National
Qualifications
2026

2026 History

British, European and World History

Higher

Question Paper 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, eg, 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 (eg, 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 (eg, political, social, economic, or religious — although they do not need to use this terminology), or aspects within a factor (eg, 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, eg, *while they were successful in that way, they were limited in this way . . .*
- Establishing contradictions or inconsistencies between factors, eg, *while there were political motives for doing this, the economic factors were against doing this.*
- Establishing similarities and consistencies between factors, eg, *in much the same way as this group were affected by this development, this group were also affected in this way.*
- Establishing links between factors, eg, *this factor led to that factor.*

  OR

  At the same time there was also . . .
- Exploring different interpretations of these factors, eg, *while some people have viewed the evidence as showing this, others have seen it as showing . . .*

  OR

  While we used to think that this was the case, we now think that it was really . . .

Evaluation

Award up to **4 marks.**

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria.

Candidates make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, eg:

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

  OR

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

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	0 marks	1 mark	2 marks	3 marks
Historical context	**3**	Candidates make one or two factual points but these are not relevant.	Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue **or** identify key factors **or** a line of argument.	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 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.
Conclusion	**3**	Candidates make no overall judgement on the issue.	Candidates make a summary of points made.	Candidates make an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.	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.

		0 marks	6 marks
Use of knowledge	**6**	Candidates use no evidence to support their conclusion.	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 (for example, explain, analyse).
Analysis	**6**	Candidates provide a narrative response.	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.

		0 marks	4 marks			
Evaluation	**4**	Candidates make no relevant evaluative comments on factors.	Award **1 mark** where candidates make an isolated evaluative comment on an individual factor that recognises the issue.	Award **2 marks** where candidates make isolated evaluative comments on different factors that recognise the issue.	Award **3 marks** where candidates connect their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue.	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.

Marking instructions for each question

SECTION 1 — British

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

1.	**Context:** Feudalism is a term that is used to describe a society that is organised around relationships that emerge from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. This system created a rigid social hierarchy, where power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of the nobility, while the majority of the population, the peasants, had limited mobility and rights. There is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights, the clergy and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism. **Role of the clergy:** • it was the Church that crowned the monarchs which led to the idea that the king was dependent on God for his role, and thus in a way subservient to the Church • Popes could apply religious/political sanctions against monarchs, through excommunication and interdicts. This was often used to bring political pressure against an opponent, as seen during the reign of King John in England and Robert Bruce in Scotland • kings needed the literacy and numeracy skills of the clergy in order to help administer their realms. Therefore, clerics could hold high office in government • the wealth of the Church came mostly from large grants of land by the nobles and especially the kings. Thus, the Church became an integral part of the feudal structure, holding lands in both Scotland and England and being subject to military duties • the importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven. Therefore, the ceremonies that marked the passage of life had power and importance to people • monasteries were seen as 'prayer factories' and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population. Many rulers clearly thought they were important and spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example • pilgrimage to holy centres was an important part of medieval life. People would travel long distances to places of religious importance, such as Jerusalem and Rome as well as places that had important religious relics like Canterbury and St Andrews. **Other factors:** **Role and importance of the landed classes:** • barons and other powerful magnates received land from the feudal overlords. These lands offered rights and privileges that in turn led to wealth and comfortable lifestyles • these privileges usually gave barons judicial control and right to bear arms, build castles and hold tournaments. This often supplemented their income • barons were required to swear an oath of fealty, pledging loyalty to the king • barons were members of the king's council and offered advice on governing the country • the manorial system was used to manage the land and local economy. This consisted of the lord's manor house or castle, peasant villages, agricultural land, and facilities to make bread, mead, tools, and weapons • many barons controlled more than one area of land, often managing multiple estates spread across different regions • however, the landed classes were often required to provide military service, supplying knights and soldiers in exchange for holding land. This was occasionally dangerous, even fatal. Many paid a fee known as scutage instead of personally providing military service. **Role and importance of the peasant classes:** • peasants played an important part in feudal society, beyond the need for a productive class working in agriculture, providing goods and service for their lord • it was expected that peasants would run their own day-to-day lives without the need for the feudal lord's presence. Local reeves and bailiffs, appointed by the peasants or the lord

himself, would act in his stead

- the feudal term of villein or serf indicated a peasant who was not free to leave his home farm or village. They were bought and sold along with the land and were expected to work at least 3 days a week in the lord's lands without recompense and hand over the best of their produce in exchange for the rent of their farmland
- peasants, or villeins, tended to work hard, mostly in the agricultural sector. All the work had to be done by hand and this resulted in long hours of backbreaking work
- food was basic and, in times of famine, starvation was a real threat. As the 12th century progressed famine became rare in England, since the manor system pulled in isolated communities and helped create new more viable villages throughout the kingdom
- serfdom declined by the 14th century as economic conditions allowed landlords to end the idea of tying a peasant to their land and, instead, exchange the labour services of the peasant with cash from rents
- peasants became more important through the feudal period as their labour was in demand, especially after the Black Death
- peasantry could also have political importance, for example, the Peasants Revolt of 1381
- some peasants famously left behind their humble beginnings, proving that social mobility was possible in the 13th and 14th centuries. William of Wykeham became Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, but such rises outside the Church were rare.

Role of the king:

- vital importance of the king in the feudal structure as from them came grants of almost everything that it was in his power to give land, privileges, financial and judicial customs, and services
- his favoured lords, tenants-in-chief, performed a symbolic gesture of submission known as homage, a ceremony in which the vassal, on his knees, swore an oath of loyalty (fealty) to his overlord in return for land (fief)
- in return the king expected loyalty and military service from his vassals
- kings could expect military service from both his temporal and spiritual lords, for example, William I created great fiefs for his more important vassals out of confiscated Anglo-Saxon land and they gave military duties in return. This included all his bishops and most of his abbots.

Changing role of knights:

- a knight could be created by the king in return for military or some other service
- the medieval knightly class was adept at the art of war, trained in fighting in armour, with horses, lances, swords and shields. Knights were taught to excel in the arms, to show courage, to be gallant and loyal
- as time went by, the idea developed that they had a duty to protect the weaker members of society, particularly women. This ideal did not always extend beyond their own class
- Christianity had a modifying influence through the classical concept of heroism and virtue. The Peace and Truce of God movement in the 10th century was one such example, with limits placed on knights to protect and honour the weaker members of society as well as helping the church maintain peace. At the same time the church became more tolerant of war in the defence of faith, developing theories of the just war or crusade.

Any other relevant factors.

2.	**Context:** David I was the youngest son of King Malcolm III and Queen 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, Northern England, and Southern Scotland. He sought to impose his authority on the kingdom of Scotland upon his succession to the throne, navigating a landscape shaped by powerful regional lords and a mix of Gaelic, Norman, and Anglo-Saxon influences. **Religion:** • started by David I'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 I 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 I'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 I constructed magnificent Abbeys at Jedburgh and Holyrood which became important centres for religious and cultural life • David I established Diocese at Moray and Ross, and down the east coast from St Andrews to Edinburgh (East Lothian) • David I 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 I 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 I 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 I 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 I was close to those in Fife and Dunbar. **Military:** • the new feudal forces brought to David I 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 I 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 Brehons, 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 I 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 I's earliest and most important sources of money. By the end of his reign there were even burghs in Forres and Elgin in Moray • David I also appointed moneyers and introduced silver pennies, helping to formalise the Scottish economy and further enhance royal control over commerce and revenue collection. **Any other relevant factors.**

3.	**Context:** Henry II was the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England. Matilda engaged in a dispute with Stephen of Blois over who should rule England. On Stephen's death, Henry became king of England. Henry's aims were to preserve the Angevin dominions, extend the King's justice and develop royal government in order to fund warfare. Henry II also strengthened his position by marrying Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, which greatly expanded his territories in France. **Need to develop the economy:** • in general, Henry II oversaw a more settled age in England, which encouraged trade as did Henry II's acquisitions abroad. This in turn helped Henry II with revenue, but also raised Henry II's position in the international world, for example, his acquisition of Guienne stimulated trade with the west-country ports • the cloth making centres of Flanders depended on English wool and welcomed grain from fertile East Anglian and Kentish fields • there was a European demand for English metals • Henry II's England was at the centre of the Angevin Empire and French-speaking world • the period saw an increase in literacy, for example, all his sons had some education. **Other factors:** **Nobility:** • changes in taxes were not only needed to firm up revenue, but also to formalise Henry II's relationship with his main tenants-in-chief • many of his actions were to re-establish the authority of the king after the chaos of the Civil War and that meant action against those who had used the war as an opportunity to extend their own power • Henry II vigorously pursued the destruction of illegally built castles and the recovery of former royal strongholds that were now in baronial hands, for example, he acted against William of Aumale who refused to surrender Scarborough Castle • Henry II's introduction of scutage allowed him to get around the problem of 40 days of knight service • many lesser nobles were employed as his royal administration expanded. **Cost of warfare:** • civil war had developed between Stephen and Matilda on the death of Henry I • bulk of the fighting was in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and nearby private wars developed • there was some devastation of land due to the Civil War, for example, 1143-1144 Geoffrey de Mandeville laid waste to the Fens and in 1147, Coventry and surroundings was laid waste by the king • in financing the Civil War Stephen began with a full treasury, however, the Exchequer was disorganised and yields from land were low. During the Civil War, barons and sheriffs had become increasingly lax in paying their taxes. The economy was weakened by the Civil War • the development of the royal administration during Henry II's reign is due, in part to the need to put the Royal finances back on an even keel. This led to changes to the Exchequer, which improved the methods for receiving his revenues, as well as development of the Chamber and use of sheriffs • in part, royal government developed in order to fund warfare, which had become increasingly expensive in the 12th century • Henry II had various military needs, to defend his lands across the Angevin Empire, to recover lost territories, to keep vassals abroad in check and to crush uprisings across the extensive Angevin Empire. The baronial rebellion of 1173-1174 also shook him. In short, he needed an army at times and that had to be paid for • direct taxation had been on landed property, but to get money for crusades Henry ordered a tax on moveable property and in 1188, a Saladin tithe (one tenth of the value of rents)

	• by the end of the period there was a soundly organised field army with the administration to produce the money for this • fortifications were also repaired and by the end of the period, for example, all Norman castles were part of a general defence plan • this increased organisation can be seen in the Assize of Arms of 1181 — a survey of resources. **Law and order:** • Henry II favoured the extension of royal jurisdiction, partly for its contribution to domestic peace and partly for its financial rewards to the Crown, but also to extend control over his tenants-in-chief • there was a general need to rationalise law and marry Anglo-Saxon with Norman practices in order to simplify the system and stop people playing the system. Change was gradual throughout Henry II's reign and did not conform to some grand plan, but royal power did increase as a result of this • Henry II believed that too few offenders were put on trial or caught. He reasserted royal jurisdiction over major crimes and sought to improve the efficiency of the legal process • the Assizes of Clarendon of 1166, modified by the Assize of Northampton (1176), for example, widened the scope of royal justice now including indictment and prosecution of local criminals • regional inquest juries should meet periodically under the royal eye to identify and denounce neighbourhood criminals • extension of the king's justice into land disputes, which had once been dominated by the baronial courts, through the Assize of Novel Disseisin and Grand Assize. These rationalised a mass of local laws and customs into a uniform royal law — a 'common law' by which all subjects were ruled. They speeded up the judicial process but also placed decisions in the hands of the king's own justices-in-eyre, going over the heads of the powerful local tenants-in-chief. **Effects of foreign influence:** • Henry II reigned for 34 and a half years, but he spent 21 years away from England • the Angevin Empire ranged from the border with Scotland to the border with Spain and was united in only one sense, loyalty to Henry II • arguably, the demands of holding this disparate group of lands together led to the need for taxation and a capable army • foreign influence in England, especially from the Norman Lords who had extensive landholdings in both Normandy and England • some unity of government was necessary, however, and can be seen with the use of the Exchequer system throughout the Empire, for example, use of the Seneschal's court — use of same legal procedure and interpretation of laws. **Any other relevant factors.**

4.	**Context:** Between 1603 and 1625 when King James I ruled in England, the House of Commons repeatedly challenged the Divine Right of Kings. Relations between Crown and Parliament deteriorated during this time. Before James ascended the throne, Parliament had been wielding considerable power since the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, but James wanted to exercise the same authority in England as he had been accustomed to as king of Scotland for over 20-years. **Political issues:** • Parliament had been encouraged since the days of Henry VIII to make policy, and therefore its members felt they could criticise the Crown freely; James's opposition to this made his status as a foreigner more unattractive to the English Parliament • as legitimate king of Scotland, James was carrying out a role into which he had been born; however, his position in trying to maintain rule over two kingdoms, and the dominance of England, meant Scotland proved to be more than a minor irritation in his attempts to achieve stability and he therefore struggled to control both countries • the House of Commons opposed James so much that the stability of the nation was affected • the king conceded defeat in the Goodwin Case when Parliament challenged his right to make it illegal for an outlaw to take his seat in the House of Commons, and this gave Parliament fresh impetus to challenge him further • James attempted to curtail parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved. **Other factors:** **Divine Right of Kings:** • as there was greater accord given to the notion of the Divine Right of Kings in Scotland than England, James tried to assert Divine Right in England • the English Parliament had increased its power during the 16th century in return for increasing supplies for various monarchs • Parliament in London rejected the king's proposed union between Scotland and England as they felt he was making no attempt to understand the English constitution, which accorded greater powers to Parliament in London than were accorded in Edinburgh • James's position as head of the Church in England troubled Scots who were willing to resist any increasing monarchical influence over the Church of Scotland which might be justified by the Divine Right of Kings • James continued to exert the Divine Right of Kings in Scotland which led to some Highland clans resisting his use of force to maintain order there. **Religious issues:** • James had a lifelong hatred of Puritanism; Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform • the king feared moves towards Presbyterianism and rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying 'no bishops, no king', vowing to maintain an Episcopalian Church of England • in 1607 the House of Commons presented a Petition for the Restoration of Silenced Ministers, requesting the reinstatement of preachers who had been previously dismissed for their Puritan views. This set MPs in direct opposition in policy terms to the sitting monarch • James relaxed the Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics, which revealed that there were more Roman Catholics than many in the House of Commons had feared • the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 increased tension and turned many against Roman Catholics • Parliament was horrified that the king allowed his son to marry a Roman Catholic French princess and allow her to celebrate mass privately at court

	• James admired the religious power of the monarchies in France and Spain, both Roman Catholic countries and England's traditional enemies • James conducted many negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, whose influence at court many Puritans resented. In 1604 they concluded a peace, bringing their 19-year Anglo-Spanish war to an end with the Treaty of London • eventually the king issued the House of Commons with the Rebuke of 1621, a ban on discussing foreign policy so that he could forge stronger links with Spain. This generated much anti-Catholic feeling amongst James's political opponents who disapproved of this developing relationship. **Legal issues:** • James attempted to control the court system by appointing judges who would favour the Crown; Parliament saw this as unfair and objected to the abuse of power • the king also made sure that only he could sack Justices of the Peace, and not Parliament. This 'immovability of judges' was deeply resented by the House of Commons • the king influenced proceedings in prerogative law courts such as the Court of Star Chamber and protected the landed classes who were exempt from flogging. Savage punishments were imposed on poorer people who could not pay fines, with Justices of the Peace frequently pronouncing 'No goods: to be whipped' • the king imposed martial law in towns where troops were preparing to embark on foreign campaigns; Parliament opposed this • the king billeted troops in the homes of civilians in order to enforce the law. **Economic issues:** • James wanted to be financially independent of Parliament and manipulated the statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws which were designed merely to raise revenue available for Crown spending • fiscal devices employed by the Crown — such as monopolies and wardships — were unpopular • the king alienated his natural allies in the House of Lords by selling honours and titles and appearing to devalue the status of the aristocracy • increases in customs duties caused resentment among merchants and members of the House of Commons • the Bates' Case or the Case of Impositions (1606), when a currant trader opposed duties on imports, was won by the King, although Parliament declared the duties illegal in 1610. **Any other relevant factors.**

5.	**Context:** The English Civil War lasted from 1642 to 1651 It was fought between 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 continued to deteriorate over a number of issues, such as political issues. **Political issues:** • Charles I employed the Duke of Buckingham as his Chief Minister and together the two men excluded Parliament from their negotiations with France and Spain • Parliament passed the Petition of Right in 1628 condemning Buckingham's work raising taxes and imprisoning opponents, both carried out with the king's approval and without parliamentary consent • Charles I believed in Divine Right, treated his promises to Parliament lightly, was a poor judge of character and surrounded himself with advisors unsuited to their positions • after Buckingham died, the King was increasingly influenced by three people: his wife, Henrietta Maria, who encouraged him to relax laws against Roman Catholics; Archbishop Laud, who encouraged him to promote High Church policies; and Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Stafford, whose work as Chief Minister from 1628 to 1633 and then as Lord Deputy of Ireland made Charles I more absolute • Parliament tried to introduce bills and antagonised the King by impeaching serving government ministers to show that members of 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 • Charles I used the prerogative law courts such as the Star Chamber to enforce royal policy. One example is the 1637 case in which 3 men were sentenced to be pilloried, have their ears cropped, and be imprisoned for life, merely for writing Puritanical pamphlets. MPs objected fiercely, believing that the Star Chamber was an instrument of the Crown • the King also allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury to use the Court of High Commission to put on trial anyone who opposed his religious policy and to persecute Puritans. Laud even used his power in the High Commission to reverse some decisions made in common law courts • 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 tonnage and poundage. He ruled on his own until 1640 — the 'Eleven Year Tyranny'. **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. He rejected the Millenary Petition in 1604 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 outdated 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 controversial in England and 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, making it almost impossible to achieve the stable rule of either.

Religious issues:

- in 1633 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 clampdown 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 the 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.

Economic and financial issues:

- Charles I wanted to be financially independent, but resorted to outdated methods of raising revenue, such as a Declaration of Forced Loans in 1626 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

	• Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Stafford, was the King's chief minister from 1628 to 1633, and was authorised by Charles I to use the Council of the North to enforce his ruthless 'Thorough' policies in the north of England to put down rebellions and influence the justice system. From 1632 to 1640, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and although he revived Ireland's fishing, farming and linen industries this was merely to generate more money for the Crown and make the Irish subservient to the king. **Actions of Charles and Parliament after 1640:** • by 1640-1641, Puritans and the High Church were in bitter dispute over proposed reforms of Church of England. Parliament had imposed anti-episcopalian conditions on its co-operation with the king in his request for funds to fight Scotland • Charles I had asked for Parliamentary funding for the Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640. MPs took advantage of the situation, demanding the abolition of ship money which would be seen as a victory in the face of years of perceived financial tyranny • Parliament insisted on the introduction of the Triennial Act in 1641, legislating for Parliament to meet for at least a 50-day session once 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 the death warrant • 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

6.	**Context:** The English Civil War formally ended in January 1649, with Oliver Cromwell approving the execution of Charles I, which horrified many and led to accusations of regicide from Royalists. The Council of State subsequently abolished the monarchy and declared a Republic, or Commonwealth. Cromwell ruled during what became known as the Interregnum. He attempted constitutional rule through the Council of State, the Barebones Parliament, and the First and Second Protectorate Parliaments, with no monarchical check on their powers. **Role of the army:** • army officers formed the Council of State with the Rump Parliament. Extremists in the army opposed Parliament's role in government • creation of a military dictatorship from 1653 drew comparisons with the Stuarts' martial law, as did the formation of the 1st Protectorate in September 1654 and the drawing up of military districts under Major Generals during the second Protectorate from October 1656 • Parliamentarians resented the influence of the army on constitutional affairs throughout the Interregnum. **Other factors:** **Cromwell's dominance:** • Cromwell dominated politics and was in a unique position to influence the direction of the country. However, he was a contrary character • Cromwell espoused democratic principles but acted in a dictatorial manner; he knew an elected government would contain his enemies • Cromwell's roots were in Parliament but his rise to the rank of general during the Civil War meant he favoured the military during his rule • Cromwell was conservative but his policies were ahead of his time, such as relief for the poor and insane during the Barebones Parliament • Cromwell was a Puritan but passed progressive reforms, such as civil marriages, which horrified many Puritans • Cromwell approved the execution of Charles I in 1649, which horrified many and led to accusations of regicide from Royalists • Cromwell ruled on his own during the Interregnum, drawing comparisons with the periods when Charles I had ruled on his own, including the 11-year tyranny. **Role of Parliament:** • the Rump Parliament consisted of MPs who had failed to avert Civil War in 1642 and who now had to address the same problems in 1649 • Puritans among MPs viewed church reform as their priority • Parliament was opposed to the role of the army, and wanted to have a greater say in drawing up the constitution • quarrels between MPs and army officers during the Interregnum • Parliament opposed toleration towards Roman Catholics, preventing religious wounds healing. **Foreign issues:** • faced with possible invasion on more than one front, Cromwell was forced to fight several battles to control Scotland • he put down rebellions in Ireland by Royalists and Catholics, and did so brutally, which caused further resentment and hostility • war was waged on Holland to enforce the Navigation Acts • in the mid-1650s war with Spain caused increased taxes • foreign affairs led to social issues such as coal shortages in the winter of 1652–1653 being addressed inappropriately, increasing instability.

