. TV news coverage of attacks on the Freedom Riders, for example, shocked the American public • the combined actions of these organisations breathed new life into the Civil Rights movement and ended discrimination in many public places including restaurants, hotels, and theatres. These successes further encouraged the development of the Civil Rights campaign to demand more • the Black Panthers became very popular among young black Americans in the big cities and gained a lot of publicity. Although membership was relatively low, losing support as a result of their confrontational tactics. **Other factors:** **Prejudice and discrimination:** • continuing racial discrimination pushed many black Americans to demand civil rights. The experience of war emphasised freedom, democracy and human rights yet in the USA Jim Crow laws still existed and lynching went unpunished • the continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination was highlighted when Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black boy from Chicago, was murdered in Mississippi. The Emmett Till case had a big effect on the development of the Civil Rights movement due to the publicity of the trial. Despite being virtually unrecognisable due to being beaten up so badly, Emmett's mother insisted on showing her son's corpse in an open coffin which shocked both local people and the nation • the US Supreme Court's 1954 decision to end segregation in schools (Brown versus the Topeka Board of Education) followed by the events at Little Rock High School, Arkansas in 1957, encouraged civil rights campaigners. The Little Rock Nine, and in particular the sight of Elizabeth Eckford being bullied and threatened for attending a white school, made national and world news headlines • the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama (over the arrest of Rosa Parks, who refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus) was one of the first successful protests and showed the effectiveness of united peaceful, non-violent protest.

Experience of black servicemen in the Second World War:

- despite the US Army being segregated, black servicemen in Europe had freedoms they had never experienced in America. Even in prisoner of war camps, black airmen were treated as officers regardless of their colour
- as a result, black soldiers, sailors and airmen supported the 'Double-V' campaign: victory against the enemy abroad in the war and victory for civil rights at home in America
- a positive outcome of the Double-V campaign was the creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942 which was the beginning of a mass movement for civil rights. CORE was to play a large part in the civil rights protests after WWII
- A. Philip Randolph is credited with highlighting the problems faced by black Americans during the Second World War which planted the seeds that grew into the civil rights movement of the 1950s. A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a mainly black union. The porters, who travelled on long-distance overnight trains, could carry news between black communities in the rural south and those in northern cities during the Second World War. A. Philip Randolph threatened a mass protest march in Washington unless discrimination in defence industry jobs and in the armed forces was ended. In 1941 Randolph and other black leaders met President Roosevelt with three demands: an end to segregation and discrimination in federal government jobs, an end to segregation of the armed forces, and government support for an end to discrimination and segregation in all jobs in the USA
- as the USA was fighting against Hitler's racist policies in Europe and unwilling to highlight the USA's own racism, Roosevelt gave in to some of Randolph's demands and issued Executive Order 8802 which stated that there would be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defence industries and in government on the basis of race, colour or religious beliefs
- Roosevelt also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination
- not all of Randolph's demands were met. Segregation in the armed forces and in jobs in the USA continued
- Josephine Baker, an American-born French entertainer and civil rights activist, refused to play to segregated troops during the Second World War.

Role of Martin Luther King:

- Martin Luther King was an inspirational speaker and leader who was prepared to be arrested, criticised and even put his own life at risk for the cause of civil rights
- he believed that non-violent, peaceful civil disobedience was the best weapon in the fight for civil rights. King felt that if a law was wrong then the citizens of a country had both the right and responsibility to protest about it. He believed in endless protests to wear down the resistance of white racists
- King presented a non-threatening image of black protest to the US television audience
- he became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) formed in 1957 to coordinate the work of the civil rights groups. King became more involved and well known for his use of non-violent civil disobedience in the campaign for civil rights
- King led many demonstrations in the south which encouraged the development of the civil rights movement. During the Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955-1956, King's leadership inspired the black population of Montgomery to keep up the pressure for civil rights
- through the effective use of the media, King became famous and publicised the Civil Rights movement throughout the world
- King urged African Americans to use peaceful methods in the campaign for civil rights. King won international recognition for the civil rights campaign.