	Unpopular legislation: • the Treason Law and Censorship Law were introduced in 1649. In 1650 the Oath of Allegiance was imposed for all men over 18 • in 1654 the High Court was abolished, causing backlog of 23,000 cases • the Barebones Parliament introduced too many reforms in too a short a time • the constitution was drawn up solely by army officers • Roman Catholics and Anglicans were excluded from voting by the First Protectorate, which also introduced strict moral codes that curtailed popular forms of entertainment and enforced observation of the Sabbath • the Commission of Triers and Committee of Ejectors, who appointed clergymen and schoolmasters, were unpopular with the church • a 10% land tax was resented by the aristocracy. Taxation in general was increased in order to fund wars with Spain • Cromwell's approval of his son Richard as his successor led many to feel that Cromwell viewed himself as a monarchical figure • Royalists accused Cromwell of regicide • army extremists pushed for greater martial authority • Presbyterians impatiently demanded Church reforms. **Any other relevant factors.**

7.	**Context:** The development of the trade in enslaved Africans into a massive global enterprise was dictated by the growth of the sugar economy. Cane sugar had been a luxury item in Europe for centuries, brought back from the Middle East, the Mediterranean and North Africa where it was grown on plantations using workers who were generally free, not enslaved. But as Europeans ventured beyond their traditional trading areas across the Atlantic, they settled in new regions suitable for growing cane sugar, especially the Americas and the Caribbean. They also realised that sugar plantations worked best when the labour came from enslaved Africans. From the growth of this industry to produce sugar for Europeans there emerged an international economy and financial system based on the labour of huge numbers of enslaved Africans and, by the middle of the 18th century, was dominated by Britain. **Importance of Caribbean colonies:** • Britain's colonies in the Caribbean were central to the development of the trade in enslaved Africans because these colonies were at the heart of the British sugar industry • plantations in the Caribbean were part farm and part factory. Producing cane sugar was labour intensive and it was an industrial process • the Caribbean colonies proved to be well suited to the growing of sugar cane so that by the 1770s, for example, Jamaica alone produced half of all British sugar • as the demand for sugar grew so did the need for labour. Indigenous peoples and indentured labourers from Britain had worked the plantations to begin with but their numbers were not sufficient to sustain a rapidly expanding sugar trade and so enslaved Africans were brought in to work the plantations • as demand for sugar expanded so too did the demand for all the paraphernalia required to support the expansion of the sugar industry and especially the demand for enslaved African labour • wherever sugar was the dominant crop, enslaved African populations rarely increased naturally; they expanded only by bringing in new Africans on 'slave ships' • by 1700 African people, not African goods such as gold or spices, had become the most valuable of African exports because of the importance of sugar and the development of the sugar industry that swept across the tropical Americas • the massive demand for enslaved Africans transformed existing conventions of enslavement within Africa itself by causing intensive searches for more and more people. **Other factors:** **Military factors:** • all the major European maritime powers became involved in the trade in enslaved Africans in order to use enslaved labour in their American colonies • commercial interests had to be protected especially in times of war. Wars between European countries in the 18th century were imperial wars because countries sought to protect their trade and therefore their colonies • commercial interests were therefore intertwined with military power • the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), for example, was a European conflict between Britain and France and Spain but it was an imperial contest too. Many of the most important battles in this conflict took place at sea, with the combatant countries striving to win control over one another's valuable colonies where enslavement was used to exploit the richness of colonial resources • protecting profits from plantations provided an important justification for Britain's prosecution of the war

- Britain emerged from the war as the leading European imperial power, having made large territorial gains in North America and the Caribbean, as well as in India
- the further development of the trade in enslaved Africans was a consequence of the desire to exploit these colonial acquisitions.

Shortage of labour:
- few colonists were willing to work voluntarily on the plantations as manual labour, believing it to be beneath them
- Indigenous labour quickly disappeared because Indigenous peoples died of disease brought in by Europeans and because of ill-treatment by colonists
- indentured labour from Britain coming to the Caribbean was nowhere near sufficient to keep up with the fast-developing sugar plantation and factory system and plantation owners quickly realised that the best source of labour was Africa
- indentured labourers from Britain worked for 3–7 years but enslaved Africans worked for life and were cheaper
- enslaved Africans had to endure poor living and harsh working conditions, so life expectancy was low, and this created more labour shortages in a fast-expanding industry hence the demand for enslaved Africans rose fast.

Racist attitudes:
- although to begin with the trade in enslaved Africans was not caused by racial attitudes but rather by economics, racial attitudes very quickly became central to the whole enterprise, and the unequal relationship and power imbalance between enslaved Africans and their owners was justified by racist ideology
- a widespread belief developed in Britain, Europe and among white colonists that Africans were not just naturally inferior to them but also not fully human. This attitude gave rise to the view that Africans ought to be subservient to Europeans and indeed needed to be subservient
- by the mid-18th century racism was entrenched among members of the merchant and landowning classes who dominated the trade and whose interests were strongly represented in the House of Commons
- most plantation owners took the view that enslaved Africans were better off than white people who worked in factories and argued that enslavement was a form of paternalism because those who were enslaved were provided with homes, protection and work in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots.

Religious factors:
- Christianity became entwined with racist attitudes that justified the trade in enslaved Africans, for example, a connection was made between sin, skin colour and enslavement which 'othered' African people and led to their being treated as inferior to white Europeans
- the Church of England had links to enslavement through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary organisation which operated in Barbados, where a charitable bequest aimed at establishing a college made the society owners of a sugar plantation worked by enslaved Africans
- the Church of England supported colonial laws stating that enslaved Africans should not be educated
- some Bible passages (for example, the 'Curse of Ham' from Genesis 9: 18–29) were used to justify enslavement; in the Book of Genesis God sanctions the enslavement of Canaanites by the Israelites
- some clergymen pushed the idea that it was possible to be a 'good slave' and a Christian citing the fact that St Paul had called for enslaved people to 'obey their masters' (Ephesians 6: 5–9 'Slaves, obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart, just as you would obey Christ')
- other Bible extracts such as the story of Moses freeing his people in the Book of Exodus were banned in British colonies because they could be interpreted by enslaved Africans as anti-enslavement, freedom texts

	• many white British Christians believed that enslaved Africans benefited from enslavement because they became Christian and therefore 'civilised' though this did not mean that enslaved Africans were to be treated as equals • very little missionary work took place during the early years of the trade in enslaved African people because merchants felt that religion would get in the way of a moneymaking venture by taking enslaved Africans away from their work on plantations • many of the leading participants in the trade in enslaved Africans were devout Christians who supported their local churches and gave thanks to God for their successful business in the trade • there were religious merchants of enslaved Africans and religious plantation owners. **Any other relevant factors.**

8.	**Context:** To their owners and managers, to traders or to sailors on 'slave ships' enslaved Africans were economic 'assets', sources of income or profit. Enslaved Africans were expected to work for their entire lives. On the plantations brutal work regimes were enforced by violence, and enslaved Africans were subjected to the unpredictable whims of owners and managers; beatings and whippings were commonplace. Enslaved Africans also faced constant uncertainty and insecurity; they could be sold or moved from one estate to another without notice, taken away from their families, friends and children. That African people could be treated in these ways was indicative of the fact that racism and prejudice underpinned relations between the enslaved and their owners enabling financial considerations to take precedence. **Racism and prejudice:** • by the mid-18th century, the harsh treatment of enslaved Africans was routinely justified by racism including the belief that Africans were 'savages', inferior to Europeans in intelligence, emotions, culture and civilisation • Europeans were largely ignorant of African cultures and civilisations and regarded Africans as almost another species and one closer to animals than people. Consequently, Africans needed to be kept under control via violence • traders who bought enslaved people at trading posts on the African coast often thought that African captives would otherwise be executed as prisoners of war or for crimes by their African rulers, so this justified the buying captured Africans and taking them to the Caribbean where Christianity would civilise them • because enslaved people were not treated as people it was easy to treat them as moveable property belonging to traders and then owners • even the case of the Liverpool 'slave ship', the *Zong*, with its killing of enslaved people on route to the Caribbean was not considered to be murder in the eyes of the law. **Other factors:** **Humanitarian concerns:** • humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of enslaved people held on the African coast • on the 'Middle Passage', too, humanitarian concerns were rarely applied on the ships where enslaved Africans endured horrific conditions, with only enough food and medical care to get them across the Atlantic alive • British sailors and enslavers were not in daily close contact with enslaved people and did not get to know them personally and treated them inhumanely because they did not see them as equal human beings • sometimes bonds of affection developed between enslaved Africans and their owners or managers if the enslaved Africans were personal or domestic servants in the households of plantation owners or managers. However, there was never any question that Africans were enslaved, not free and not the equals of white Europeans. **Religious concerns:** • enslavers and owners cited the existence of enslavement in the Bible as justification for the trade in enslaved Africans and the institution of enslavement. Passages from the Books of Genesis and Exodus, and from the Christian New Testament were presented as evidence that enslavement was not morally wrong or contrary to Christian teaching • traders in, and owners of enslaved Africans also claimed that enslaved people were benefiting from being exposed to Christianity • enslavement could therefore be claimed as being good for enslaved people, as it gave them the chance of eternal salvation through Christianity • many traders in, and owners of enslaved Africans were Christian, and this occasionally moderated their treatment of enslaved people. However, for the most part this did not happen because racism and prejudice meant that enslaved Africans were not viewed as equal human beings.

	Financial considerations: • 'slave ships' carried as many enslaved people as possible in order to make as much profit as possible and the issue over whether to use 'loose' or 'tight' pack on board 'slave ships' had little to do with humanitarianism • in 'loose pack' enslaved people fared a bit better and had slightly better conditions perhaps than in 'tight pack'. But in choosing 'loose pack' the prime motivation was not humanitarianism but rather a calculated decision based on the chance that in 'loose pack' more enslaved Africans would survive the crossing than would be the case in using 'tight pack' • at auctions at the end of the 'Middle Passage', enslaved African people were chosen for their ability to work to raise plantation profits; no thought was given to family or friendship ties or any other consideration • on the plantations, to extract as much work from them as possible enslaved people were beaten and abused constantly • enslaved African people were property, bought and paid for, so they were valuable which meant that some owners were more reluctant than others to use brutality on them • on the other hand, in the period before abolition, enslaved people were cheap enough to work, or beat, to death, which was known as 'wastage' • the British Caribbean islands were affected by the culture of absentee owners, leaving estates to be 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 Caribbean and so were often concerned to make as much money as quickly as possible in order to return to Britain and enjoy their wealth. **Fear of enslaved Africans' attempts to gain their freedom:** • onboard 'slave ships' and then in the plantations, those crewing the ships and running the plantations lived in constant state of anxiety because of fear that enslaved Africans would attempt to rise up against their enslavement • on the 'slave ships', security was paramount because crews were heavily outnumbered by the enslaved Africans on board. For that reason the enslaved Africans were kept below decks for long periods • enslaved Africans were usually shackled for almost the whole passage, being released occasionally for carefully guarded exercise on deck and for short periods only • as the number of risings on 'slave ships' grew so did the cost to traders in enslaved African people because larger crews were required and more weaponry • on plantations, there was such a fear of enslaved Africans attempts to gain their freedom that draconian legal codes were brought in by legislative island assemblies dominated by plantation owners, which covered the treatment and punishment of runaways as well as those who attempted open resistance • escaped Africans called 'Maroons' raided plantations, killed militia and freed other enslaved people due to the inability of the plantation owners to crush them. **Any other relevant factors.**

9.	**Context:** By the 1770s Britain had become the world's leading country trading in enslaved Africans. This trade was highly lucrative. Ships sailed with full holds on every stage of the journey making huge profits for enslavers and merchants in London, Bristol and Liverpool in particular. Between the 1600s and 1807, in approximately 10,000 voyages, British ships transported 3.4 million Africans across the Atlantic of whom around 2.6 million survived. The impact on those who were captured and transported across the Atlantic was devastating. But the impact of this trade was devastating for Africa too socially, culturally and economically. And the effects were long term. Indeed, it could be argued that the trade in enslaved African people led to the colonisation of Africa and resulted in the broader under-development of Africa. **Sellers of enslaved Africans and European 'factories' on the West African coast:** • Europeans seldom ventured inland to capture the millions of people who were transported from Africa as captives. Instead, African 'middlemen' usually sold enslaved Africans to European factors who collected the enslaved people on the coast • in the areas where enslavement was not practised, such as among the Xhosa people of southern Africa, European 'slave ship' captains were unable to buy African captives • European 'factories' or forts were developed on the coast to 'process' and house enslaved Africans while awaiting their transfer to 'slave ships' and then transportation across the Atlantic. **Development of enslaved African-based states and economies:** • Africans could be enslaved as punishment for a crime, as payment for a family debt, or most commonly of all, by being captured as prisoners of war. With the arrival of European and American ships offering trading goods in exchange for captives, African peoples had an added incentive to enslave one another • some societies preyed on others to obtain captives in exchange for European firearms, in the belief that if they did not acquire firearms in this way to protect themselves, they would be attacked and captured by their rivals and enemies who did possess such weapons • at the height of the trade in enslaved Africans, only those states equipped with guns could withstand attacks from their neighbours. The acquisition of guns gave rulers an advantage over rivals and gave them greater incentive to capture and sell enslaved people. This led to the growth of kingdoms such as Dahomey whose key purpose became the trade in enslaved Africans • the mass importation of guns for enslaved people affected the balance of power between kingdoms • as the trade in enslaved Africans developed, more African societies became involved in the trade • enslavement within Africa became stronger and more pervasive than it had been before the arrival of Europeans. **Destruction of societies:** • to begin with rich and powerful Africans were able to demand a variety of consumer goods such as textiles, glassware, pottery, ironmongery and, in some places, gold in exchange for captives, who may have been acquired through warfare or by other means but without massive disruption to African societies. But by the end of 17th century, European demand for African captives, particularly for the sugar plantations in the Americas, became so great that they could only be acquired through initiating raiding and warfare; large areas of Africa were devastated, and whole societies descended into lawlessness and violence and disintegrated • as the temptation to go to war increased, indigenous systems of rule based on kinship and consent were destroyed • the forced removal of millions of African people on British and other European ships was a huge drain on the most productive and economically active sections of the African population • furthermore, many Africans also died during the journey from the interior to the coast — a journey which could take weeks

	• a large percentage of the people taken captive or who died were women in their childbearing years and young men who normally would have been starting families. The enslavers usually left behind persons who were elderly, disabled, or otherwise dependent groups who were least able to contribute to the economic health of their societies • this was a huge drain on the most productive and economically active sections of the population, and led to economic dislocation and falls in production of food and other goods • depopulation and a continuing fear of captivity made economic and agricultural development almost impossible throughout much of western Africa • Europeans had also brought diseases which then contributed to continuing decline in the population of African societies. **Development of foreign colonies:** • West Africa was impoverished by its relationship with Europe while the human and other resources that were taken from Africa contributed to the economic development and wealth of Europe and the European colonies in the New World • the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans also created the conditions for the subsequent colonial conquest of Africa by the European powers. **Roles played by leaders of African societies in continuing the trade:** • Africans who traded in people grew wealthy by selling enslaved Africans to European traders on the coast. They were able to deal on equal terms with European traders who built 'factories' on the West African coast to house Africans before selling them onto the 'slave ship' captains who in turn transported the Africans to the Americas and the Caribbean • on the African side, the trade was generally the business of rulers or wealthy and powerful merchants, concerned with their own selfish or narrow interests, rather than those of the African continent. At that time identity and loyalty were based on kinship or membership of a specific kingdom or society rather than to the African continent • states based on enslaving, particularly Dahomey, grew in power and influence. The Asante (Ashanti) people who traded in gold and in enslaved people dominated the area known as the Gold Coast (Ghana). **Any other relevant factors.**

10.	**Context:** In 1851 Britain was not a democratic country. There was no universal suffrage, a limited choice of political party and the unelected House of Lords was at least as powerful as the elected House of Commons. The 1832 'Great Reform Act' had enabled rich middle-class men to join with the aristocracy in preventing revolution in Britain, but many among the middle classes, all the working classes and women were excluded from key roles in the main institutions of government and society. By 1928, however, Britain had a mass electorate, and a parliamentary system dominated by the elected House of Commons in which the middle and working classes were very much included. The impacts of industrialisation and urbanisation affected every part of British society and culture and were crucial in Britain becoming more democratic. **Effects of industrialisation and urbanisation:** • by 1911 far more people in Britain lived in towns and cities than lived in the countryside, and most of these urban dwellers' living conditions were characterised by overcrowding, inadequate housing, and poor sanitation. The demographic revolution that was a feature of industrialisation and urbanisation gave rise to pressure for a political system that would reflect the priorities of those who worked in industry and lived in towns and cities rather than those who worked and lived in the countryside • industrialisation and urbanisation gave rise to a completely new kind of economic and social system that came up against an older political system, generating huge pressure for political reform • industrialisation and urbanisation created a society that was increasingly based on class identity with a middle and working class demanding political representation, while the spread of liberal and socialist ideas led to demands for a much greater voice for the middle and working classes • the Liberal Party developed increasingly as the party not just of landed aristocrats but of businessmen and middle-class professionals who were unwilling to accept exclusion from the political system • most people were working class, and they too wanted to have a political voice and were supported in that aim by the work of trade unions and from 1906 by a political party — the Labour Party — set up precisely to provide representation in parliament for the working classes • the setting up of the of the Labour Party gave people a greater choice • the growth in the population and of towns and cities rapid urbanisation sparked demands for redistribution of seats • basic education, the development of new cheap, popular newspapers and the spread of railways helped to enable people to have a much greater awareness of national issues • a better educated workforce, with access to public libraries and cheap travel, could now access and consume news easily and increasing numbers of people became interested in how the country was run and who was running it • reforms that came about from the 1850s reflected the nature of these remarkable social and economic changes. The 1867 Reform Act gave the vote to skilled working-class men in the towns and the 1885 Redistribution of Seats Act created new seats in the towns and cities and reduced the number of seats in the countryside. **Other factors:** **Pressure groups:** • the 1867 Reform Act was in part a result of the success of campaigns directed by pressure groups such as the Reform League and the Reform Union. The Reform Union organised demonstrations and marches which contributed to the pressure for the franchise reform of 1867 • campaigning by the Reform Union and the Reform League also contributed to the pressure for reform after 1867 that led to the 1872 'Secret Ballot' Act and the Reform Act of 1885

- political representation for women was championed by two highly organised pressure groups: NUWSS (Suffragists) and WSPU (Suffragettes)
- the Suffragists (from 1897) and the Suffragettes (from 1903), though using different campaigning methods, were highly effective in generating publicity for the arguments for votes for women and contributed to the wider changing attitudes towards women
- from the 1880s trade union strength grew among unskilled workers and trade unions became more closely associated with socialism, which called for equality and democracy
- other socialist societies such as the Fabians and the Social Democratic Federation also campaigned for equality and democracy.