	Emergence of effective black leaders: • the Civil Rights campaign was inspired by the ideas of the black activist, Malcolm X. He was an articulate, although confrontational speaker, who became a preacher for the Nation of Islam and spoke against King's belief in non-violence. Malcolm X believed non-violence meant being defenceless and stated that black people had to work out their own futures without relying on white help. Malcolm X was one of the first black civil rights activists to draw attention to the problems of crime, and unemployment in the ghettos of American cities • many young black Americans living in the ghettos were attracted to the more extreme ideas of Stokely Carmichael and 'Black Power' — a direct ideas descendant of Marcus Garvey and his 'Back to Africa' movement. Many black Americans no longer believed that non-violence was the way forward • the Black Panthers attracted attention and headline news contributing to the civil rights campaign. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defence was founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The Black Panthers represented the opposite of Martin Luther King's ideas and supported the anti-white, black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X • many civil rights leaders were effective in attracting media coverage and large followings although other leaders and organisations were eclipsed by media focus on the main personalities • the black radicals attracted support for the Civil Rights campaign but also divided opinion across the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

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

	Changes in federal policy: • Truman used Executive Orders to make black appointments and order equality of treatment in the armed services. Kennedy signed the 1962 Executive Order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing • Eisenhower sent in federal troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African American students enrolled in Central High School, Little Rock. Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student James Meredith, first black student at Mississippi University • the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed during Johnson's presidency made racial discrimination and segregation illegal • the 1965 Voting Rights Act made it easier for black Americans to vote. By the end of 1965 over 250,000 Black Americans were newly registered to vote. **Social, economic and political changes:** • the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted in momentous changes in the South but were mostly irrelevant to the cities of the North where segregation and discrimination had never been the main problems. The Civil Rights Movement split due to disagreements regarding the movement's next steps. The main goals to end segregation and discrimination in the South had been met. Some black Americans no longer supported Martin Luther King's methods and aims and became disillusioned by the failure of the southern-based Civil Rights campaign to improve conditions in the cities of the North • economic issues, unemployment, poor housing, high rents and poverty, were more important in the North • the problems facing black Americans in urban ghettos resulted in violent riots in Watts, Los Angeles in 1964. Other race related riots across urban America • Martin Luther King attempted to help with the problems of Chicago. In 1966 King and the SCLC proposed the Chicago Plan, a non-violent action plan to improve the Chicago area. Martin Luther King's failure to prevent the riots, which broke out, however suggested that his methods were irrelevant to black Americans in the late 1960s • Martin Luther King was criticised by many people due to the failure of his campaign to make any real difference to life in the ghettos in the main cites of the North and West. Urban poverty and de facto segregation were still common. **Rise of black radical movements:** • in 1966 a new leader emerged within the SNCC — Stokely Carmichael who called for a campaign to achieve Black Power as an alternative to King's non-violent protest methods. According to Stokely Carmichael 'Black Power' involved black Americans taking control of their political and economic future without relying on white support to 'give' black Americans their civil rights • another radical group who rejected white help were the Black Panthers who supported the anti-White, Black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The Panthers gained a reputation for violence due to supporting the use of guns and gunfights with the police • the Black Panthers were involved in self-help projects in the ghettos to help black communities out of poverty • Malcolm X, a leader of the Nation of Islam, also known as the Black Muslims, publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America • in 1967 President Johnson set up an investigation into the urban riots called the Kerner Commission. Its findings that US society remained divided with one white society and one black society — one rich and one poor, shocked people across the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

49.	**Context:** Fascism was based on the idea of national renewal and expansion. Both Hitler and Mussolini promised to expand their countries influence in the world and to gain the 'respect' that both had been denied by the Treaty of Versailles. Both developed aggressive foreign policies that used a variety of methods to achieve their aims. **Diplomacy:** • Fascist 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 Remilitarisation of the Rhineland Hitler made offer of 25 year peace promise to Britain and France. 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, for example, 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 bi-lateral agreements. A gain for Germany. **Other factors:** **Military action:** • 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 • Italian invasion of Albania — relatively easy annexation of a client state • 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 interest 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 • Poland — in 1939 Hitler turned his attention to Poland using familiar methods of threat, escalating demands, provocation and eventual invasion, but by this time Britain and France were willing to call Hitler's bluff.

Military threat:

- rearmament of Germany under the Nazis. Expansion of army and development of Luftwaffe all in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles gave Hitler the means to threaten and act
- the extent to which it was the threat of military force which was used rather than military force itself, for example, Czechoslovakia in 1938; and the extent to which military force itself was effective and/or relied on an element of bluff, for example, Rhineland
- German remilitarisation of Rhineland — Hitler's 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
- Czechoslovakia — Hitler turned his attention to Czechoslovakia in 1938. He claimed the German minority in Czechoslovakia was being persecuted. Hitler threatened to take action to protect fellow Germans. German military maneuvers on the border by 750,000 German troops were part of the pressure Hitler brought to bear on the Czechs. Germany was given the Sudetenland as a result of the Munch Agreement.

Pacts and alliances:

- the German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland signed on January 26, 1934 — normalized relations between Poland and Germany, and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears
- 18 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 of 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 25 October 1936
- Pact of Steel - an agreement between Italy and Germany signed on May 22, 1939 for immediate aid and military support in the event of war
- Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan on November 25 1936. The pact directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union. In 1937 Italy joined the Pact Munich Agreement — negotiations led to Hitler gaining 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 alliance with Russia.

Role of Hitler and Mussolini:

- Hitler's foreign policy had an ideological role as seen in Mein Kampf. The desire to avenge the Treaty of Versailles, 'reunite' Germanic people and gain Lebensraum for a growing German population all motivated foreign policy in the 1930s
- Mussolini wanted to re-establish the greatness of the Roman Empire and saw military action as the sign of a great power. Also the desire that the Mediterranean be 'Our Sea' [Mare Nostrum] helped dictate Italian actions over Corfu, Fiume and Libya.

Any other relevant factors.

50.	**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 in the pre-1939 period. **Lack of reliable allies:** • failure of the League of Nations to manage world peace • lack of trust in the French, who it was felt were unreliable and indeed, the cause of some of the problems with Germany • US isolationism led to the withdrawal of one of the main world powers from international political affairs • suspicion of communist Soviet Russia meant that they were never seriously thought of as potential allies against Nazism. The British also knew about the Soviet purge of 40,000 Red Army officers in 1937 so were very sceptical about Soviet offensive capacity in the event of war • doubts over commitment of Empire and the Dominions in event of war. For example, the South African elder statesman, Jan Smuts, openly feared that Britain might become involved in a war in central Europe that would not be supported by the Dominions • even as late as 1938 there was no certainty that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa would have fought beside Britain in the event of war in Europe. Britain was dependent on their manpower to defend the Empire. **Other factors:** **Economic difficulties:** • economic difficulties — impact of 1929-1932 economic crisis and depression on the British economy • the desire to have a balanced budget hampered the ability to finance an expansion of the armed forces • reluctance to further damage international trade and commerce • difficulty of financing any large-scale rearmament. **Public opinion:** • fear of another World War — recent memories of the scale of losses and horrors of the Great War 1914-1918 • isolationist feelings summed up in Chamberlain's pre-Munich speech of a quarrel in a faraway country • evidence of public anti-war feeling — the 1935 Peace Ballot and Oxford University Union debate that 'This House will in no circumstances fight for King and Country' both seemed to give evidence of the widespread pacifist attitudes of the British people at the time • Fulham by-election showed strength of anti-war feeling • there was also a degree of sympathy with Germany and the perceived unfairness of the Versailles Treaty. Germany therefore had justified grievances that needed to be addressed.

Military weakness:

- after the Allied victory of 1918 the budget for the armed forces was significantly reduced
- Army: conscription ended post-World War I, scaled right down in size. Even after a period of rearmament it comprised a field force of five regular divisions, one of which was mechanised. By the time of the Czech crisis of 1938 Britain could only offer two divisions to the French
- Chamberlain and the military chiefs of staff saw Britain's role in a future European war as one where they would use the navy to blockade and a modern effective air force to attack. There was no need for a large army as their continental allies [the French] had such a large army
- Navy: not so run-down but not fully maintained; many obsolete ships. Evidence of expansion and innovation, however. In 1937 the Ark Royal, the Royal Navy's first aircraft carrier, was launched
- Air Force: lack of adequate air defences and fear of aerial bombing. By September 1938 there were only four radar stations in operation in southern England
- however, the air force was expanding by 1936 with heavy bomber designs asked for. By 1938 the focus was on fighter production to face the threat of bombers. Plans were to produce 3754 aircraft between January and July 1939
- there were multiple threats that Britain had to face — Japan in the East, Italy in the Mediterranean and North Africa, Germany in Central Europe
- military priorities meant that British Armed forces were geared to defence of Britain first, her trade routes second, her overseas territories third and the defence of any wartime allies fourth. This had an impact on the development of their military forces in the late 1930s
- warnings of British Chiefs-of-Staff regarding Britain's ability to fight a war
- exaggerated assessments of German military strength, especially bomber strength and capacity to inflict damage on cities in the south of England
- although defence spending was increased in the years after 1934 Britain began rearming much later than Germany
- only in February 1936 did the British cabinet approve programmes for a possible war to be implemented over a three to five-year programme.