Examples of developments abroad:

- political developments abroad affected politics and political attitudes in Britain, for example, in his Gettysburg Address (1863) during the American Civil War Abraham Lincoln argued that the war was about the survival and defence of freedom and democracy: 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'
- Lincoln then abolished enslavement in the USA (1864) and the North won the war (1865) providing an inspirational example for all those championing freedom and democracy in Britain
- developments in New Zealand and Australia — important colonies of the British Empire — had an impact in Britain. In 1893 in New Zealand women were given the right to vote, making New Zealand the first country in the world to have universal adult suffrage
- in 1894 women were given the vote in South Australia, and in 1902 the newly established Australian Parliament gave women equal voting rights to men and the right to stand for election to the federal Parliament.

Party advantage:

- in the second half of the 19th century the two main political groupings in Parliament, the Conservatives (Tories) and the Liberals (Whigs), developed into recognisably modern political parties using modern campaigning techniques to win elections to become the government. Gaining party political advantage was often a key motive for each of the parties to champion reforms that would increase democracy
- for example, in 1867 the Tories passed the Second Reform Act in an attempt to win popularity among skilled working men in the towns and to undermine support for the Liberals. To an extent the Second Reform Act could be seen as 'stealing the Liberals' clothes', to gain support
- in 1883 the Liberals passed the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act which limited the amount of spending on elections; the Liberals believed the advantage held by wealthier Conservative opponents would be reduced
- politicians increasingly combined acceptance of changes which they suspected were unavoidable with ensuring that their own party-political interests would be protected or advanced.

Effects of the First World War:

- to an extent the First World War led to unintended but real democratisation of society, for example, women played an increasingly important role in the workforce while men went off to fight
- women, doing jobs previously done only by men, became crucial in the workforce in transport, agriculture, munitions and engineering
- women also served behind the lines on the Western Front in an auxiliary capacity — as secretaries and in administrative jobs — and in nursing
- many men still had no vote but even so from 1916 were conscripted to fight. As the war came to an end and political pressure increased to give all adult men the vote, concerns about a revival of the militant campaigning for votes for women combined with a recognition of the importance of women's war work leading to the Representation of the People Act of 1918 which gave votes to all men over 21 and to women over 30
- in the armed forces middle class officers came into close contact with working class men. One result of this was that many middle-class officers realised the essential contribution working class men made to the war effort and to victory, a realisation they took back into civilian life after the war that translated into support for greater democracy

	• leading Labour politicians, for example, Arthur Henderson, John Hodge and George Barnes were brought into the wartime coalition governments of Asquith and then Lloyd George. They were able to press the case for democratic reform to be implemented after the war. **Any other relevant factors.**

11.	**Context:** In the later 19th and early 20th centuries women were not accorded the same rights as men. The belief that women were inferior to men pervaded social interactions and affected all aspects of society and culture. There was a middle-class myth that men and women occupied separate spheres: men occupied the sphere of work, politics and war, and women the sphere of home, children and childrearing. In reality, all women who were not in the middle or upper classes had to work at least until they got married. In addition, they were expected to keep house, bring up children and care for elderly relatives. When some women over 30 were given the vote in 1918 it was the result of a huge change in attitudes, a slow process that quickened during the First World War. **Changing attitudes to women in society:** • from the middle of the 19th century attitudes and laws relating to women's role in society, and to their status, were changing, for example, the Matrimonial Causes Act (1857) enabled women to divorce their husbands if they could prove bigamy or abuse within the marriage • the Custody of Infants Act (1873) stated that the correct principle for deciding custody was the needs of the child rather than the rights of either parent. The Act therefore allowed mothers to petition for custody or access to children below the age of 16, though not in all circumstances • the Married Women's Property Act (1884) gave women the right to own property that had belonged to them before they were married or that they acquired after marriage • these laws undermined the long-standing idea that married were subordinate to their husbands and subject to their husbands' control • working class women had always worked in skilled and unskilled jobs but, especially from the last quarter of the 19th century, increasing numbers of women, often lower-middle-class and middle-class women, became involved in work often in jobs that had been the preserve of men such as teaching and other white-collar jobs • in some parts of the country women in work achieved remarkable levels of independence, including financial independence. In Dundee the labour force in the jute industry was almost entirely female although the foremen were always male • women were also participating more and more in politics through membership of Liberal and Conservative political associations and, after 1893, in the Independent Labour Party • by 1914 women property owners and ratepayers could participate in many areas of local government including voting in municipal elections (1894, Local Government Act) • by 1900 women could also serve on School Boards and as Poor Law Guardians • huge changes in primary, secondary and Higher education meant that by 1914 women had access to education to a degree level, unimaginable 60 years before • the increase in the number of women who were educated undermined the argument that women were intellectually inferior to men. **Other factors:** **Suffragist campaign:** • in 1897 Millicent Fawcett set up the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) to bring together women's suffrage groups from all around the country to work together to lobby Parliament • Fawcett and the Suffragists believed that the best way to win support for votes for women was through moderate, peaceful tactics (meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills and their own newspaper) and educational work • membership remained relatively low at about 6000 until around 1909 but grew to well over 50,000 by 1914 (in part because women angered by the Suffragettes' militancy joined the NUWSS instead) • the Suffragists played a key role in convincing many MPs to support the cause; Conciliation Bills in 1910, 1911 and 1912 all discussed giving the vote to women (though in the end none of these bills brought it about) • the educational work the Suffragists did was vital in preparing the ground for wide acceptance of the view, among men and women, that women should be given the vote.

Suffragette campaign:

- the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), set up in 1903, was begun by a group of women (led by Emmeline Pankhurst) who had become frustrated and impatient with the slow progress being made by the Suffragists' campaigning
- the Suffragettes motto, 'Deeds Not Words', encapsulated that impatience and frustration, and summarised the Suffragettes use of militant tactics in pursuit of their goal
- the Suffragettes' direct actions included everything from heckling politicians to smashing shop windows, arson attacks on politicians' houses and on pillar boxes and slashing paintings in art galleries. These forms of direct action generated huge publicity and led to the Suffragettes being imprisoned
- once in prison Suffragettes went on hunger strike. The Liberal government then resorted to force-feeding of Suffragettes — and brutal and distressing procedure — and then in 1913 introduced the Prisoner's (Temporary Discharge for Ill Health) Act, 'the Cat and Mouse Act'. This involved releasing starving Suffragettes from jail and then when they got better re-imprisoning them
- the self-sacrifice of these women won them admiration and respect although many people also thought it demonstrated that women were indeed 'hysterical' and 'emotionally unstable' and so should not be given the vote
- the Suffragette Emily Davison threw herself in front of the King's horse during the 1913 Derby. Davison died from her injuries and thus to many women became an authentic and iconic Suffragette martyr
- the Suffragettes also ran a newspaper, *Votes for Women*, with a circulation of perhaps 20,000 a week.

Women in the war effort, 1914–1918:

- from the start of the war the NUWSS and the WSPU suspended political campaigning
- the sight of women 'doing their bit' for the war effort gained respect and offset much of the negative publicity of earlier Suffragette campaigns
- a WSPU pro-war propaganda campaign encouraged men to join the armed forces and women to demand 'the right to serve'
- during the war women doing jobs previously done only by men became crucial in the workforce (in transport, agriculture, munitions and engineering)
- over 700,000 women were employed making munitions
- women also served behind the lines on the Western Front in an auxiliary capacity — as secretaries and in administrative jobs — and in nursing
- the creation of a wartime coalition also opened the door to change. One view is that the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 happened because women's war work radically changed male ideas about women's role in society so the vote in 1918 was almost a 'thank you' for their efforts
- however, the women who were given the vote were 30 or over, not the younger women who worked long hours and risked their lives in munitions factories
- there is an argument that the war sped up social and political changes that were happening anyway and that had there not been a war women would still have got the vote because by 1914 the tide was very much flowing in that direction.

Example of other countries:

- many parts of the British Empire had given women the vote in the late 19th early 20th centuries
- in New Zealand women were given the vote in 1893, in South Australia in 1902 and in some areas of Canada in 1916
- Finland gave women the right to vote in 1906, the first country in Europe to do so
- some US states, for example, Washington, Oregon and Kansas, gave the vote to women before the First World War
- it seemed increasingly odd that the British Parliament, the so-called 'Mother of Parliaments' would not give women the vote at home.

Any other relevant factors.

12.	**Context:** In the late 19th Century and early 20th Century poverty was seen as a problem in Britain. This inspired several philanthropists such as Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree to investigate its causes. The Liberals swept to power in 1906 winning 397 from 670 seats. The Liberal Party had a long history of introducing reforms that impacted on politics and society, but in 1906 it was still the party of liberal capitalism and was not elected solely, or even mainly, because of any plans to introduce social welfare reforms. However, the scale of the 1906 victory helped to strengthen the case of those New Liberals who supported welfare reforms that now was the time to act. **Social surveys of Booth and Rowntree:** • the reports of Charles Booth in London and Seebohm Rowntree in York demonstrated that poverty was widespread and deeply rooted not in the character failings of individual poor people but in causes such as low pay, unemployment, sickness and old age • the reports of Booth and Rowntree provided the statistical evidence detailing the scale of poverty that was difficult for the government to ignore • the nature and extent of poverty revealed in the surveys was a real shock to many middle-class people especially given that Booth argued that if nothing was done to improve the lives of the poor Britain would have a socialist revolution • Booth's initial survey was confined to the East End of London, but his later volumes covering the rest of London revealed that almost one third of the capital's population lived in poverty. York was a relatively prosperous small town, but even there, poverty was deep-rooted with a similar percentage of the population living in poverty • Rowntree identified primary and secondary poverty, and a poverty cycle • the reports indicated that individuals' self-help could never get them out of poverty and that the scale and depth of poverty was way beyond the capacity of charitable organisations to deal with effectively. **Other factors:** **Municipal socialism:** • from 1850 onwards people became used to growing levels of state intervention, especially at local government level • by the end of the 19th century improvements in towns and cities across the country (slum-clearance programmes, health regulation, water management, street lighting, gasworks) were carried out by local (municipal) authorities and paid for from local taxation • the poor tended to benefit most from these developments and for this reason these initiatives were referred to as 'municipal socialism' • famous examples of municipal socialism at work were in Birmingham and Glasgow • in Birmingham Joseph Chamberlain (mayor 1873–1875) oversaw the taking over of Birmingham's waterworks and gas works. He organised slum clearance and introduced parks for the people. He left Birmingham 'parked, paved, gas and watered and improved' • in Glasgow the local authority took over the city water supply, gas street lighting, public parks, libraries and in 1894 Glasgow Town Council formed the Glasgow Corporation Tramways and began their own municipal tram service • people reasoned that if local government intervention worked in Birmingham and Glasgow there was no reason why national government intervention could not be used to solve social problems such as poverty, unemployment and ill-health. **Fears over national security:** • there was concern about Britain's capacity to defend itself and the empire if poverty was creating a situation in which large numbers of the working-class men needed for the army and navy were unhealthy and unfit to fight • in 1899 Britain became involved in a war with the Boers in South Africa, at that time part of

- the British Empire. The government became alarmed when almost 25% of the volunteers were rejected because they were physically unfit to serve in the army
- as a direct result of these concerns an Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration was created to examine the problems of ill-health in England a Wales, and a Royal Commission was set up to do the same in Scotland. Their reports suggested that the physical condition of many adult males was indeed poor and recommended free school meals and medical examinations for schoolchildren as first steps towards dealing with this problem
- concerns about national security were also closely linked to concerns about national efficiency. If the work force was made up mostly of unhealthy men and women, how would Britain be able to compete economically with foreign powers, especially Germany and the USA?
- if health and educational standards did not improve then Britain's position as a leading industrial and imperial power would be threatened
- in Germany a system of welfare benefits for workers had already been in place since the 1880s.

New Liberalism:

- New Liberalism was not an abandonment of individualism so much as a reinterpretation of it
- New Liberals argued that state intervention, though not a substitute for character building and individual effort, was necessary to liberate people from social problems over which they had no control
- New Liberals argued that social welfare ought to be aimed at the 'respectable poor' to bring them into society and strengthen their resistance to the attractions of Labour and socialism
- 'Old Liberalism' still dominated the party. Neither social reform nor New Liberal ideas were important issues in the general election of 1906
- when the Liberals took over government some reforms were introduced, but it was only when the 'Old Liberal' Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman died in 1908 that the door opened for new 'interventionist' ideas championed by leading New Liberals Herbert Asquith (Prime Minister from 1908), David Lloyd George (Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Winston Churchill (President of the Board of Trade)
- New Liberalism provided the rationale for increased state intervention in people's lives.

Rise of Labour:

- the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) was set up in 1900 by an alliance of Labour and Socialist groups and trade unions with the express purpose of getting Labour candidates elected to Parliament
- in 1906 29 LRC candidates were successful, and they became the Labour Party
- though not a spectacular performance, this success was nevertheless a reflection of growing support for Labour at local level and among the trade unions
- Old Liberalism, the dominant strand of Liberalism in most regions of the country, was unreceptive to demands for working class representation. Even so, the Liberals recognised the electoral threat of the LRC and so in 1903 negotiated a Lib-Lab electoral pact which allowed Labour to run unopposed by the Liberals in seats where there was a large working class vote
- by the 1900s both the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress had extensive social reform programmes including free education for all, the abolition of the Poor Law and measures to deal with unemployment
- the Labour Party also wanted a comprehensive health service for all, not just for the poor
- from 1884 nearly two thirds of working-class men had the vote, and the Liberals tended to attract many of those votes. But by 1906 the Liberals knew that, increasingly, they would be competing for the same votes as Labour.

Any other relevant factors.

13.	**Context:** Before 1914 the whole of Ireland was part of the United Kingdom. The majority of Irish Catholics saw themselves as part of an Irish nation. However, the north-eastern part of Ireland the Protestant community saw themselves as British rather than Irish. Catholic and Protestant communities divided on economic, religious and political grounds. **Re-emergence of Irish Republicanism (Irish Republican Brotherhood/Sinn Féin):** • Sinn Féin was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1905 to boycott all things British and to press for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would cause the British Government in Ireland to collapse • the IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. Both these groups wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both willing to use force • many Sinn Féin members, including Griffiths, went on to join the Irish Volunteers at the outbreak of WWI. IRB influence in Ulster increased with the formation of 'Dungannon Clubs' in 1905/1906. **Other factors:** **Irish Cultural Revival (Gaelic League/Gaelic Athletic Association):** • in 1883 the Gaelic League was set up whose aim it was to revive and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature • there was a growth in the Gaelic League to over 400 branches by the turn of the century; new publications such as the Gaelic Journal appeared; there were also examples of writers creating the sense of nationhood, for example, Alice Milligan, Lady Gregory, Patrick Pearse, WB Yeats • in 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up 'for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes.' Games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular. **Differing economic and religious features:** • Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government led by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Ireland based on the Catholic faith; Protestants were opposed to this and the ideas of Home Rule • Ulster people were worried they would lose the economic benefits they enjoyed from being part of the British Empire, such as the linen industry and the shipbuilding industry • it was only in Ulster that Ireland had an industrial economy, thus these concerns weren't shared in the same way by people in the southern provinces of Ireland, which were more agrarian based. **Role of John Redmond and the Nationalist Party (this includes the 1910 elections):** • Redmond claimed that the Home Rule Bill would lead to greater unity and strength in the Union, ending suspicion and disaffection in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland. It would show Britain was willing to treat Ireland equally, as part of the empire • Redmond's Party was consistently strong throughout Southern Ireland, where there was strong support for Home Rule • in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman had been replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who in 1909 had declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule • 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise; they passed the Third Home Rule Bill • with the support of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, a Bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a Bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a Bill for 2 years. As a result, the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed.

	Responses of Unionists and Nationalists to the Home Rule Bill: • the roles of Carson and Craig: Sir Edward Carson's theatrical political performances caught the public imagination and brought the case of the Unionists to the nation. At the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Belfast at Town Hall, to the world's press, 250,000 Ulstermen pledged themselves to use 'all means necessary' to defeat Home Rule. This was also known as the Ulster Covenant • in 1912, during the Third Home Rule crisis, the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) decided to establish a paramilitary body the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) to stop Home Rule • Curragh Mutiny: British officers stationed in Ireland declared they would not use force against the Unionists • the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up as a reaction. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Féin and the IRB all joined hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80,000 members • in 1913, a third private army was set up, the Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly and James Larkin. It had two clear aims — to gain independence for Ireland and set up a socialist republic, for working class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives. **Any other relevant factors.**

14.	**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. **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. **Other factors:** **Irish attitudes to British rule after World War I:** • the aftermath of the Easter Rising, and the anti-conscription campaign led to a decline in support for the Nationalist Party (IPP) 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% 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 14 people and injuring 60-100 people • 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. **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, 1000 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. **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 postwar settlement in Ireland.

	Policies and actions of the British government: • the Government of Ireland Act 1920. 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

15.	**Context:** The Irish Civil war was fought between June 1922 and May 1923 between rival Republican factions who supported and opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The Treaty had been signed by Collins and Griffiths on behalf of the Dail a few months after the Anglo-Irish conflict had ended. The Anglo-Irish Treaty turned former allies against each other. **Role of Collins:** • Collins negotiated the Treaty with Churchill but was pressured to sign it under a threat of escalation of the conflict • Collins defended the Treaty as he claimed it gave Ireland 'freedom to achieve freedom' • Collins and Griffiths started informal negotiations with the British side and hammered out the details of the treaty • Collins claimed Ireland had its own elected government, so Britain was no longer the enemy • Collins recognised that the war was unwinnable, both for the IRA and the UK government. **Other factors:** **Anglo-Irish Treaty:** • Ireland was to be the 'Irish Free State', governing itself, making its own laws but remaining in the Empire • a Governor General was to represent the king: Britain was to remove its forces but keep the use of its naval bases • trade relations were settled • Lloyd George threatened the Irish delegation with war if they did not sign • Government of Ireland Act split Ireland in two, with 6 counties in the North and 26 in the South. In Northern Ireland, Unionists won 40 of the 52 seats available. A third of the Ulster population was Catholic and wanted to be united with the South • the 26 counties in the South had a separate parliament in Dublin. The Council of Ireland was set up. The IRA refused to recognise the new parliament and kept up its violence. Sectarian violence increased in Ulster; without partition, this could have been much worse • in the South, the Government of Ireland Act was ignored. Sinn Fèin won 124 seats unopposed. Partition was a highly emotive issue, and it alone would have caused discord. **Role of the British government:** • in July 1921, a truce was arranged between the British and Irish Republican forces. Negotiations were opened and ended in the signing of the Treaty on 6 December 1921 • the Treaty gave the 26 southern counties of Ireland a considerable degree of independence, the same within the British commonwealth as Australia and Canada • under this agreement, Ireland became a Dominion of the British Empire, rather than being completely independent of Britain. Under Dominion status, the new Irish State had three important things to adhere to: the elected representatives of the people were to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown; the Crown was to be represented by a Governor General; appeals in certain legal cases could be taken to the Privy Council in London • this aspect of the Treaty was repugnant to many Irish people, not just Republicans • the British military garrison was to be withdrawn, and the RIC police disbanded.