Beliefs of Chamberlain:

- Chamberlain's took personal control of British foreign policy. He short-circuited the Foreign Office
- over issues like the Czech crisis Chamberlain reflected the views of the vast majority of British people that it was 'a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing.'
- Chamberlain believed that problems could be solved rationally, by negotiation
- however, he also recognised that Hitler was not entirely to be trusted. With the Anglo-German declaration after Munich, that the desire of the British and German peoples 'never to go to war with one another again', for example, he recognised that if Hitler kept to the bargain then all was well and good but if he broke it, he would demonstrate to all the world that he was totally cynical and untrustworthy.

Any other relevant factors.

51.	**Context:** Czechoslovakia contained 3 million German speakers in the Sudetenland. Hitler had demanded that these fellow Germans be returned to the Reich in the face of Czech 'persecution.' The ensuing crisis was managed by the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain through a series of meetings with Hitler. This culminated in the Munich Agreement which gave the Sudetenland to Germany. The Czechs were not consulted on this agreement. **Czechoslovakia:** • Czechoslovakian defences on their border with Germany were formidable but had been outflanked following the Anschluss between Germany and Austria • Munich was a betrayal of Czechoslovakia and democracy. The Czechs did not participate in the discussions over their country and were not even consulted over the eventual Munich Agreement. The Czechs were forced to give up significant resources and their border defences when they surrendered the Sudetenland • the Czech sense of betrayal can be seen in the poem by Frantisek Halas: *'The bell of treason is tolling, Whose hand made it swing? Sweet France, Proud Albion, And we loved them'* • with the loss of the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia was wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939, when the Germans occupied the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. **Britain:** • British public opinion was reluctant to risk war over mainly German-speaking Sudetenland. This seemed to be true from public reaction to the agreement. Chamberlain was mobbed on his return and spoke to cheering crowds outside 10 Downing Street. He received gifts and thousands of letters of support and was accorded the rare privilege of being allowed to appear on the balcony of Buckingham Palace with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth • Britain was military unprepared for a wider war. Britain's navy was large and air force growing, but the army was small and not ready for a war on mainland Europe. Britain could not practically intervene on mainland Europe even if she wanted to • in 1938 there was only one operational squadron of Spitfires and British anti-aircraft defences were woefully weak • Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use, particularly with regard to air defence • much of the British media was supportive of Chamberlain's actions. There was support from abroad as well with some foreign commentators saying Chamberlain should receive the Nobel Peace Prize • public opposition was greater than was reported at the time. For example, 15,000 demonstrated in Trafalgar Square against the Agreement • there was political opposition to the Munich Agreement from Labour leader Clement Attlee, Liberal leader Archibald Sinclair and Conservatives like Winston Churchill • cartoonists such as David Low made pointed comments about Chamberlain and were highly critical of the Munich Agreement.

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	Germany: • after the success of the Anschluss Hitler's attention was drawn to the Germans living in the Sudetenland territory within Czechoslovakia • the acquisition of the Sudetenland allowed for the further augmentation of German manpower and resources. Germany now controlled the important Skoda works as well as significant coal deposits and other industries • furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in Eastern Europe, which only encouraged him in aggressive actions although he did claim it was his last territorial demand in Europe. **France:** • French doubts over their treaty commitments to Czechoslovakia through the French-Czechoslovak mutual assistance treaty • practical difficulties of France being able to help Czechoslovakia given its geographical position • France wished to avoid war and took its lead from the British Prime Minister • to his surprise, the French Premier, Edouard Daladier, was mobbed by enthusiastic supporters of the Munich Agreement on his return. **International context:** • failure of League of Nations in earlier crises so there was no alternative to discussion • US isolationism meant that no help could be expected from the Americans if conflict broke out • attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia • further alienation of Soviet Union from the Allies. The Soviets were very suspicious of British and French motives and saw Appeasement as giving into Germany. The lesson learned by the Soviets was that the western powers could not be trusted. This would have repercussions in 1939 and arguably helped lead to the Nazi Soviet Pact, which was the context to the invasion of Poland. **Any other relevant factors.**

52.	**Context:** Nazi foreign policy became increasingly aggressive as the 1930s progressed. The Nazi occupation of the Sudetenland could be justified in the eyes of appeasers as Hitler was absorbing fellow Germans into Greater Germany. However, subsequent actions by the Nazis could not be supported in this way and any illusion of justified grievances evaporated at Hitler made demands on powers such as Poland. **Invasion of Poland:** • Hitler's long-term aims for the destruction of Versailles, including regaining of Danzig and Polish Corridor • British and French decision to stick to their guarantees to Poland • on 1 September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland stating one of his reasons for the invasion was because of 'the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter' • France and Britain had a defensive pact with Poland. This forced France and Britain to declare war on Germany, which they did on September 3. **Other factors:** **Changing British attitudes towards appeasement:** • events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain • Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the middle of September 1938, when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied. However, most press and population went along with it, although level of popular opposition often underestimated • German annexation of Memel [largely German population, but in Lithuania] further showed Hitler's bad faith • actions convinced British government of growing German threat in south-eastern Europe • guarantees to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence. **Occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia:** • British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of Munich Agreement and invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich • promises of support to Poland and Romania • British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted • Prime Minister Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis.

	British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union: • Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia • Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany • Britain refused as they feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler • in August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. Owing to travel difficulties it took five days to reach Leningrad • the Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused, knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down • this merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions regarding the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich Agreement, and they would leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This led directly to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Germans seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and offering peace and land. **Nazi-Soviet Pact:** • the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 developed diplomatic, economic and military co-operation between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. It also planned for the division of Poland • the Pact unexpected — Germany and the Soviet Union were ideological enemies, but pragmatism and shared interests over Poland brought them together • the Pact put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland • Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts • his belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance • he now felt free to attack Poland • but, given Hitler's consistent, long-term foreign policy aims on the destruction of the Versailles settlement and lebensraum in the east, the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be seen more as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather than as one of its underlying causes • Hitler's long-term aims for destruction of the Soviet state and conquest of Russian resources — lebensraum • his need for new territory and resources to sustain Germany's militarised economy • Hitler's belief that British and French were 'worms' who would not turn from previous policy of appeasement and avoidance of war at all costs • his belief that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany. **Any other relevant factors.**

53.	**Context:** The end of World War Two in 1945 saw the Red Army in control of much of Eastern Europe. Stalinist regimes were put in place to ensure these East European states were loyal to the Soviet Union. Although Soviet motives in creating a buffer zone of states with sympathetic pro-Stalinist governments made sense to the Russians, many of those in the satellite states did not see it that way. Resentment within the satellite states grew. **Khrushchev's policies of de-Stalinisation:** • 1955 — emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as leader on the 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, February 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 (incl. 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 still very limited indeed and communism remained. 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 policy to leave the Poles to develop their own road to socialism seemed to have worked well.

	Soviet reaction to events in Hungary (1956): • Hungarians complained of a 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. Khrushchev hoped to control the situation in a similar way to Poland • however, the 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 using military force • successful intervention in the buffer zone, maintained communism • resentment from mass of Hungarian people • some economic flexibility allowed the new regime of Janos Kadar to improve economic performance and living standards. **Soviet reaction to events in Berlin (1961):** • the problem of Berlin — a divided city in a divided nation. West Berlin had a free western style economy in contrast to the controlled economy of the East • to begin with the 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 over the loss of population and perceived inferiority of the communist system: 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 to separate West Berlin from East Germany in August 1961 to stem the flood from East to West. To begin with the barrier was built with barbed wire then stone. Eventually watchtowers and patrol of armed guards developed this very visible symbol of the split between East and West • the wall was a success in that it reduced the threat of war and the exodus to the West from the East to a trickle • to an extent events 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 to communist authority. **Any other relevant factors.**