	Divisions in the republican movement: • the Treaty was hotly debated in the Dáil. Collins and much of the IRA supported the Treaty, as Ireland now had an elected government. De Valera opposed it and felt it should be resisted even if it meant Civil War. They represented the two wings of the Republican movement • also influential were the widows and other relatives of those who had died; they were vocal in their opposition to the Treaty • the Treaty was particularly disappointing to left-wing Republicans who had hopes of establishing a socialist republic • the Treaty was accepted by 64 votes to 57 by the Dáil Eíreann on 7 January 1922 • Collins and De Valera tried to reach a compromise to avoid war, but none was reached. Some of the IRA units supported the Treaty, whilst others opposed it • some of the anti-Treaty IRA took over some important buildings in Dublin, for example, Four Courts • this division, crystallised by the murder of Sir Henry Wilson (security adviser for the Northern Ireland government), forced Michael Collins to call on the official IRA to suppress the 'Irregular IRA'. **Role of De Valera:** • De Valera was President of the Irish Republic showing his opposition to any sort of deal whereby Irish status was linked to the British Commonwealth. As President, De Valera had instructed his negotiating team to refer back to his cabinet on any question which created difficulties. When the Treaty was signed it had not been referred back to the Irish cabinet • De Valera refused to accept the terms of the Treaty as they were in 'violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of the nation'. De Valera claimed that the Treaty meant partition of Ireland and abandonment of sovereignty. De Valera felt he should have been consulted before the Treaty was signed • De Valera voted against the Treaty and resigned as President to be replaced by Griffith and Collins became Head of the Irish Free Government. **Any other relevant factors.**

PART A — The crusades, 1071-1204

16.	**Context:** In 1095 Pope Urban II called on thousands of knights to unite against the infidel. Pope Urban II's famous speech at the Council of Clermont also made detailed reference to the violence committed by Christians against fellow Christians. A crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors. **Threat to Byzantium:** • the Seljuk Turks had been threatening the Empire for decades. The Byzantines had been defeated by the Turks in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert in Eastern Anatolia. Between 1077 and 1092 the Byzantines had been driven out of the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Turks were now encroaching further west towards the Byzantine capital of Constantinople • there was fear in Europe that if Byzantium was allowed to fall then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into Central Europe would be inevitable • the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius, was seen as a bulwark against this eventuality and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously • the threat to Byzantium was perhaps exaggerated by the Emperor Alexius who had negotiated a treaty with Kilij Arslan in 1092 and was hiring more and more mercenaries from Europe to protect the Empire. **Other factors:** **Fear of Islamic expansion:** • founded by the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic religion had exploded onto the world in the late 7th century, advancing across the Christian principalities of North Africa, through Spain and into Southern France, where it had been halted in the 8th century and pushed back into Spain • Pope Urban used the fear of Islamic expansion in his famous speech at Clermont in 1095. He pointed to the successful Reconquista in Spain. El Cid had only captured Valencia from the Moors in 1094 • Pope Urban pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God' • Urban detailed claims of Turkish activities such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration. **Threat to Mediterranean trade:** • the development of trade within the Mediterranean Sea had been in the hands of ambitious cities in Italy, notably Venice, but also Pisa and Genoa. By 1095 Venice had bound its future to Byzantium • their preferential trade agreements with Constantinople for silk, spices and other luxury goods meant that they were keen to see Byzantium saved from the expansion of the Turks. **Ongoing struggle between church and state:** • popes now actually challenged kings and demanded the right to appoint priests, bishops and cardinals as they saw fit. This led to the development of the Investiture Contest, a prolonged war between Pope Gregory VII and the German Emperor, Henry IV. A low point was reached in 1080 when Henry appointed a separate Pope and attacked Rome with his armies the following year. This power struggle had damaged the reputation of the papacy and directly affected Urban, possibly influencing his decision • a crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors • it is believed the Investiture Contest may have delayed the calling of a crusade • there may have been a crusade to drive back the Seljuk as early as the mid-1070s but Gregory's struggle against the German Emperor meant he was too weak to see it through.

	Papal desire to channel the aggressive nature of feudal society: • medieval society saw the development of heavily armoured and skilled warrior knights • the Church did not really approve of knights as their training and focus as killers went against the teachings of Christ (thou shalt not kill) • going on Crusade was an opportunity to use the skills of the knightly class in a productive way that would benefit Christianity and offer the knights the chance to have their sins forgiven as they were doing god's work in reclaiming Jerusalem for Christianity • Urban's appeal specifically targeted the nobility of France and northern Europe in an attempt to divert the violence of the warring European kingdoms. The Nobility were regularly drawn into wars with their neighbours to take extra land or to settle disputes between rivals • in Medieval Europe the knight was a feature of the feudal system. These highly trained warriors were, by definition, killers. However, the Church considered killing a sin. The desire to divert this aggression in a useful way motivated Urban. The prospect of a just war where participation ensured the pardoning of sins was attractive to many knights as it gave them a purpose and ensured salvation • the Church was determined to reverse what it perceived as the breakdown of society in many parts of Western Europe. The culture of violence disturbed the entire local society: peasants became foot soldiers and farming and trade were disrupted. As a man of God, Urban II saw a crusade as an opportunity to avoid the evils of war in Europe • the Church had already successfully introduced the Peace of God movement which attempted to stop the violence. Attempts included forbidding fighting on certain days of the week and sparing churches and non-combatants in any conflict. Urban saw the Crusade as a way to channel this aggression out of Europe and into the Middle East which would be of benefit to Christianity. **Any other relevant factors.**

17.	**Context:** Despite many hardships, the First Crusade was a unique and overwhelming success. Its objective was the recovery of Jerusalem from Islamic rule. Jerusalem had been under Muslim rule for hundreds of years. However, the Seljuk Turks had pushed into the region in the 11th century threatening Christian pilgrims and the Byzantine Empire. **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. **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. **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 (632 CE) • 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 Seljuks. **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. **Any other relevant factors.**

18.	**Context:** In July 1187, the Muslim leader, Saladin wiped out the Crusader army at the Battle of Hattin, in Syria. This destroyed Crusader military power in the Middle East. Weeks later the Holy City of Jerusalem surrendered to Saldin's forces after a short siege. **Death of Baldwin IV:** • Baldwin IV was king of Jerusalem from 1174 until his death in 1185. He had to deal with the growing threat of Muslim re-conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin • Baldwin was a brave knight and effective leader. He used a variety of military and diplomatic initiatives to hold Saladin at bay. He had led relatively successful military operations against the forces of Saladin, with a notable victory at the Battle of Montgisard • Baldwin was a leper. He died in March 1185, taking his strategy towards Saladin with him. He was replaced for a short time by his nephew, Baldwin V with Raymond of Tripoli as Regent • Baldwin IV was succeeded by his sickly 9-year-old nephew Baldwin V, 'the Child King'. Baldwin V died within a year, and the kingdom spiralled into a bitter, factional, succession crisis • Queen Sybil further inflamed the situation when she crowned her new husband, Guy de Lusignan, who became the last king of Jerusalem • Saladin's invasion of Galilee came in 1187, 2 years after Baldwin IV's death, resulting in the Fall of Jerusalem and the contraction of the kingdom to a foothold around the port of Tyre. **Other Factors:** **Divisions among the Crusaders:** • two factions had struggled for power within Baldwin IV's court, those of Guy de Lusignan and Baldwin's close advisor Raymond III of Tripoli. In 1180 Guy married Sibylla, Baldwin's sister. Guy tended to favour an aggressive policy • the activities of Reynald of Chatillon helped to destabilise the fragile peace treaty between Baldwin IV and Saladin • the Knights Templar, unlike the Hospitallers, were firmly in the camp of the hawks (warmongers). They wanted nothing more than to carry on with the crusading ideal and rid the Holy Lands of Muslims. Treaties and compromise were unacceptable to them. **Lack of resources of the Christian states:** • there was a lack of support from the Byzantine Empire. The Crusader states had been strengthened by a closer relationship with the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Manuel I. In 1180, the Byzantine Emperor died, and the new Emperor Andronicus I showed little interest in supporting the Latin rulers of the Near East. After 1184, Saladin made a treaty with Byzantium, leaving the Holy City without Byzantine support • European monarchs showed similar disinterest in the Crusader states. In 1184 three of the most important men in the Crusader states — the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars — were sent to Europe seeking support, but neither Philip II of France nor Henry II of England felt able to lead a new Crusade to the Holy Land • the Crusaders sought to redress their military inferiority by constructing powerful fortifications. However, without the army to protect the kingdom even the massive fortifications could not withstand Saladin's forces • even the combined armies of the Crusader states were not strong enough to successfully win a war, especially in the long run. It is arguable that it was inevitable for the Crusader states to fall to a united Islamic state.

	Unification of Islamic states under Saladin: • in 1171 Saladin secured his control over Egypt • Saladin then began to establish his control over Syria through patient diplomacy. Following Nur-ad-Din's death, Saladin wrote to Nur-ad-Din's son, al-Salih, expressing his loyalty. Saladin gained further legitimacy by marrying Nur-ad-Din's widow. In the first years of Saladin's rule, he established his authority over other Muslims in the name of al-Salih • Saladin began to unite the Muslim Near East by occupying Damascus • by 1174, several of Syria's warlords had switched their support to Saladin • in 1183, Saladin finally brought Aleppo under his control • Saladin had managed to successfully unite the Muslims of Syria and Egypt behind his leadership. This effectively surrounded Jerusalem and left them with a very weak military position • after years of fighting Muslims as a precondition of waging jihad and after a severe illness in 1185–1186, Saladin became more determined to recapture Jerusalem and successfully used the idea of a religious war against the Christians to hold the separate Islamic groups together • by way of balance, Saladin himself had his critics within the Muslim ranks, saying he was more interested in maintaining his position than defeating the Christians. It was seen by many that his stance on the Kingdom of Jerusalem was weak. After Guy assumed the throne and Reynald continued his attacks the pressure on Saladin to respond grew. This encouraged him to act aggressively. **Christian defeat at Hattin:** • King Guy led the armies of Jerusalem to save Count Tiberius's wife as Saladin's forces had surrounded her castle. Tiberius himself had few worries about the safety of his wife. His fortress could have withstood a siege. Saladin's forces lacked the required siege engines to make a successful attack. Additionally, Saladin could not keep his disparate forces in the field for any length of time. Tiberius' advice to Guy was to hold his forces back to protect Jerusalem • however, figures such as Reynald had persuaded Guy that to leave the Countess of Tripoli besieged would be un-chivalric and that Guy would lose support if he did not ride out • the army could find little water to sustain them in the desert. Their only option was to make for Hattin and the oasis there. This was an obvious trap; Saladin surrounded them with burning brushwood and dry grass. Trapped on the Horns of Hattin the Christian army suffered badly from the sun and lack of water • eventually they were forced to attack before they lacked the strength to do so. The Christian horses were too weak for a prolonged struggle and their infantry was surrounded by Saladin's horse archers and cut off • Saladin ordered the slaughter of all members of the militant orders, but Guy and many of his followers were allowed to surrender and enter captivity. **Any other relevant factors**

19.	**Context:** By 1763, Britain had ruled the 13 American colonies for over a century. The harmony with Britain which colonists had once held had become indifference during Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s. The ascendancy of George III in 1760 was to bring about further change in the relationship between Britain and America. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, the King strengthened Britain's control over the colonies. **Resentment towards the old colonial system:** • the 13 colonies in North America had been used by Britain for almost two centuries as a source of revenue and convenient market • valuable raw materials such as timber or cotton or fur were plundered from the continent and then used to manufacture goods which were then sold in Europe and around the world. This meant that the profits from North American goods were being made by British trading companies, which was resented by those colonists whose labour produced the raw materials to make goods such as fur-trimmed hats or rifles • in addition, colonists in the more populated New England and middle colonies objected to being used as a dumping ground for British goods • poverty led to minor rebellions by tenant farmers against their landlords throughout the 1740s, including the Land Riots in New Jersey and the Hudson River Valley Revolt in New York • elsewhere, wealthy Southern plantation owners, who considered themselves the aristocracy of the continent, objected to members of British Government attempting to control them through trading restrictions on sugar, cotton and molasses • also, the Proclamation Line drawn up by Parliament in 1763 led to frontiersmen feeling frustrated at British attempts to prevent them from settling beyond the Appalachian Mountains • some historians would point out that being part of the British Empire meant British Army protection for the colonists against the threat of the French and Indians; the British had fought the Seven Years' War which prevented the colonies being ruled by France. Despite this advantage, colonists greatly resented the efforts of Britain to restrict their movements and economic development. **Other factors:** **Navigation Acts:** • the Navigation Acts stated that colonists in any parts of the British Empire could only sell their goods to British merchants, they could only import goods from British traders, and they could only use British shipping in the transportation of goods in and out of the colonies • this meant that colonist merchants were being denied access to European markets for their produce such as tobacco or whale products, reducing their potential income and creating opposition to this aspect of British rule • moreover, although colonists had ignored the Acts during the Whig Ascendancy, the laws were re-enforced by Prime Minister Grenville after the Seven Years' War ended in 1763 • this caused deep resentment, since the presence of the Royal Navy, patrolling the Eastern Seaboard for rogue Dutch, French or Spanish ships, restricted the trading ability of the colonists who felt their enterprising spirit was being penalised • it could, however, be argued that the Navigation Acts gave the colonists a guaranteed market for their goods. Generally, though, the Navigation Acts were disliked by those wishing to trade freely with European merchants.

Role of George III:

- George III increased the number of British soldiers posted to the colonies after the Seven Years' War ended in 1763
- one function of the king's Proclamation of 1763 was to protect the colonies from future threats posed by foreign powers. However, all colonies and even some larger towns and cities within the colonies had their own militia already, and felt that the British Army in fact posed a threat to the colonists' freedom to defend themselves
- in addition, George III ensured there was a highly visible Royal Navy attendance on the Atlantic coast, whose job it was to patrol for smugglers importing from Holland, France or Spain, and to ensure compliance with the Navigation Acts
- this measure, to support the Revenue Bill proposed in Parliament 1763 was seen as equivalent to foreign invasion by many colonists who had acted in an independent spirit during Whig ascendancy
- on the other hand, it can be debated that George III was aiming to guarantee the protection of the colonies by maintaining British military presence, and that together with Parliament, he was planning a sensible economic strategy to raise money from the colonists to pay for their own security
- however, cynics in America argued that the king was merely working to ensure continued revenue for Britain, whose national debt had grown from £75 million to £145 million between 1756 and 1763.

Political differences between the colonies and Britain:

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

British neglect of the colonies:

- during the Whig ascendancy from 1727–1760, colonist Assemblies had assumed the powers which should have been exercised by Governors, such as the settlement in new territories acquired during that time including the Ohio Valley and Louisiana. Although they objected Parliament's attempt to reverse this after the Royal Proclamation of 1763, they were politically impotent and could not prevent it
- in addition, individual colonists and land companies expanding west into the Michigan area unwittingly violated agreements between Britain and Native American Indians such as the 1761 Treaty of Detroit
- therefore, quarrels arose as it appeared that the British government, and in particular Secretary of State William Pitt, was ignoring colonist aspirations to explore new regions in the continent
- one school of thought suggests that Britain's policies highlighted the status of the colonies as lands to be fought over with imperial powers like France and Spain who viewed America as potential possessions, and that British legislation-maintained colonist security under the Union Jack
- however, colonists such as planter and lawyer Patrick Henry of Virginia believed by 1763 that, whilst the right of the king to the colonies was indisputable, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for them was highly contentious.

Any other relevant factors.

20.	**Context:** In the 1760s and 1770s, the 13 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 5-year war which the colonists won. British people disagreed over the conflict in the colonies, with some favouring war, others urging reconciliation and others speaking up for the rights of the colonists themselves. **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. **Other factors:** **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 most 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 1768–7670 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 if he did not attack their interests and had the confidence of George III. North oversaw the Coercive Acts and Quebec Act. He led Britain through the war and spent a fortune on military supplies in America and the West Indies, believing the war could be won • John Wilkes was first elected as an MP in 1757. In 1764 Parliament declared Wilkes an outlaw. On his return to Britain in 1768 Parliament refused to allow him to take his seat. He was seen as radical among other things. He was recognised by American radicals as honest and freedom-loving, fighting against the tyranny of Crown and Parliament. He favoured 'rights and privileges of freeborn subjects in a land of liberty', and spoke out against British policy in the House of Commons

- British cotton industrialists and mill owners included some MPs who favoured the Navigation Acts as they guaranteed a supply of raw materials from the colonies. However, as the crisis approached war, they merely wanted a speedy resolution in order to allow trade to continue. Cotton mill workers — workers wanted trade to be maintained in order to preserve jobs, and so favoured any moves by the British government which would resolve the crisis.

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 First 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
- Pitt had been in favour of trade restrictions on the colonists
- he also considered a strong British military presence in America
- nevertheless, he condemned the Stamp Act as unfair, and although he supported later parliamentary legislation for the colonies he 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 in 1768, Chatham became increasingly aware of the colonists' plight in his final years, speaking against harsh measures towards America in the 1770s, and repeatedly cautioning the government about the impending crisis as war approached
- however, his warnings fell on deaf ears, as Parliament ignored his pleas for conciliation and his assertion that America could not be beaten if war broke out.