54.	**Context:** The removal of the Batista regime and its replacement with that of Fidel Castro caused great concern in America. Castro's domestic reforms seemed to confirm to the Americans that he was pro-communist. American foreign policy and efforts to remove Castro pushed him into an every closer relationship with the Soviet Union, leading to the Cuban Missile Crisis. **Arms race:** • the United States had placed Jupiter missiles in Turkey. 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 • Khrushchev showed off that the Soviets were producing Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles 'like sausages'. The reality was less convincing. The Soviet Union had few ICBMs • Cuba's close proximity to mainland America offered an opportunity to reduce the missile gap between the two superpowers as the Soviets did have a lot of Medium Range Ballistic Missiles. **Other factors:** **Castro's victory in Cuba:** • Castro had come to power in 1959-1960 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. **US foreign policy:** • 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.

	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 at home over the ongoing deadlock over Berlin; shadow of events in Hungary 1956, etc • rise of China as a rival for leadership of the Communist world led to 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 where US supported Cuban exiles were easily defeated by Castro's forces • Khrushchev and Kennedy met only once at the June 1961 summit in Vienna • the summit was six weeks after the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Kennedy was ill prepared for the summit. The 44-year-old Kennedy admitted to being 'savaged' by an aggressive Khrushchev. Khrushchev told his interpreter that, 'this man is very inexperienced, even immature. Compared to him, Eisenhower is a man of intelligence and vision.' Kennedy was drawn into debates with Khrushchev. He admitted that Soviet forces were fairly equal to those of the US. To Khrushchev, who wanted to be taken seriously on the world stage, this was gold dust • 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 totally underestimated Kennedy and the US reaction. **Any other relevant factors.**

55.	**Context:** Once the threat of nuclear confrontation became real both sides in the Cold War sought ways to reduce that risk. There were times of great tension, but a variety of political and technological developments led to a number of important compromises. **Economic cost of arms race:** • in the Soviet Union 15-17% of GDP was devoted to equipping and supporting the military. A similar amount was used to finance military investment • the Soviet Union did poorly in terms of investing in and producing consumer goods. By reducing their military expenditure, it was hoped that resources could be redirected into consumer goods, particularly food production • developments in technology raised the costs of the arms race throughout the Cold War • the development of Anti-Ballistic Missile technology and costs of war led to SALT 1, and the ABM treaty • limiting MIRV (Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles) and intermediate missile technology led to SALT 2 • Khrushchev's desire for better relations between the superpowers in the 50s and 60s was, in part, about freeing up resources for economic development in the USSR. **Other factors:** **Danger of Mutually Assured Destruction:** • the development of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons from 1945 by both superpowers as a deterrent to the other side; a military attack by one side on the other would result in horrific retaliation • so many nuclear weapons were built to ensure that not all were destroyed even after a first strike, and this led to a stalemate known as MAD • MAD is based on the theory of deterrence. The fact one side has very powerful weaponry will stop the other side from prosecuting war due to the fear of destruction. Even a massive first strike would be insufficient to overwhelm the enemies nuclear response capability • in order to ensure the credibility of the threat to each side, both America and the Soviet Union invested massive resources in nuclear weaponry and delivery platforms. **Dangers of military conflict as seen in the Cuban Missile Crisis:** • by the time of the Cuban Crisis both sides had developed the capability of delivering nuclear weapons from submarines. This further enhanced the deterrence theory, but in reality the dangers of conflict as seen in Cuba showed how easily human error could cause a war • the threat of nuclear war seemed very close on the discovery that nuclear missile sites were being built on Cuba in 1962. Before the missile crisis was resolved nuclear war threatened • the crisis itself saw episodes where nuclear war could have broken out. The Soviets already had tactical nuclear weapons in Cuba in 1962 with authorisation to use them given to the commanders without reference to Moscow. Also, the American destroyer *USS Beale* dropped depth charges on a Soviet submarine causing the captain to prepare to launch a nuclear torpedo. Thankfully Soviet policy was that it took two of the three commanders of the submarine to decide to launch nuclear weaponry and the other two commanders refused • the crisis amply illustrated the lack of formal contact between the superpowers to defuse potential conflicts • introduction of a 'hot-line' between the Kremlin and White House in order to improve communication between the superpowers • Khrushchev and Kennedy also signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the first international agreement on nuclear weapons.

	Development of surveillance technology: • American development of surveillance technology (U2 aircraft and satellites) meant that nuclear weapons could be identified and agreements verified • example of U2 flight over Cuba where Anderson photographed nuclear sites • U2 and satellite verification could be used to ensure that proposed action limiting missile development and deployment was happening on the ground • some historians think Arms Control would never have taken root, but for the ability of the sides to verify what the other was doing. **Development of détente:** • policies of co-existence and détente developed to defuse tensions and even encourage trade due to pressures in both of the superpowers • the Soviet Union were concerned about developing ideological tension, which did break into open conflict with China and therefore wished to diffuse the possibility of conflict with the USA. They did not want the threat of a war on two fronts • the USA was concerned with the war in Vietnam and internal issues such as developing racial tension. They sought the aid of the Soviets in helping to end the Vietnam war by putting pressure on the leaders of North Vietnam • role of others like Willy Brandt in West Germany in defusing tension through their policies of Ostpolitik with the East. Many East European states, such as East Germany, also sought accommodations with the West in order to access Western Technology in order to facilitate economic growth • the European NATO members had considerable influence in developing NATO policy, which advocated strength, but also compromise and engagement as a way of managing relations with the Soviet bloc. **Any other relevant factors.**

56.	**Context:** When Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary in 1985, he was the first leader of the Soviet Union who had not directly experienced either the First or Second World War. He was aware of the economic stagnation in the USSR. He sought reform at home which led to engagement with the West. Gorbachev's attempts to reform Communism, however, unleashed forces that he could not control. **Defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan:** • the Afghan war illustrated the economic and political problems of the Soviet Union • Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979 to support the pro-Soviet regime there which was in conflict with the Mujaheddin. Russian army morale crumbled, over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home • the conflict showed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy. War led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians • Russians began to question the actions of their own government in the prosecution of the war. Criticism of the government from returning soldiers. Soldiers from the Asian Republics complained they were doing more fighting than those from the European Republics • the war in Afghanistan also undermined the Red Army which had previously been the glue which held the Soviet Union together. Its military prowess was now challenged. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988–1989. **Other factors:** **Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe:** • strong Polish identity and history of hostility with Russia. By 1970s, Poland was in an economic slump. Emergence of opposition around Gdansk in 1980: industrial workers strike led by Lech Walesa, who argued for the creation of an independent trade union. Solidarity grew to nine million members in a matter of months. Movement suppressed in 1981 by General Jaruzelski's government, however • multiparty elections in Poland, after Soviet troops left, victory for Solidarity • Czechoslovakia, political prisoners released in November 1989 and by the end of the month, the communist government had gone. No Soviet intervention • opening of the Berlin Wall: division of Germany finally came to an end • Perestroika and Glasnost and end of Communist rule in USSR. **Economic differences between East and West:** • Western European economies outstripped the Communist economies in terms of growth and innovation • the wealth created allowed America to embark on the Star Wars weapons programme • perception of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of their economic system • Soviet economy was geared towards heavy industry and arms production. What consumer goods were produced were generally shoddy and far behind their western counterparts.

	Role of Gorbachev: • Gorbachev saw that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. The Soviet economy was at breaking point. Commitments to the arms race and propping up allied regimes meant consumer goods and other things such as housing, which mattered to Russian people, were neglected • Gorbachev implemented policies of Perestroika [the policy or practice of restructuring or reforming the economic and political system] and Glasnost [policy or practice of more open government] which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system • Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements to allow the USSR to concentrate on internal matters: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987, Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989 • Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power. **Role of Reagan:** • unlike many in the US administration Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the West in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire' • under Reagan the US began a massive military upgrade to improve their armed forces. This included developing intermediate nuclear weapons such as the Pershing and Cruise missiles as well as the proposed Strategic Defence Initiative missile programme which challenged the belief in MAD • Reagan was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited the Soviet Union. He saw the opportunity for compromise in dealing with the new Soviet leader and acted to push arms control as a result. **Any other relevant factors.**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]