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. **Any other relevant factors.**

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

22.	**Context:** Though France was one of the richest, most powerful countries in the world in the eighteenth century, in the period immediately before 1789 the *Ancien Régime* faced a number of threats to its security. On the surface the regime appeared to be stable: the king was at the centre governing through consultation with his council of ministers and advisers. Laws and taxes were set by royal edict. The monarch ruled in provinces through Intendants, and in towns through *Parlements*. But appearances were deceptive for the *Ancien Régime* was threatened from within by deep-rooted financial problems. **Financial issues:** • France's involvement in wars including the American War of Independence, increased taxes and the national debt bringing the country to the brink of bankruptcy. By 1786 the Treasury deficit was estimated at 112 million livres — and rising • in 1774 Louis XVI had appointed Turgot as Controller-General. Turgot attempted to reform taxation and trade guilds. His reforms provoked so much protest, not least from the *Parlements* (the high courts of appeal that registered edicts handed down by the Crown), that Louis withdrew his support and Turgot resigned in 1776 • there then followed a decade of financial crisis which a succession of finance ministers including Necker, Calonne and Brienne sought to resolve through reform and restructuring to no avail • at the root of the problems was taxes and the system of taxation, which was leaving the Crown without the income it needed to govern effectively. **Other factors:** **Taxation and corruption:** • the taxation system, upon which the Crown depended for most of its revenue, was chaotic, inefficient and corrupt • taxes were collected via tax-farming by the Farmers-General. They paid the state and agreed sum and everything above this they kept for themselves. A consequence of this system was that the government never received enough money from taxes to fund expenditure and that the government had to borrow money in order to function • borrowing money was expensive and the state ending up having to service huge amounts of debt, which undermined the security of the Crown • taxes were collected by officials who had bought the right to hold their positions and so could not be dismissed. Their positions could be inherited too. Corruption and wastage were rife. This venality was another reason why the Crown was not getting adequate income • taxpayers resented the fact that much of the tax they paid never went into the treasury but went instead to the tax farmers • a system of exemptions also meant that the Crown did not receive nearly as much as it could have from taxation and, furthermore, exemptions caused deep resentment among those who were not exempt • exemptions were confined to the most privileged orders in the estate system, the First Estate (the clergy) and the Second Estate (the nobility), so in effect almost all the revenue from taxation came from the Third Estate (made up mainly of the peasantry but also including urban workers and the bourgeoisie) • the burden of direct and indirect taxation on the Third Estate was a source of deep resentment, as was the fact that the Church operated the tithe, and the nobility exacted a variety of feudal dues mainly from the peasants • the nobility could also tax the peasantry for hunting, shooting and fishing on their land • direct taxes such as the land tax (*Taille*) and the poll tax (*Capitation*) were disliked by the Third Estate and indirect taxes almost more so because indirect taxes were levied on food and drink (*Aidas*) on salt (*Gabelle*) and on goods entering towns (*Octrois*)

- the Estates system did not allow for social mobility. This created an increasing amount of frustration among the Third Estate, especially but not exclusively among the rising bourgeoisie. Middle merchants, businessmen and professionals but also wealthy peasant farmers, were excluded from government yet paid a lot of tax, a situation that increasingly, they viewed not only as unjust but also unsustainable
- in the provinces the King's government was carried out by the intendants appointed by, and answerable to, the Crown and responsible for policing, justice, finance, public works, trade and industry. Their great power made them highly unpopular, as did the fact that they often put their own and the Crown's interest before those of the people they governed.

Role of the royal family:

- when Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774, he was fully aware of the financial crisis that threatened the security of the regime and took action to try to get the crisis resolved. But in an absolutist system, in which so much of government revolved around the monarch personally, the monarch had to be strong and decisive whereas Louis was hesitant and indecisive
- Louis struggled to exert his authority over powerful factions within his court
- at critical points, Louis failed to back his ministers' when faced with protests against their reform initiatives
- in 1770 Louis married Marie Antoinette and as problems for government became more difficult and more serious for the regime, he increasingly sought advice from her and her circle, which weakened his position further
- in times of crisis, Marie Antoinette's lifestyle and her Austrian background became a problem for the regime because they were portrayed negatively undermining confidence in monarchy generally and Louis XVI's judgement in particular
- Louis's decision not to call a meeting of the Estates-General in 1786 to approve Calonne's reforms was an error of judgement that helped deepen the political crisis for the regime
- the King was increasingly seen as out of touch, incompetent and unable to govern effectively.

Position of the clergy and nobility:

- the Church was a pillar of the *Ancien Régime* but by the later 18th century it was increasingly becoming viewed by critics in the Third Estate as corrupt, too close to the monarchy and to the nobility, and more concerned with its own wealth and power than with the lives of the people
- the higher positions in the Church were occupied by the sons of the nobility and commanded high incomes, in stark contrast to the parish priests who were often poor
- the Church was the biggest single landowner in France and enormously wealthy. The wealth of the Church came from the land it owned and from the tithes paid to it
- tithes were meant to pay for the operations of the Church at parish level; they were supposed to provide for parish priests, poor relief and the maintenance of buildings. But in fact, much of Church revenue from tithes was used to fund comfortable lifestyles for the higher clergy. This was resented by people in the Third Estate, but also by the lower clergy who were closest to the Third Estate in background and experience
- parish priests often sided with the peasants in their localities, while the higher clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation
- the Church was exempt from taxation even though income from its property was 100 million livres a year. The Church agreed an annual payment to the state (*don gratuit*), which was less than 5% of its income and much less than it could afford to pay
- the Second Estate were another pillar of the *Ancien Régime* and as such they were keen to protect their privileges and position
- natural supporters of the monarchy, the nobles saw the rise of the bourgeoisie as a threat
- there were tensions between the traditional or court nobility (*noblesse de l'épee*) and the legal and administrative nobles (*noblesse de la robe*). The ancient, landed families sought to keep control of key positions in the State, the Army and the Church much to the annoyance of the more recently ennobled families
- nobles enjoyed a range of privileges the most important of which was their exemption from taxes. They were exempt from the land tax but also from indirect taxes such as the salt tax

	• even when they did pay tax, they nearly always managed to pay less than they were supposed to pay • nobles' tax exemptions and tax manipulation contributed a lot to their wealth and power as did the feudal dues they received from the peasantry. Consequently, nobles were highly reluctant to support changes that would affect their privileged position and so increasingly they were deeply resented by people in the Third Estate. **Grievances held by the Third Estate:** • the people of the Third Estate had many reasons to feel aggrieved and by the late 18th century their grievances had become a serious threat to the stability and sustainability of the regime • although there were extremes of wealth within the Third Estate, which included everyone from the poorest serf to the wealthiest merchant or professional, there was also increasing resentment of the regime across the Third Estate as a whole albeit for different reasons • the bourgeoisie, growing in numbers and in wealth, wanted to be included in government and the political system not simply as a reflection of their own self-regard but more important as a reflection of the fact that they paid taxes yet were denied political representation • the bourgeoise tended to be well educated. They had read the works of, and been influenced by, the *Philosophes* and had followed events in America so were well aware of the American colonists rallying cry, 'no taxation without representation' • many among the bourgeoisie were annoyed by the fact that the wealthy nobles did not seem to have done much to deserve their wealth but instead were wealthy because of others' efforts • people in the Third Estate were liable for compulsory military service. Those bourgeoisie who did not want to do this resented the fact that they had to pay the land tax if they did not want to do it • within the peasantry, who made up almost 70% of the total French population, there were variations in wealth and status. Most were either labourers or sharecroppers or landless labourers but some were still serfs and a small group were large farmers who owned land and employed labourers • peasants bore the heaviest burden of direct and indirect taxes and were required to pay feudal dues, and this was deeply resented. They were also liable for forced labour on public roads and buildings (*Corvée*) • by the later 18th century taxes were higher than they had ever been, and food prices were higher too. For many, perhaps most, peasants' life was difficult • urban workers were also, for the most part, poor. From the 1720s to the early 1780s food prices had gone up by 65% but wages only by 22%. The terrible living and working conditions of urban workers along with the falling standard of living fuelled anger and hostility toward the regime. **Any other relevant factors.**

23.	**Context:** The Flight to Varennes (June 1791) destroyed the credibility of the King and what remained of his popularity, yet Louis's acceptance of the constitution (13 September) seemed to offer the possibility of revolutionary change that did not go as far as setting up a republic. The mood of the new Legislative Assembly that met for the first time (1 October) was more hostile to the monarchy than its predecessor the Constituent Assembly had been, but it looked like the constitutional settlement of 1791 would survive. The outbreak of war with Austria (April 1792) changed everything: it led to the fall of the monarchy and ultimately to civil war and to the Terror. **Outbreak of war:** • the declaration of war (20 April 1792) radicalised the Revolution not least because there was substantial support for war among the members of the Legislative Assembly • supporters of the war such as Brissot argued that a successful conflict against Austria would stimulate new enthusiasm for the Revolution and would allow French revolutionary ideas to be spread abroad • the Girondins too wanted war, and their position strengthened when Austria and Prussia became allies (7 February 1792) in an attempt to intimidate France • the declaration of war was supported by all but seven deputies • military defeat in the Austrian Netherlands and the desertion of many French commanders to the enemy caused panic in France, and a military crisis • the radical *sans-culottes* grew in importance and in recognition of this the Assembly declared a state of emergency and issued a decree *La Patrie en Danger* (11 July) • the balance of power now shifted to those who wanted popular democracy and an end to the constitutional monarchy • the war resulted in higher taxes which made the constitutional monarchy unpopular in the provinces. **Other factors:** **Role of Louis XVI:** • Louis XVI was never comfortable with, or deeply committed to constitutional monarchy and his actions after the disastrous Flight to Varennes reflected that • Louis was never reconciled to the Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789), and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) and only very reluctantly agreed to the constraints on his power and authority imposed on him by the Constitution (September 1791) • Louis vetoed the laws against *émigrés* passed by the Assembly (November 1791) which made it look as though he was deliberately undermining the Revolution and increased his unpopularity • Marie Antoinette wrote to her brother Leopold II of Austria supporting war but in the hope that France would lose enabling Louis to take back control of government • Louis shared Marie Antoinette's view • many deputies believed rumours that Marie Antoinette and Louis were plotting counter-revolution • opposition from refractory priests and counterrevolutionaries led the Assembly to pass a law for the deportation of refractory priests, a law disbanding the King's Guard and a law to set up a camp of 20,000 National Guards from the provinces • Louis vetoed these laws (June 1792), which energised the leaders of the *sans-culottes* paving the way for popular democracy, the attack on the Tuileries (August 1792) and the abolition of the monarchy and proclamation of a Republic (September 1792). **Civil Constitution of the Clergy:** • the Civil Constitution of the Clergy made clergymen state employees • new dioceses were made to coincide with the administrative framework of local government (the departments) reducing the number of bishops from 135 to 83 • only bishops approved by the French State would be recognised

- priests and bishops were to be elected
- the Assembly decreed (November 1790) that clergy must take an oath to the constitution; this split the Church
- there were now two Churches: the constitutional Church which accepted the Revolution but was rejected by Rome and the 'non-juring' Church, approved by the Pope and rejecting the Revolution
- one result of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was the King's attempt to flee from France (June 1791).

Role of the National Assembly:

- the reforms passed by the National Assembly from the end of 1789 onwards continued the diminution of royal power and authority that the decrees and declarations of earlier on in the year had started
- changes in local government, the right to vote, taxation and finance and the legal system, and policies on the sale of Church land transformed France
- the National Assembly supported Louis and constitutional monarchy even after the Flight to Varennes, but even so the King's powers were suspended by the Assembly until the constitution was completed
- the fact that Louis had not been dethroned and put on trial angered radicals
- there were disagreements between Feuillants (supporters of constitutional monarchy) and Jacobins (opponents of constitutional monarchy) and the war exacerbated these divisions and led to a shift towards support for republicanism
- although the Assembly tried to improve France's economy which had been damaged by the events of the Revolution its efforts were not successful
- inflation was spiralling, bread prices in the towns and cities were rising and taxation continued to be a burden for some of the poorest sections of society. Lack of progress on the economy increased the unpopularity of the constitutional monarchy and the demand for more radical reform in a more democratic regime.

Activities of the émigrés:

- the *émigrés* were a source of real concern to the new regime and to the constitutional monarchy
- *émigrés* were actively engaged in counter-revolutionary plots and wanted a return to the *Ancien Régime*
- nobles, nearly all of the ancient regime bishops, and many of the senior judges had all emigrated to Austria or to one of the nearby German states
- the Assembly was particularly concerned about the desertion of army officers. By early 1791 about 1200 had joined the *émigrés* but after the Flight to Varennes this went up to 6000 officers — over half of all officers
- in November 1791 the Assembly passed two laws to address the problem of counter-revolutionary *émigré*s: one said that all non-jurors were now suspects, and the other stated that all *émigrés* who did not return to France by 1 January 1792 would have their property forfeited and be declared traitors
- *émigrés* were involved in setting up counter-revolutionary forces such as the *Armée des Princes*, undermining confidence in the constitutional monarchy.

Any other relevant factors.

24.	**Context:** From April 1792 the revolution moved into a new phase culminating in the 'Reign of Terror'. It is difficult to know how many people died during the Terror, but certainly tens of thousands were executed and perhaps tens of thousands more died from imprisonment, starvation, military action and repression. The Terror was rooted in the fact that the government faced mounting threats from enemies outside of France and inside to the point where its security and survival looked to be in doubt. The Terror was about saving the Revolution and the government. Robespierre became the key figure on the Committee of Public Safety and played a crucial role in instigating the Terror to achieve that goal. **Role of Robespierre:** • Robespierre believed that the 'general will' of the sovereign people both created and sanctioned policymaking within the nation. The will of the people could only prevail within a republic • any individual who sought to oppose this was, by implication, guilty of treason against the nation itself. In such circumstances death — the ultimate weapon of Terror — was entirely appropriate • hence Robespierre's belief that 'terror is virtue' — that to create and maintain a 'virtuous' nation which enshrined the revolutionary principles of liberty and equality, it was necessary to expunge any counter-revolutionary activity violently • with the imposition of the Law of 22nd Prairial (June 1794), Robespierre was given virtually unlimited powers to eliminate opponents of his Republic of Virtue and during the period of the Great Terror in June and July 1794, over 1500 were executed • had Robespierre lived beyond Thermidor, there is good reason to believe that the death toll would have risen even higher • many of the killings were carried out under the orders of Robespierre, who dominated the Committee of Public Safety, until his own execution in 1794 • however, while Robespierre must bear responsibility for the intensification of the Terror during 1793–1794, the willingness to use the Terror as an instrument of state policy was by no means confined to Robespierre. **Other factors:** **Outbreak of war:** • the outbreak of war in 1792 had decisive and far-reaching consequences: it destroyed the consensus of 1789 and led ultimately to the fall of the monarchy, to civil war and to the Terror • European powers were horrified by the Revolution and by the way the King and the royal family were treated following the Flight to Varennes. The Declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791) threatened consequences if the French royal family were harmed • France declared war on Austria (20 April, 1792), and Prussia declared war on France (13 June, 1792) • the Revolution was radicalised by the war to the point where the position of the monarchy became near impossible because of Louis XVI's relationship with France's enemies • radical anti-monarchists hoped that a successful war against Austria and Prussia would bring them increased support at home and lead to the end of the monarchy • the monarchy was finally overthrown (10 August, 1792) and Louis was executed (21 January, 1793) • war was the occasion for a hunt for 'enemies within' and led to the idea of the 'nation in crisis' as a mechanism for explaining and excusing extreme policies including the Terror • pressure from demonstrations in Paris intimidated the Convention into adopting terror as 'the order of the day'.

Threat of counter-revolution:

- as the Convention recognised, the revolution was not welcomed by everyone. The Convention's major concerns at the start of 1793 were counter-revolutionary activity (which intensified, particularly in the provinces, after Louis' execution), and effective prosecution of the war against the Republic's émigré and foreign opponents
- counter-revolution was perhaps in the first instance based on hostility among the clergy and the nobles to the treatment of the Catholic Church
- however, other sections of French society were also fusing together to resist changes they felt were being imposed on them by Paris
- concern about the growth of counter-revolution prompted the Convention to agree to a range of counter-revolutionary measures that included the setting up of the CGS and the CPS, the establishment of revolutionary tribunals to try opponents of the Republic and impose the death penalty, and the establishment of surveillance committees in local areas to identify counter-revolutionary activity
- the Federal Revolt seemed to justify the need for government by terror.

Political rivalries:

- political rivalries helped to create a situation where the Terror took on a momentum of its own
- the Terror was a consequence of the struggle between the Montagnards and the Girondins. In the political crisis of June 1793, the Girondins were expelled from the Convention for supporting revolts backed by royalists
- towards the end of 1793 as the government had begun to overcome the challenges threatening the existence of the Republic, steps were taken to reassert central control. On 4 December 1793 the Law of Frimaire set up revolutionary government giving the two main committees the CGS and the CPS full executive powers. The CPS's powers were the more extensive
- however, new policies from the CPS, while providing strong government, also rejected the principles of 1789. Robespierre justified this by arguing that a dictatorship was necessary until foreign and domestic enemies of the Revolution had been destroyed
- the main challenge to the revolutionary government now came from former supporters, especially Hebertistes on the left and Dantonists on the right
- Robespierre disliked the Herbertistes' political extremism and when Hebert called for a further insurrection in early March 1794 he was arrested with his main supporters. They were executed on 24 March
- Danton supported those who called for an end to the Terror and to the new centralisation imposed in December 1793. This could only happen, Danton argued, if the war was brought to an end (because the war had caused and sustained the Terror). Danton's position was viewed by many in the Convention as a way of bringing back the monarchy. Danton and his supporters were arrested on 30 March 1794 and executed on 5 April.

Committee of Public Safety:

- set up in April 1793 at a time of mounting crisis for the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety (CPS) was established to organise the defence of the nation against its enemies at home and abroad, and to supervise and speed up action from ministers whose authority it superseded
- from April to 10 July 1793 the CPS was dominated by Georges Danton and his followers. They pursued a policy of moderation and reconciliation but failed to deal with the precarious military situation. They were replaced in July by men more determined and more radical in the defence of the Revolution, among them Robespierre who joined the committee on 27 July
- under Robespierre's direction, the CPS prepared the ground for, and then implemented, extreme policies
- in October, following the recommendation of the CPS, the constitution of 1793 was suspended, and it was decided to maintain a 'revolutionary government' for as long as necessary
- the Committee now became the main instrument for the application of terror in defence of Robespierre's ideal of a 'Republic of Virtue'
- along with the Committee of General Security, the CPS controlled the official Terror centred in Paris

	• from September 1793 to July 1794, the CPS was composed of the same men (with the exception of Herault de Sechelles who was guillotined in April 1794), and it controlled France, dominating the National Convention and relying on the support of the Jacobins (radical democrats) • the CPS ensured that harsh measures were taken against alleged enemies of the Revolution, for example, it oversaw the 'Great Terror' (10 June — 27 July 1794) during which some 1500 men and women were executed. **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	**Context:** Nationalism — the idea that people with a common culture, language and history should have the right to rule themselves — grew in the German states after 1815 in part as a consequence of cultural changes that generated a sense of German identity. Although the Congress of Vienna sought to curb the growth of nationalism in an attempt to restore the *Ancien Régime*, German nationalism continued to grow reflecting the strength and appeal of romanticism. **Cultural factors:** • German nationalism was a consequence of the impact of the Romantic Revolution. Romanticism was a reaction against the ideas Enlightenment and the French Revolution. It emphasised the importance of responding to the world not only, or even mainly, through reason but also through the senses, with imagination, and in a spirit of awe and wonder at the mystery of life • Romanticism encouraged emotional connection to landscape and the idea of identities shaped by a sense of place • Romanticism also encouraged the idea of ethnicity based on shared language, culture and history • Romantic ideas that were taken up and promoted by German academics, writers, musicians and painters • famous German romantics, whose work fuelled the growth of German nationalism after 1815 included the poet, playwright, scientist and statesmen Johann Goethe, the philosopher Johann Fichte, the poet and playwright Friedrich Schiller, and the philologists and cultural researchers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm • the Brothers Grimm collected folk tales from across the German states and published them together into a single volume, *Children's and Household Tales*. The tales were translated from regional dialects into High German. To the Brothers Grimm these folk tales represented what they saw as a pure form of national literature • German composers such as Beethoven spanned the transition from the Classical period in music to the Romantic period • the artist Caspar David Friedrich's landscapes featured contemplative figures set against huge moons or morning mists or barren trees or gothic ruins — a Romantic German landscape • given that some 25 million spoke German, the Romantic emphasis on, and celebration of, shared language, culture and history profoundly affected the development of a of German national consciousness • after 1815 Romanticism strongly influenced academics and students in the universities • *Burschenschaften* — student fraternities — became centres of nationalist sentiment and organised explicitly nationalist festivals • the Wartburg Festival of 1817 criticised the existing political system and commemorated the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and the 300th anniversary of the Reformation headed by the German 'hero', Martin Luther. As well as rebelling against Rome, Luther translated the whole Bible into German • the Hambach Festival in 1832, attended by perhaps as many as 30 000 people, drew support from across the German states to celebrate German identity, history and culture • the *Burschenschaften* lacked specific goals, but they nevertheless provided a platform for, and gave political voice to, nationalist ideas. **Other factors:** **Economic factors:** • economic change also directly and indirectly contributed to the growth of German nationalism. Population growth together with industrialisation, especially in Prussia, had the effect of drawing the German states closer together through trade and the development of a transport network in the form of the railways

- by 1850 5000 km of railway track had been laid across the German states with Berlin (the capital of Prussia) as the hub
- railways enabled goods and people to travel throughout the region, breaking down provincial barriers and insularity and bringing states closer together
- railways helped Germans to appreciate their shared language, culture and history
- Prussian industrial development led to a shift in power away from Austria
- Prussia took over land on the Rhine after 1815 spreading its territories across northern German. Given that Prussia's main territories were in the east, Prussia wanted to reach agreements with neighbouring states to ensure less restricted movement of goods and people between its lands in the east and the west
- in 1818 Prussia created a large free trade area in Prussia, getting rid of internal taxes on the movement of goods. Thereafter other German states began to join the Prussian free trade area
- an increasing number of German middle-class businessmen wanted a more integrated *German* market because, they argued, a united Germany would be able to compete much more effectively against Britain and France
- in 1834 Prussia set up the *Zollverein*. This enlarged customs union had 25 of the 39 states in it by 1836. Austria was not allowed to join. In effect member states accepted limits on their sovereignty (even if only for selfish reasons) and the dominance of Prussia in return for access to bigger and better markets
- the economic successes that resulted from cooperation encouraged many German businessmen to support political unification
- not all the members of the *Zollverein* wanted a united Germany, but for many Germans the *Zollverein* was a force for union and a focal point for nationalist sentiment.

Military weakness:

- the Napoleonic Wars highlighted the fact that as separate states the German states were militarily weak and so easier for France to conquer
- French troops humiliated the armies even of Prussia, the strongest German state
- military defeats inflicted by Napoleon's armies allowed Napoleon to incorporate the German North Sea coast into France itself, and to set up the Confederation of the Rhine as a puppet state. Germans were forcibly conscripted into the French army too
- divided, the German states had not been able to protect and defend their territorial integrity
- after the defeat of Napoleon by multi-national coalition armies at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, German states were able to join forces to fight the French. Napoleon's conquest highlighted the fact that, as separate states, the German states relied on foreign help when their independence was threatened by foreign powers. After 1815 this vulnerability bolstered the argument for gaining military strength through German unification.

Effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars:

- following the invasion of the German states in 1806 the key ideas of the French Revolution — liberty, equality and fraternity/solidarity — spread among the German people, appealing especially to the middle classes
- after 1815 these ideas, liberty in particular, were developed into the political ideology that became known as Liberalism with its emphasis on freedom and rights
- in 1806 Napoleon abolished the Holy Roman Empire, which had consisted of many hundreds of states. He replaced it with the Confederation of the Rhine (consisting of 16 states) and reduced the number of German states overall to 39. This made the German lands much easier to govern
- the states were now placed under the Napoleonic Code, which had the effect of making them more united too
- the victorious powers replaced the Confederation of the Rhine with the German Confederation in 1815. The latter resembled Napoleon's reorganised 39 states; there was no going back to the Holy Roman Empire
- nationalism also grew among Germans as a direct consequence of the invasion of the German states by the French revolutionary armies. French rule was oppressive. While Germans were inspired by the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity/solidarity, they deeply resented being treated by the French as an uncivilised, uncultured people. Memories of the occupation and the resentment it had generated lay at the root of German nationalism after 1815

	• Germans recognised that Napoleon's military success was in part a consequence of France's unity; many argued that France had been able to conquer German states precisely because the German states were divided, separate, autonomous territories • German rulers had stirred national feeling to help raise armies united by the common goal of driving the French out of the German lands. **Role of the Liberals:** • after 1815 nationalism and liberalism became closely linked • Liberals argued that the political reform was needed to increase people's freedom and rights and to diminish the power of unelected heads of state, the army, the secret police and the Church • many liberals thought that reform would be more likely to succeed if the German states were united into a single state. Liberals also argued that free trade would be much easier and more profitable if the German states were politically united • Liberals were mainly middle class, and so often were the new generators of wealth. They resented being excluded from government. They wanted constitutional change that would include, among other things, a written constitution, an elected parliament, freedom of speech and expression, and a united Germany • throughout the 1830s and 1840s liberalism continued to grow, reaching a peak in the 1848 revolution during which the Frankfurt Parliament was set up. The Parliament had elected representatives from across the German states coming to sit in an assembly that, it was hoped, would pass legislation for the whole of a new united Germany • the revolution failed to achieve what its middle-class liberal leaders hoped for, but the Frankfurt Parliament, and the discussions about unification and a German constitution that took place in it, indicate that nationalism that grown significantly alongside, and because of, the growth of liberalism. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**Context:** That there was marked growth in German nationalism from 1815–1850 caused by a range of political, cultural and economic factors is beyond doubt. But significant though the growth of nationalism was, it was not inevitable. Nationalists were often deeply divided among themselves especially over the question of whether Austria should be included in a united Germany and over the question of how any united Germany ought to be governed. **Divisions among the nationalists:** • nationalists could not agree about what any united Germany should look like. Some wanted Austria to be included (*Grossdeutschland*), others wanted Austria to be excluded (*Kleindeutschland*) • the issue of the territorial extent of any united Germany made it difficult for nationalists to build consensus and when the Frankfurt Parliament was set up during the 1848 revolution it weakened the nationalists' cause and made it easier for the authority of the old order to be re-established • lack of unity among nationalists in 1848 also meant that the Frankfurt Parliament struggled to reach agreement on its aims and objectives and was unable to act decisively and quickly enough to retain momentum creating the opportunity for the rulers of the German states to strike back • faced with opposition from Austria in particular, and without an armed force to back its decisions, the Frankfurt Parliament proved unable to bring about a united Germany • German nationalists were also divided over how any united Germany should be governed. Liberals wanted a united Germany under a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament and a bill of rights whereas radicals favoured the abolition of monarchy (republicanism) and universal manhood suffrage • middle class liberals were more inclined towards establishing a Germany that was based on property rights and the rule of law and were frightened that radical ideas would lead to the terror and oppression that marked the regime in France from 1792–1799. **Other factors:** **Austrian strength:** • in 1806 Napoleon had dissolved the Holy Roman Empire that was principally made up of the German states and ruled over by Austria, but the Congress of Vienna set up the German Confederation or Bund. This was a loose political organisation of the 39 German states dominated by Austria and formed for mutual defence • the Bund did not have a central executive or judiciary, and though its delegates met in a Federal Assembly, this was dominated by Austria, which held chairmanship of the Bund on a permanent basis. Any changes to the Confederation had to be agreed unanimously • the aim of the Confederation was to preserve the Austrian Empire and as such it was used by Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, to try to crush any growth of nationalism and liberalism • federal law took precedence over state law and applied to all member states. This enabled Metternich to use legislation such as the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819 to counter nationalism • the Carlsbad Decrees brought in censorship of all periodical publications, banned the student societies (which had become hotbeds of nationalist sentiment) and place schools and universities under 'supervision' • in addition, Metternich operated a network of spies and informants to keep nationalists in check • censorship, repression and the police state were reinforced in the Six Articles of June 1832 and the Ten Articles of July 1832 • after 1848 two attempts by Prussia to set up a union of states under their leadership were thwarted by Austria culminating in the 'humiliation of Olmutz' (November 1850) when Prussia agreed to abandon plans for a union of German states and accepted the re-establishment of the German Confederation under Austrian control.

German princes:

- the loose arrangement of the German Confederation meant that each individual German state was able to retain its own rulers, laws and ways of doing things. The German princes were highly sensitive to any attempts to diminish or dilute their positions of power
- each German state had its own traditions, history and culture, and while German people shared a common language albeit with different accents, nevertheless each individual state sought to maintain its sense of differentness and separate identity
- this particularism was an obstacle to German unity because the leaders of the separate states were unwilling to give up their hereditary power and wealth for a united Germany, and the peoples of the different states were unwilling to be absorbed into a larger single political organisation that might result in their identities being eclipsed by or even erased altogether by Austria or Prussia.

Religious differences:

- religious differences among the German states, dating back to the Reformation, made German unity difficult. The Thirty Years' War of the 17th century, fought mostly in the German states, resulted in the northern German states becoming mostly Protestant and the southern German states becoming mostly Catholic
- the most powerful northern state was Prussia, and it was Protestant, so the smaller northern Protestant states increasingly looked to Prussia for help and protection. By contrast, the biggest southern state was Austria, and it was Catholic, so the smaller southern states looked to Austria for help and protection
- the impact of religion on the culture and society of the north and south German states meant that the peoples of the states often had very different cultures, outlooks and mentalities
- in addition, the south German states were highly influenced not just by Austria but also by the Papacy whereas in the north German states the Protestant Churches were independent and identified strongly with the individual states in which they were set.

Indifference of the masses:

- in the period between 1815 and 1850 the growth of German nationalism and the growth of German liberalism were intertwined but the growth of these ideologies occurred mainly among the educated middle classes
- the industrial revolution, especially in Prussia, gave rise to a new business and commercial middle class who were wealthy and progressive in outlook, and who saw the economic and political benefits of nationalism and liberalism. They were acutely aware of the fact that even though they were wealth generators there were not afforded political representation or influence hence their support for nationalism and liberalism, which they believed were the best vehicles for bringing about the political and economic reforms that would serve their interests
- however, most people in the German states were neither middle class nor wealthy. In rural areas German peasants experienced great hardship not least in the 1840s, a decade marked by famine and a rising population. Building popular support for nationalism among people for whom the struggle to survive was their main preoccupation was difficult
- likewise, rural workers who had moved to towns and cities that were industrialising also experienced great hardship and exploitation. They too were often preoccupied by the struggle to survive and did not have the capacity to be engaged in the pursuit of German unity.

Any other relevant factors.

27.	**Context:** In January 1871 German nationalists' dream of a united Germany became a reality when a new German Empire was proclaimed following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war. The defeat of France underlined the importance of Prussian military strength in the unification of Germany and was the culmination of the growth of Prussian military power heralded by Prussia's defeat of Austria in 1866 and, with some Austrian assistance, her defeat of Denmark in 1864. **Prussian military strength:** • German unification was the consequence of German military victories, but these victories could not have been achieved without Prussian military might • Prussian weaponry, Prussian soldiers and Prussian command were at the heart of the defeat of Denmark (1864), Austria (1866–1867) and France (1870–1871) • the Prussian military was greatly improved during the 1860s as a consequence of reforms presided over by the war minister, General von Roon, and Chief of the General Staff, General von Moltke • Von Roon oversaw the expansion of the Prussian army and improvements in training and equipment. Von Moltke developed mobilisation plans that, in time of war, effectively gave control of the railways to the Prussian army enabling rapid movement and deployment of troops • a key military impact of the army reforms was the increase in annual recruitment that made a much larger field army possible • Von Moltke insisted that the Prussian officer corps be much better trained partly through rigorous war gaming exercises, which meant that Prussian leadership on the field of battle was much improved • Prussian generals made highly effective use of new technology in transport, communications and in weaponry, which helped to give the Prussian armies and advantage • military success reflected the fact that the Prussian economy was industrialised, modern and wealth generating so ensuring that Prussia could absorb the enormous costs of war and could ensure that Prussian armies were well equipped, well trained and could be deployed effectively. **Other factors:** **Prussian economic strength:** • by the 1850s and 1860s Prussia was the dominant economic power in mainland Europe eclipsing all other German states including Austria, and increasingly challenging France • Prussia's economic strength was based on industrialisation and urbanisation that picked up pace after the Napoleonic Wars and was made possible by the Prussia's rich supplies of mineral resources, especially coal and iron ore, but also by huge investment in railways. Railways revolutionised transport and communications and facilitated a rapid expansion of trade • the *Zollverein* (1834) made trade among the member states easier and cheaper, and railways reduced costs too. Industrialists, entrepreneurs and financiers became immensely wealthy, and in addition standards of living improved among the urban, industrial working classes • by 1836, 25 of the 39 German states were members of this Prussian-dominated free-trade area. The smaller German states benefited from the increased trade with Prussia and across the German Confederation • some German states supported Austria because they resented Prussian economic dominance. Nevertheless, the *Zollverein* encouraged supporters of German nationalism, who hoped that economic union would lead to full political unification • German workers also benefited from improvements in Prussian education and as a result Prussia developed a highly skilled workforce especially in iron and steelmaking but also in chemicals and engineering • economic development underpinned Prussia's growing military power. It generated the money, the skills and technical expertise, the investment, the industrial power and the transport infrastructure that needed to build a modern military power.

The decline of Austria:

- Austrian power and influence declined during the 1850s in particular and at the same time as Prussian was growing in strength economically, politically and militarily
- Prussian military strength has to be set against Austrian military weakness, military weakness that reflected Austria's declining economic and political power
- Austria was less industrialised and developed its railways at a much slower pace than Prussia. Austria remained mainly agricultural, although German states in the south still looked to Austria rather than to Prussia for political leadership
- Austria was distracted by problems in her large multi-ethnic empire and by commitments in Italy. Defeat in the Italian Independence War of 1859 was a serious blow to Austrian prestige
- Austria was increasingly isolated internationally. Failure to give Russia unequivocal support during the Crimean War (1853–1856) seriously undermined Austria's relationship with Russia.

Role of Bismarck:

- though Bismarck was not a German nationalist, he wanted to ensure that Prussia was the dominant German state and a powerful state in Europe. He calculated that the best way of achieving these aims, and thus of advancing Prussian interests first and foremost, was through German unification
- Bismarck used a mixture of diplomatic skill, opportunism, provocation and risk-taking to achieve German unification
- in the war against Denmark in 1864, Prussia and Austria fought together but it was Bismarck who had taken the lead in pursuing war, not Austria
- in the run up to war against Austria in 1866, Bismarck ensured that Austria was diplomatically isolated
- following the war with Denmark, Bismarck provoked conflict with Austria by causing disputes with about ruling Schleswig and Holstein, challenging Austria's right to lead the German states in the Bund and then leaving the German Confederation trying to take the north German states with him
- after the defeat of Austria by Prussia Bismarck ensured that the peace terms were not too harsh for Austria. He then set up the North German Confederation under Prussian leadership
- Bismarck forced the south German states into agreeing military alliances with Prussia so that in the event of a future war with France, the south German states would be obliged to fight alongside Prussia
- Bismarck rightly guessed that he would be able to provoke Emperor Napoleon III into declaring war on Prussia. He did this by antagonising France through the Hohenzollern candidature (1869) and then provoking France into declaring war on Prussia by altering the Ems telegram (1870)
- in 1864, 1866 and 1870 Bismarck was prepared to take a calculated risk that the Prussian military would deliver victories.

Role of other countries:

- in the 1860s Britain was increasingly preoccupied with the Empire, particularly India, and generally welcomed Prussia's dominant position in central Europe, regarding it as a welcome counterweight to both France and Russia
- Russia was pleased that it had a reliable partner against Austria
- Austria, absorbed with the problem of dealing with its various subject nationalities, especially the Hungarians, was not in a position to mount a war of revenge after being defeated by Prussia in 1866
- Napoleon III overreacted over the Hohenzollern candidature. Viewing Leopold's candidature as totally unacceptable, Napoleon III instructed the French ambassador in Berlin to go to the spa town at Ems to put the French case that Leopold's candidacy was a danger to France and to advise William I to stop Leopold leaving for Spain if he wanted to avoid war
- despite the fact that the affair appeared to have been settled in France's favour, Napoleon III overplayed his hand by demanding an official renunciation from William I on behalf of Leopold. This gave Bismarck the opportunity to doctor the Ems Telegram and provoke war

	• Prussia was broadly supportive of Russia's crushing of the Polish Revolt (1863). By contrast Britain and France had criticised Russia's response provoking Russian anger • Russia was prepared to accept Prussian victory against Austria and Austrian decline in part because Austria had not supported Russia against Britain and France during the Crimean War. **Any other relevant factors.**

28.	**Context:** Between 1815 and 1850, Italy was not a unified country. However, during this period nationalist ideas steadily developed. The idea of a Risorgimento of the Italian nation implied that a reborn, unified Italy might once again become great and powerful. Such ideas became linked with a desire for independence from Austria. **Economic factors:** • economic factors were not important directly. Wealth lay in land (landowners were often reactionary) and trade (where the educated bourgeoisie were more receptive to ideas of liberalism and nationalism) • the election of a new, seemingly reformist Pope, Pius IX, in 1846 inspired feelings of nationalism particularly amongst businessmen and traders as he wished to form a customs union. **Other factors:** **Cultural factors:** • the Risorgimento was inspired by Italy's past. Poets such as Leopardi glorified and exaggerated past achievements kindling nationalist desires. Poets and novelists like Pellico inspired anti-Austrian feelings amongst intellectuals as did operas such as Verdi's '*Nabucco*' and Rossini's '*William Tell*' • there was no national 'Italian' language — regional dialects were like separate languages. Alfieri inspired 'Italian' language based on Tuscan. The poet and novelist Manzoni wrote in 'Italian'. Philosophers spread ideas of nationalism in their books and periodicals • moderate nationalists such as Gioberti and Balbo advocated the creation of a federal state with the individual rulers remaining but joining together under a president for foreign affairs and trade. Gioberti's 'On the moral and civil primacy of the Italians' advocated the Pope as president whilst Balbo, in his book 'On the Hopes of Italy', saw the King of Piedmont/Sardinia in the role. **Military weakness:** • the French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak. Italy was fought over by French and Austrian armies during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period • the fragmentation of Italy in the Vienna Settlement restored Italy's vulnerability to foreign invasion as the kings of Piedmont and Naples and Sicily were restored to their kingdoms. The Pope recovered his states in central Italy, and the duchies of Parma, Tuscany and Modena were handed over to members of the Austrian royal families. **Effects of French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars:** • 'Italian' intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship • Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism — he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in single system of weights and measures; improved communications; helped trade, inspiring desire for at least a customs union • Napoleon's occupation of Italy was hated — conscription of the local population, taxes, looting of Italian art.

	Resentment of Austria: • after the Vienna Settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena, Tuscany • the growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners), led to revolts in 1820, 1821, 1831. Also 'Young Italy' and their revolts in the 1830s • they had support throughout Italy, mostly drawn from the middle classes — doctors, teachers, lawyers, etc. along with a few army officers • these groups were patriotic idealists rather than practical politicians: men prepared to risk their lives for their cause. Some wanted an Italian Republic while others looked for constitutional reforms • Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers • conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion in the police, civil service and army only for German speakers was resented • Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that 'Italians' could never forget that they were under foreign control, and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state. **Any other relevant factors.**

29.	**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. **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. **Other factors:** **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. The north had a developed road and rail network comprising about 75,500 km of roads and over 2000 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. **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.

	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.**

30.	**Context:** By 1870 Italy had unified under the leadership of Piedmont-Sardinia. Despite being militarily weak the Piedmontese political leadership skilfully used diplomacy as well as focused military alliances to force Austria from the Italian peninsular. Cavour played a vital role in the modernisation of Piedmont and his diplomatic skills were vital for unification. **Role of Cavour:** • Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour played a vital role in the modernisation of Piedmont. His reforms brought about economic improvements and led to the development of Piedmont's trading links with other countries. Cavour's reforms to the way that Piedmont raised money in taxation allowed her to increase spending on her army • Cavour showed great skill as a diplomat and as a political pragmatist. His diplomatic skills especially in the critical years 1859–1860 were of fundamental importance in shaping the Italian nation • Cavour used Piedmont's involvement in the Crimean War as an opportunity to gain favour with Britain and France as well as point out at the Paris Peace talks that Austria had too much power in Italy • Cavour came to an agreement with Napoleon III at Plombieres in 1858 which secured French support against Austria and he successfully goaded the Austrians to declare war on Piedmont • when rebellions broke out in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna in 1859 Cavour used his diplomatic skills to persuade Napoleon to allow a plebiscite • Cavour made a secret agreement to help Prussia in the war against Austria 1866. Prussia's war against France gave the Italians the chance to take Rome • Cavour's diplomacy was also shown during Garibaldi's expedition. Through his actions to stop Garibaldi creating trouble in the Papal States, he unintentionally played a role in promoting the unification of Italy • Napoleon III did not intervene over Garibaldi's expedition and instead supported Cavour in the background. He made a secret agreement accepting Cavour's proposed invasion of the Papal States to stop Garibaldi reaching Rome • Cavour became the first prime minister of a unified Italy. When he died in 1861 only Venetia and the Papal states lay outside Italian control. **Other factors:** **Rise of Piedmont:** • Piedmont was the most powerful and liberal of the independent Italian states which enabled her to become the leader of the unification movement • Piedmont was the most economically advanced of the Italian states. It had developed its economic infrastructure as well as commercial activity such as cotton and silk working, which led to an increase in trade of 300% in the 1850s. Industry developed around urban centres such as Turin and a railway network was built • the growing economy in Piedmont meant it attracted workers from across Italy. Other Italian states wished to share in the economic success of Piedmont • the Piedmontese army was advanced by Italian standards • the Piedmontese ruler, Victor Emmanuel II was interested in Piedmontese expansion so there was a political will for unification as an opportunity to win glory for Piedmont. The King was supportive of his chief minister Cavour • the French and Piedmontese successfully provoked Austria into war in 1859 • this allowed the Piedmontese to defeat the Papal Army, taking The Marches and Umbria. In 1866 Austria handed Venetia to France who gave it to Italy • the Piedmontese ruler, Victor Emmanuel II was interested in Piedmontese expansion so the there was a political will for unification as an opportunity to win glory for Piedmont. Like Cavour, the King was most interested in Piedmontese expansion. The King was therefore supportive of Cavour and looked for opportunities to win glory for Piedmont and himself. Both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour realised foreign help would be needed to drive the Austrians from Italy. In practice, this meant getting French support

- on 26 October 1860, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel met at the head of two armies at Teano. A triumphal entry of Naples was stage-managed, and Garibaldi formally handed over his conquests to the King. The King and Cavour had ensured that Garibaldi was politically isolated
- the Piedmontese leaders skilfully used the forces of Garibaldi. Garibaldi led the Expedition of the Thousand on behalf of and with the consent of Victor Emmanuel II.

Role of Garibaldi:

- Giuseppi Garibaldi was an inspirational Italian general, republican and revolutionary who was committed to Italian unification
- however, he was also a pragmatist and allied himself with the Piedmontese monarchy to achieve Italian unification
- in 1848, Garibaldi returned to Italy and commanded and fought in military campaigns that eventually led to Italian unification
- when the war of independence broke out in April 1859, he led his Hunters of the Alps in the capture of major cities in Lombardy, including Varese and Como, and reached the frontier of South Tyrol; the war ended with the acquisition of Lombardy
- in 1860, he led the Expedition of the Thousand on behalf of and with the consent of Victor Emmanuel II. The expedition was a success and ended with the annexation of Sicily, Southern Italy, Marche and Umbria to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinai before the creation of a unified Kingdom of Italy on 17 March 1861
- Garibaldi's achievements imposed the idea of wider unification on Cavour and hastened the creation of a united Italian state as previously envisaged by Italian nationalists
- in 1866 the King encouraged Garibaldi to make another attempt on Rome but then would not commit to an invasion due to the risk of Italian forces potentially having to fight the French garrison in Rome. Despite his own scheming, Victor Emmanuel managed to prevent a diplomatic crisis
- his last military campaign took place during the Franco-Prussian War as commander of the Army of the Vosges.

Decline of Austria:

- Austria had dominated northern Italy since the early 18th century. However, her decline as a major European power gave Piedmont the opportunity to unify the Italian states under her political leadership
- the defeat of Austria in the Italian wars of independence show how she had declined militarily. The growing power of Prussia within the German states threatened her domination of central Europe and provided opportunity for the Italians especially with the defeat of Austria in 1866 by Prussia
- Austria was increasingly politically isolated through this period, for example, her traditional ally Russia could not be relied upon as Austria had failed to support Russia during the Crimean War
- Prussia was also beginning to challenge Austria's dominant position across the states of Germany.

Attitudes and actions of foreign powers:

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

	• Britain demonstrated sympathy to Garibaldi's expedition by refusing to take part in a joint naval blockade with France to stop Garibaldi crossing the Straits of Messina. Instead, the presence of the British Royal Navy helped Garibaldi's crossing and was crucial for Garibaldi's success • Britain was the first power to officially recognise the Kingdom of Italy • in Napoleon III Cavour and Piedmont had a useful ally. Napoleon had shown enthusiasm and support for the notion of Italian liberty by taking part in the uprising in Rome in 1831 • Napoleon III wanted to increase the power of France and to remain popular with the French people. A successful foreign policy which reduced Austrian dominance in Europe was a way of achieving both aims • the difficulty in removing Austria from its fortified positions and the threat of the Prussians intervening on Austria's side, led Napoleon to negotiate with Austria and sign the Treaty of Villafranca in August 1859 which ended the war • when Napoleon realised the treaty would not be implemented, he realised he had to make concessions to Piedmont to ensure France gained for the sacrifices made in the war. A new deal was negotiated in the Treaty of Turin which saw Piedmont gain the Central Duchies and the northern Papal States. Piedmont and France's alliance in a war against Austria was the first major stage in the creation of a unified kingdom of Italy • the Italians took Rome in 1870 after the defeat of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War. French troops were withdrawn from Rome which allowed Italian soldiers to capture the city. **Any other relevant factors.**

31.	**Context:** Nicholas II faced formidable challenges not least of which was the sheer size of the Russian Empire and the astonishing diversity of its people, languages and cultures. Moreover, he had to manage the Russian Empire through a time of major economic and social change yet was determined to maintain an autocratic regime as far as he possibly could and not give into political opposition. Furthermore, Nicholas continued to be supported by key institutions of the state. **Tsar:** • Nicholas II believed he had a divine right to rule Russia and guide its peoples, and that belief was not open to question • since his power came directly from God everyone else was expected to bow before Nicholas's supreme power • Nicholas was an autocrat; he ruled without constraints on his power and according to his own view of what was right. His power did not rest on the consent of the people • the Tsar had an imperial council made up of nobles to advise him. There was also a cabinet of ministers who ran government departments, but they were responsible to the Tsar not to a parliament or a Prime Minister • advisers and ministers reported directly to the Tsar and took their instructions from him • a huge bureaucracy was needed to run the enormous empire. The top ranks were the preserve of the nobles and the lower ranks, who actually had day-to-day contact with the people, were poorly paid and so there was a culture of bribery and corruption • the Tsarist legal system was designed to support autocracy and to suppress opposition and dissent; a standard punishment for critics of the Tsar was exile to Siberia • the Tsarist system could be viewed as uncomplicated and so easy to operate. But it was a system that came under increasing pressure as the need for Russia to modernise became more urgent and so depended more and more on the unwavering support of the army, the Okhrana, and the Orthodox Church, and on censorship and oppression • Nicholas II also attempted to maintain the system by continuing with the policy of Russification. **Other factors:** **Army/Okhrana:** • the support of the army was crucial to the security of the regime • officers were drawn from noble backgrounds and soldiers were peasant conscripts • the army was used to suppress any disturbances or revolts against the regime, and this was usually done with brutal violence • so long as the army gave unconditional loyalty to the Tsar the regime remained secure, but even before 1905 the army was becoming ill at ease with being used as a police force and morale was suffering among officers and soldiers especially given that most of the soldiers were peasants being asked to put down peasant protests • one section of the army in particular was fiercely loyal to the Tsar: the Cossacks. They had no qualms about acting against other peoples in the Empire, they formed the best cavalry units in the army, and they were usually brutal and ruthless in the defence of the Tsar and Tsarism • the activities of the army were complimented by those of the Okhrana, the secret police • the Okhrana operated an extensive police network whose principal task was to root out dissidents and dissent, and to deal with anyone likely to disturb the regime • the Okhrana ensured that strict censorship was maintained and that there was an effective system of surveillance with agents in most institutions and workplaces • Okhrana agents infiltrated opposition groups to find key leaders • however, before 1905 the Okhrana was not able completely to stop opposition to the regime.

	Role of the church: • the Russian Orthodox Church supported and promoted the belief that the Tsar had a divine right to rule and was the agent of God on earth • the Church upheld the view that there was mystical connection between the Tsar and the people; the Tsar was the 'Little Father' of his people (and they his children) • the Church preached obedience to the Tsar and thence to Tsarism • the Church's role in maintaining Tsarism was extremely important because most Russian peasants belonged to the Orthodox Church and religion influenced all aspects of their lives and culture • the Church upheld and promoted the Fundamental Laws (1832) especially Article 1 which asserted the Tsar's divine right to rule, his unconstrained power and the duty of all to obey him • before 1905 the Church was crucial to the security of the regime, yet even so its position and ideology were drawing criticism from a growing number of political opponents some of whom were avowedly atheist and anti-clerical. **Russification:** • Russification — the attempt to limit the influence of non-Russian minorities in the Empire — was an important development in Tsars' efforts to maintain the security of the regime • this policy insisted that non-Russians use the Russian language instead of their own and adopt Russian customs and habits, and Russian Orthodox Christianity • Russian was imposed throughout the Empire as the language of the law, government and education • Russian officials were brought in to run regional governments in non-Russian regions • Russians got the most important jobs across the Empire in government and state sponsored or run industries • before 1905 these policies designed to discriminate against national minorities were causing increasing hostility to the regime; non-Russians viewed Russification as a fundamental attack on their way of life, and this was especially so in the matter of religion • in the 19th century there were a number of uprisings and protests against the regime but because these occurred in one region at a time the government was able to suppress them. **Political opposition:** • although opposition groups before 1905 were not quite strong enough to overthrow the regime, the fact that the revolution of 1905 was so widespread and came so close to toppling the Tsar is indicative of the fact that substantial opposition had been growing, and rapidly, over the years well before 1905 • political opposition fed into, and off, discontent among peasants, industrial workers, the middle classes, national minorities and in the army • some opponents — Liberals, for example, thought change could be brought about by reform, others — including the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social Democrats — argued that violent revolution was needed to overthrow the Tsarist regime • political opposition was a growing concern for the regime because it was drawing support from peasants, industrial workers, middle class professional and among nobles too. The revolutions of 1905 showed that the Tsar and his supporters were right to be concerned about the level and nature of opposition to the regime. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context:** The 1905 revolution shook the Tsarist regime, but it survived mainly because the army stayed loyal. Government concessions, most notably the October Manifesto, undermined calls for revolution, and the regime was also fortunate that the opposition was weak and uncoordinated. Large sections of the peasantry remained passive and the war with Japan, while disastrous for Russia, was short. To survive long term the government needed to bring about change to strengthen the regime. Repression was effective short term, but underlying social, economic and political problems had to be addressed too. The Tsar was reluctant to accept change but many of his ministers, especially Pytor Stolypin, believed that without reform and modernisation the regime would not survive. **Nature of events in 1905:** • the 1905 revolution, which was in part caused by the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905, stretched the regime to breaking point • violence, disorder and terrorism spread throughout the empire and although large sections of the population remained passive, the fact that disorder was widespread created serious difficulties for the regime • 'Bloody Sunday' undermined faith in the Tsar, and to those who wanted reform it showed that Nicholas II was incapable of operating outside the mindset of autocracy • mutinies in the army and navy were a serious concern for the regime too, but by and large the military remained loyal to the Tsar, so Nicholas was able to use the army to quell unrest • Sergei Witte, who became Chairman of the Council of Minister in October 1905, attempted to maintain authoritarianism rule while introducing reform along western lines. He was frustrated by the Tsar's inability to understand how serious the crisis really was but managed to get the government make concessions not least so that opposition to the regime would be divided. **October Manifesto and the Duma:** • the October Manifesto promised the creation of an elected assembly (Duma) and promised to introduce civil rights including freedom of speech, assembly and worship, and the legalising of trade unions • Nicholas II hated the manifesto and signed it reluctantly, but it enabled the Liberals to argue that they had achieved success • in November to pacify the peasants it was announced that mortgage payments (which had created huge discontent on the countryside) were to be reduced and ultimately abolished completely. The impact of this reform was immediate: land seizures fell and lawlessness in the countryside was reduced • the Liberals hoped that the Duma would be a real constitutional advance, but their hopes proved to be misplaced because even before the Duma met for the first time the Tsarist regime moved to limit its power • the regime negotiated a loan from France so reducing the chance of dumas being able to have any financial hold over the government • then through the promulgation of the Fundamental Laws it was announced that 'Supreme Autocratic Power' belonged to the Tsar and that the Duma would be made up of an elected lower house and a State Council half of whose members would be appointed by the Tsar • the State Council would be able to veto legislation coming from the lower house ensuring that the Duma would be without any real power • it was also announced that no law could come into being without the Tsar's approval • the first Duma (April-June 1906) met in angry mood and demanded an increase in its rights and powers. This was refused and after two months of arguing Nicholas II dissolved the Duma • 200 Cadets and Labourist deputies now met in Vyborg in Finland and drew up an 'Appeal' to the people of Russia calling on them to refuse to pay taxes and to disobey conscription orders. The 'Appeal' led to violence giving the government the opportunity to respond with repression • Pytor Stolypin was appointed as chief minister. The Vyborg deputies were arrested and banned from re-election to the Duma and then Stolypin began a policy of fierce repression

- in the elections to the second Duma (February-June 1907) the Liberals had lost half their seats, which were filled by the SDs and the SRs making for a strongly anti-government assembly
- Stolypin wanted to retain the support of the middle classes, so he showed some respect to the Duma, and tried to work with it. He reformed the franchise so that industrial workers and peasants could not vote, but the Duma opposed his land programme and attacked the way the imperial army was organised and deployed. Nicholas II was furious and dissolved the Duma again
- the third Duma (November–June 1912) was dominated by more right-wing parties and was willing to cooperate more with Stolypin enabling him to implement his land reforms
- the fourth Duma (November 1912–August 1914) built on effective work in social reform begun by the third Duma but was still prepared to criticise the government and did so.

Repression:
- by late autumn 1905 the government felt strong enough to crush the soviets, which it did violently
- the headquarters of the St Petersburg soviet were stormed, and its leaders arrested. The Moscow soviet was dealt with in the same way
- Stolypin was then given the job of restoring order in the countryside and in the towns and cities where industrial workers had been involved in the revolution
- in the wake of the dissolution of the first Duma, Stolypin declared Martial Law. He set up a network of military courts with sweeping powers and used them to quell disturbances wherever they occurred. Between 1906 and 1911 2500 people were executed
- Stolypin also used sentences of hard labour in Siberia, and he used the Okhrana and censorship to silence opposition
- national minorities were suppressed via enforced Russification and disenfranchisement.

Stolypin's reforms:
- Stolypin understood that modernisation through industrialisation could not solve Russia's most serious problem: how to feed the people. He aimed his reforms first at the peasants with the intention of improving their lives and their productivity, and to give them a sense of security
- farmers were urged to end the inefficient strip system of cultivation and replace it with enclosed fields as in western Europe
- a land bank was set up to provide funds for independent peasants to buy their land
- schemes for large-scale voluntary resettlement of peasants in the empire's remoter areas were set up with the aim of turning remoter areas into food-growing areas
- Stolypin also introduced education reforms so peasants and workers could get more high skilled jobs
- attempts were made to improve the conditions of industrial workers by introducing factory inspection, and in 1912 a workers' sickness and accident insurance scheme was introduced
- the main aim of all these reforms was to create prosperous and productive peasants and workers who would be loyal supports of the Tsarist regime because they were doing well out of it.

Fundamental Laws:
- announced the evening before the opening of the first Duma, the Fundamental Laws were a revision of the 1832 Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire and attempted reform to preserve the Tsarist regime
- in theory the Tsar would now share power with an elected parliament made up of a State Council and a lower house, the State Duma but in fact the Tsar retained power
- the Tsar could suspend the Duma at any time. In addition, only he could propose laws, and he kept sole command of the armed forces.

Any other relevant factors.

33.	**Context:** During the 1905 revolution Nicholas II came close to losing power, but the continuing loyalty of the army, a lack of combined, co-ordinated opposition, middle class fear of violence and disorder, and brutally repressive measures were enough to save the regime. After 1905 Nicholas II tried to continue ruling as he had always done. He did little to seek to resolve the fundamental problems that had caused the 1905 revolution, and — to the increasing anger of the middle classes — he did his best to renege on concessions agreed in the October Manifesto including the granting of civil liberties and an elected assembly (Duma). **Role of Tsar Nicholas II:** • Nicholas struggled to move beyond the old autocratic mindset • Nicholas appeared to be easily influenced by the Tsarina who encouraged him to stick with autocracy. This meant that Nicholas failed to resolve the problem of nationalities and refused to initiate the political reforms needed in response to economic development • in 1915, pressurised into reconvening the Dumas, Nicholas failed to take the opportunity this presented to form a government that included progressive elements who wanted to be involved in the war effort and to head-off revolution and anarchy • the Tsar suspended the Duma and so lost the support of progressives who could have made a positive contribution towards making the government more efficient and more effective in running the war • in August 1915 the Tsar decided to take control of the army. He went out to army headquarters in Mogilev — 600 kms from Petrograd. He was now held responsible for Russian defeats, and he was away from the centre of government for long periods of time, leaving the Tsarina in charge. **Other factors:** **Role of Tsarina Alexandra:** • the Tsarina's interventions in government caused chronic instability. There were constant changes of ministers. Competent ministers were dismissed, for example, War Minister, Polivanov, and incompetent people were appointed instead often because they were compliant or flattered the Tsarina • the fact that the Tsarina was German meant she was viewed with suspicion • Alexandra's (and Nicholas's) relationship with Rasputin caused a scandal that undermined the credibility of the Tsar and Tsarism. The murder of Rasputin in December 1916 made the situation worse • Alexandra had never been at ease among the Russian ruling elite, and they now turned against her and the Tsar. **Discontent among the working class:** • little had changed for urban workers following the 1905 revolution. Most still lived in acute poverty and in overcrowded, unhealthy accommodation. They worked for long hours and low pay. The war exacerbated these problems • as the war went on workers faced food and fuel shortages, higher prices and longer hours • disruption to the supplies of raw materials led to factory closures and unemployment • workers were now more receptive than ever before to revolutionary groups' propaganda • workers became increasingly hostile to the Tsarist regime as conditions worsened in the winter of 1916/1917 • by February 1917, in Moscow and Petrograd in particular, acute distress led to strikes that created a volatile situation. Hunger, endless queueing, cold and unemployment radicalised workers • in Petrograd towards the end of February rumours of bread rationing led to bread riots • on 23 February, International Women's Day protests attracted thousands of women out onto the streets. Women workers went on strike and persuaded men from the huge Putilov Engineering Works in the Vyborg district of the city to join them.

Peasant discontent:

- a small minority of peasants enjoyed rising living standard after 1905, but the bulk of peasants remained impoverished
- Stolypin's land reforms were supposed to tie the peasants closer to the Tsar and to go some way to resolving the question of land distribution, but they had proved to be divisive
- there was resentment that change was not coming about quickly enough, and growth in population had in fact made demand for land even greater in the countryside
- peasant discontent over the land issue increased during the war years. When order began to break down, land seizures by peasants became common
- peasants who had left the land because of Stolypin's reforms resented the fact that they had to go to the towns and cities to become industrial workers
- the demands of the war led to requisitioning, of horses, for example, making life even harder for the peasants
- the bulk of soldiers were conscripts and mainly peasants, which meant that during the war the rural workforce was reduced and so production levels were reduced too.

Impact of the First World War:

- the First World War exposed the fact that the rigidity and inefficiency of the Tsarist could not cope with the demands of a huge modern industrial war
- Russia experienced catastrophic defeats at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes right at the beginning of the war
- Russian generals assumed that the size of the Russian army would be decisive. In fact, what mattered was training, arms and leadership; the Russian army was deficient in each and all of these key areas
- the army was plagued by shortages, the consequence of the transport network being unable to meet the huge demands placed upon it
- soldiers endured terrible conditions at the front; they lacked food, equipment, ammunition and medical care
- defeats continued into 1915 and beyond. Casualty rates were huge. Morale crumbled
- in 1915 the Tsar decided to go to the front to take command. But Nicholas had little understanding of actual command. Defeats continued only now, as Commander-in-Chief, Nicholas was held directly responsible
- by early 1917 the army was in a state of collapse. Officers lost control and soldiers mutinied and deserted in rapidly increasing numbers
- in Petrograd soldiers joined in strikes, encouraged by revolutionary propaganda
- the Tsar lost the support of the army. Nicholas's generals forced him to abdicate in the hope that they could prevent a total collapse of the empire
- the war wrecked the Russian economy. The transport system prioritised military needs so getting grain and other goods to the towns and cities became increasingly difficult leading to shortages of food and fuel
- shortages caused price rises. Inflation soared
- the standard of living in overcrowded towns and cities deteriorated
- by 1916 Petrograd was receiving a third of what it needed in food and fuel
- strikes broke out in 1915 and then in 1916 there were more strikes, more often and increasing in militancy.

Any other relevant factors.

34.	**Context:** In the 1920s the attitudes of Americans towards immigration began to change. Rather than celebrating America's open-door policy, many Americans believed that the influx of immigrants threatened the 'American Dream,' the ideal that anyone could achieve success and prosperity through hard work and determination. By the 20th Century, there were more coming from Eastern and Southern Europe, who became known as 'New' immigrants. **Social fears:** • attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears that immigration would lead to competition for housing and jobs. White working-class Americans experienced rising rents due to the high demand for housing • most new immigrants settled in cities in the north and east of the USA and often congregated with people from their own culture in ghettos. Some Americans felt this was a threat to their way of life • established in 1907, the Dillingham Commission found that, since the 1880s, the majority of immigrants had come from Eastern and Southern Europe. The Commission proposed implementing literacy tests as a way to filter out what they considered 'inferior' immigrants • there were also fears that immigrants would increase the already high crime rates in cities. Such fears were heightened by the existence of organised crime gangs such as the Mafia with its Italian roots • the activities of Al Capone, the son of Italian immigrants also reinforced the stereotype that all Italian immigrants were in some way linked to crime. **Other factors:** **Isolationism:** • before the 1920s, the USA's 'open door' policy did not apply to everyone. Before 1900 the USA had reduced Asian immigration. The first significant law to restrict immigration into the USA was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which banned most Chinese immigration or the immigration of Chinese labourers, a term vague enough to ensure that very few Chinese migrants were able to slip through the net • the first general Federal Immigration Law in 1882 imposed a head tax of 50 cents on each immigrant admitted and denied entrance into the USA of 'any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge' • the Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 to oppose 'undesirable immigrants' from Southern and Eastern Europe who, it was believed, threatened the American way of life • the 1913 Alien Land Law prohibited 'aliens ineligible for citizenship' from owning agricultural land or possessing long term leases. This particularly affected Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean immigrant farmers • at the beginning of the First World War, American public opinion was firmly on the side of neutrality and wanted to keep out of foreign problems and concentrate solely on America. When the war ended, most Americans were even more in favour of a return to the USA's traditional policy of isolationism • despite Woodrow Wilson's support for the League of Nations, the U.S. Senate rejected membership in November 1919 and March 1920, favouring isolationism to avoid European conflicts. **Fear of revolution:** • attitudes towards immigration changed due to the Red Scare which increased suspicion of immigrants. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had established the first Communist state, which was committed to spreading revolution and destroying capitalism. As many immigrants to the USA came from Russia and Eastern Europe, it was feared that these immigrants would bring communist ideas into the USA • in 1919 there was a wave of strikes in the USA. Many of the strikers were unskilled and

- semi-skilled workers and recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. People opposed to the strikes linked the strikes with communism as it was believed that revolution was imminent
- the American public's fear of red revolution appeared to be confirmed when the US Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's house in Washington, D.C., was blown up and letter bombs were sent to government officials. The Red Scare reached a peak of hysteria when Palmer ordered the arrest of an estimated 4000–6000 alleged communists in 33 cities in what became known as the Palmer Raids, conducted between November 1919 and January 1920
- there were several notable anarchist terror attacks. The Wall Street bombing, a major terrorist attack, occurred on 16 September, 1920, in New York City, killing 40 people and injuring many more. Although the perpetrators were never identified, the bombing was widely believed to have been carried out by Italian anarchists or anti-capitalists
- Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were Italian immigrant anarchists, who were followers of Luigi Galleani, who were convicted of robbery and murder Their trial highlighted the way issues of crime, immigration, and 'un-American' political revolutionary ideas were intertwined in the minds of many Americans.

Prejudice and racism:

- attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears concerning the changing nature of immigration. Up until the 1880s most immigrants to the USA came from northern and western Europe from, for example, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. After 1880 most immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe, from countries such as Russia, Poland and Italy. Descendants of the more established immigrants, known as WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were concerned there would be a flood of new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe which they believed would threaten their way of life. Some new immigrants continued to wear traditional dress which was not viewed as being 'American'
- many new immigrants were Catholic or Jewish which led to the belief that the arrival of new immigrants would threaten the Protestant religion
- many new immigrants were unfamiliar with democracy. This was viewed as a threat to the American constitution
- 'nativists' who believed immigrants brought new and threatening ideas into the USA, were most prevalent in the mid-western and southern states
- the Ku Klux Klan experienced a significant resurgence in the 1920s, partly in response to rising immigration, particularly from Catholic and Jewish communities, which some perceived as changing the nature of America. This period saw an increase in prejudice and racism, leading to a dramatic growth in Klan membership, which reached nearly 3 million by 1925.

Economic fears:

- new immigrants were often unskilled and familiar with poor working conditions, such as long hours and low pay. Many took these jobs out of necessity, as they needed work to survive
- there were increased fears by working class Americans that the jobs of 'Americans' would be threatened. Due to new production methods employers realised they could make huge profits by employing immigrants and paying them low wages
- new immigrants were also used as 'strike breakers' as they provided cheap labour and seen as 'stealing American jobs'. There was huge resentment towards immigrant strike breakers which led to an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country. Trade unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages
- after the First World War the economy experienced a slump as the transition to peacetime led to the end of war-related production, such as munitions and military supplies. Returning soldiers struggled to find employment in a shrinking job market.

Any other relevant factors.

35.	**Context:** From 1921 to 1929, the United States saw a rise in wealth and prosperity that had never been experienced before, either domestically or globally. This period, often called the 'Roaring Twenties,' was fuelled by rapid industrial growth, technological advancements, and mass consumerism. The collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929 symbolised the start of the US economic crisis which in turn led to a worldwide depression. **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. **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'. **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. **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 safekeeping 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. **Any other relevant factors.**

36.	**Context:** The Depression was a shattering and demoralising experience. The new Democrat President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, believed that the government should be responsible for people's welfare and so should actively help struggling US citizens caught up in the Depression. Hence Roosevelt introduced the New Deal which aimed to provide relief, recovery and reform. Roosevelt's First New Deal focused on immediate economic recovery and relief for those suffering from the effects of the Great Depression. His Second New Deal aimed to promote long-term reform and improvements in social welfare. The New Deal had considerable success in achieving these three main aims. **Role of Roosevelt and 'confidence building':** • during his first 100 days as President, Roosevelt set up over 100 government or federal agencies. The agencies became known by their initials and were collectively known as the 'Alphabet Agencies' and were funded by the taxpayer • Congress granted Roosevelt broad executive powers that enabled him to push through several new laws, resulting in the passage of 15 major pieces of legislation. These actions fulfilled Roosevelt's promise of 'Action and Action Now!' • Roosevelt's priority was to restore confidence in the US banking system • Roosevelt gave 'fireside chats': over 30 from March 1933. The fireside chats were brilliant pieces of public relations using the latest mass communication device, the radio • Roosevelt declared that 'the only thing we have to fear is fear itself' and his fireside chats on the radio, a great novelty, did a great deal to help restore the nation's confidence • the New Deal increased the role of the Federal government in American society and the economy • the Federal government played a role in strengthening the power of organised labour • the Federal government also played a role as regulator between business, labour and agriculture • there were, however, challenges in the Supreme Court to the Federal government's increased intervention • there was also opposition from State governments (especially in the South) who believed the Federal government was becoming too powerful and was taking away individual states' rights to run their own affairs • employers' groups who formed the Liberty League opposed the New Deal. Some groups believed the New Deal was 'un-American'. **Banking:** • number of confidence-building measures were introduced. The Emergency Banking Relief Act (1933) allowed the closing and checking of banks for four days, to ensure they were well-run and credit worthy. Only 'sound' banks were allowed to reopen. It was hoped these measures would restore public confidence in the banks and stop people from withdrawing all their savings • by the end of 1933, many small banks had closed or were merged • most depositors regained much of their money • the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 prohibited commercial banks from engaging in investment banking activities, such as trading stocks and bonds, to protect customer deposits from risky investments • by restoring public confidence with a federal guarantee in the banks, it was hoped that it would not only dissuade further large withdrawals of funds but would also encourage people to reinvest their savings in the banks once again • the Banking Act (1935) established the Federal Bank Deposit Insurance Corporation that insured deposits up to $5,000, and later, $10,000.

Agriculture:

- the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) helped farmers by keeping prices steady and limiting overproduction
- as a result of the attempts to limit overproduction, prices did go up and farmers' incomes doubled between 1933 and 1939
- in the USA 30% of the workforce were employed in agriculture. Increasing their income allowed farm workers to spend more
- unpopular Prohibition was ended to raise revenue and to boost grain production
- the Farm Credit Union (FCA) helped farmers by providing low-interest loans and as a result many farmers did not lose their farms.

Industry:

- the National Recovery Administration (NRA) was created to oversee industrial recovery by regulating industry practices, improving labour conditions, and promoting fair competition
- the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) aimed to build dams and power plants to provide electric power to rural areas along the Tennessee River in seven states
- the Public Works Administration (PWA) also provided work through the building of hospitals, dams, bridges and schools
- the National Labour Relations Act (Wagner Act') (1935) protected the rights of workers to collectively bargain with employers
- employers were prevented from discriminating against workers who joined trade unions
- the WPA (Works Progress Administration) (1935) launched a programme of public works across America. By 1938 it provided employment for three million men and some women, building roads, schools and tunnels, for example, the Rural Electrification Act (1936) provided loans to provide electricity to rural areas of America
- the economic effects in terms of relief and recovery have been debated. The New Deal certainly helped in terms of providing basic relief
- Roosevelt's first term in office saw one of the fastest periods of GDP growth in US history. However, a downturn in 1937–1938 raised questions about just how successful the policies were
- although it never reached the heights of before the Depression, the New Deal did see a couple of positive results economically. From 1933 to 1939, GDP increased by 60% from $55 billion to $85 billion. The amount of consumer products bought increased by 40% while private investment in industry increased five times in just six years
- however, unemployment continued to be a problem, never running at less than 14% of the working population
- the importance of re-armament in reducing unemployment and revitalising the American economy was considerable, particularly after the mini slump of 1937.

Society:

- the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) aimed to help the poor by setting up soup kitchens and providing money for clothes and school costs
- the Economy Act cut wages of state employees by 15%. It also cuts the budgets of government departments by 25% in order to balance the budget. Economic prudence was shown by spending the savings on relief programmes
- the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was established to encourage the housing market to recover by providing federally backed insurance for home loans made by banks and other private lenders
- the Social Security Act (1935) provided a state pension scheme for old people and widows, as well as help for the disabled and poor children
- the Second New Deal introduced reforms to improve living and working conditions for many Americans through legislation
- the WPA (Works Progress Administration) (1935) launched a programme of public works across America. By 1938 it provided employment for three million men and some women, building roads, schools and tunnels, for example.

Any other relevant factors.

37.	**Context:** The interwar years saw countries face economic pressures. These years also saw the rise of fascist political parties in numerous European countries. One facet of fascism was an aggressive nationalism that placed the idea of nation and loyalty to nation at the core of their belief, and political system if they got into power. This aggression was illustrated in the actions of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy in the 1930s. **Economic difficulties after 1929:** • in 1929 the US economy crashed leading the world into economic recession. This had a particularly dramatic effect on Germany as unemployment soared to 6 million • by 1929 Italy fascist economic policy was failing; an aggressive foreign policy was useful in distracting the people at home • an aggressive foreign policy was also useful in gaining resources for the fascist powers, for example, Italian invasion of Abyssinia and Hitler's obsession with *lebensraum* • Germany also developed policies to use their economic and political power to make the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans dependent on Germany. Germany would exploit their raw materials and export manufactured goods to them. It was not a big step to invasion. **Other factors:** **Peace Settlement of 1919:** • determination to revise/overturn Paris Peace Settlement — German resentment of Article 48 which made Germany accept guilt for starting the war, hatred of the reparations bill of £6.6 billion; disarmament clauses were also a cause of resentment as the German army was reduced to 100,000 men and was not allowed heavy weaponry; lost territory; in particular in the east to Poland was bitterly resented • German desire to get revenge for defeat in World War I. Hitler called the treaty a *Diktat*; a dictated treaty forced on a helpless Germany • Italy came into the war on the side of the Allies in 1915. She suffered during the war but hoped to gain land at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in particular the Dalmatian coast. Italian territorial gains were small scale. It was felt that the Italians had suffered and gained little • Mussolini in Italy promised to make Italy great again and wipe out the embarrassment of the peace treaties when he gained power in 1922. **Fascist ideology:** • fascism was nationalistic in nature, emphasising the importance of loyalty to country (and superiority over others) • fascism is often defined by what it dislikes. One fundamental belief was a pathological hatred of communism which led to an anti-Soviet crusade as well as contempt for the 'weak' democracies • fascism as seen through Nazism was racist. This belief in the superiority of the 'German/Aryan' people (through a crude Social Darwinism) allowed Nazis to perpetuate the idea of a racial mission to conquer the world and cleanse it of 'weaker' races • fascism was Militaristic in nature fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions/harking back to the glories of the Roman Empire in Italy • fascist foreign policies were driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own belief, but also their personalities and charismatic leadership • irredentism or the intention to reclaim and reoccupy lost territory, for example, Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within the Reich • fascism between the wars was expansionist. Mussolini's 'Roman' ambitions in the Mediterranean and Africa; Hitler's ambitions for *lebensraum* or living space in Eastern Europe and Russia.

	Weakness of the League of Nations: • purpose of the league was to ensure world peace through collective security and disarmament. This the league conspicuously failed to do allowing Fascism to grow unchecked • the League was divided politically. Its main supporters had their own domestic audiences which dictated their policies, which led to confusion and inconsistency in the international response to aggression • British policy of appeasement and concerns over their Empire led them to prioritise their own interests rather than back the League • French political divisions between the left and right led to their inaction and perceived unreliability as an ally • the USA retreated into isolationism further weakening the League • there was suspicion of Communist Soviet Russia from the democracies • the Peace treaties created many small states in Eastern Europe which were difficult to defend • determined aggression worked as the League failed to stop the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Even when the League did act, by putting mild sanctions on Italy they were too little, too late. **British policy of appeasement:** • appeasement was intended to solve genuine foreign policy grievances that had arisen from the 1919 peace treaties, through negotiation • British public opinion broadly supported the policy of Appeasement, though there were voices raised in dissent. Many felt that Germany had genuine grievances which deserved to be settled • British appeasement to an extent encouraged both Germany and Italy to increase their demands and do so increasingly forcefully. They certainly reinforced fascist belief in the weakness of democracies • British attempts to keep Mussolini away from Hitler's influence during the Abyssinian crisis resulted in the Hoare-Laval Pact, which produced a popular outcry when the terms were leaked. Mussolini saw that Britain and France were not opposed in principle to gains for Italy in East Africa and he was able to defy sanctions and keep Abyssinia • Hitler knew of British reservations about some terms of the Versailles Treaty and was able to play on these, increasingly realizing that he would not be stopped, for example, rearmament, the reoccupation of the Rhineland and then the *Anschluss*. **Any other relevant factors.**

38.	**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 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. **Beliefs of Chamberlain:** • Chamberlain's took personal control of British foreign policy. He bypassed the Foreign Office • issues like the crisis over Czechoslovakia, 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. **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. **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 • there were doubts over the commitment of the Empire and the Dominions in the event of war. 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

	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. **Any other relevant factors.**

39.	**Context:** During the interwar years British foreign policy was aimed at maintaining peace in Europe through diplomacy. This made sense in light of the massive damage caused by the Great War across Europe. Up to March 1938 (and later), this was largely achieved. The conflicts that did occur (Abyssinia, Spain) were on the periphery of Europe/the Mediterranean. **Abyssinia:** • Mussolini's plans for a new Roman Empire in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and North Africa were a blow to British foreign policy in hoping to convert Mussolini into an ally • Stresa Front (1935) initially seemed successful in binding Mussolini to the democracies • Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Modern day Ethiopia) in 1935 • Mussolini's Italy had broken the rules of the League of Nations by using aggression and invading one of the only independent African nations and deserved to be punished under League rules • however, the British and French wanted to keep Mussolini friendly so attempted to contain Italy by offering concessions and land in Africa • the British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and French Foreign Minister, Pierre Laval, came up with a plan to effectively try to buy off the Italians by offering them some of Abyssinia's land from the south of the country (Abyssinia was not consulted) • public revulsion to Franco-British connivance at Italian aggression led to Hoare's resignation • the imposition of limited economic sanctions on Italy alienated Mussolini, thereby driving him closer to Hitler, yet failing to save Abyssinia. **Rhineland:** • the Rhineland had been demilitarised as part of the Treaty of Versailles. No military installations were permitted there • 22,000 German troops marched into the Rhineland on 7 March, 1936 • remilitarisation broke the Peace Treaty of 1919, yet no action was taken by Britain or France due to differing attitudes towards Hitler's actions. France was polarised politically and would not act without British support. Britain denounced the action, but there was also considerable sympathy of Hitler's actions. The Rhineland was part of Germany and why should she not have armed forces there? • no war occurred as a result of the Rhineland crisis, but the lesson Hitler learned was that the democracies were divided. He took this to mean weakness. **Naval Agreement:** • the Anglo German Naval Agreement (1935) successfully limited German naval strength to 35% of British naval strength, however, it also allowed for the construction of submarines, up to British strength, although the Germans agreed to build up to 45% of British strength • this can be seen as a success for British foreign policy in the sense that they felt they were managing Germany's demands. However, it can also be seen as a sign of weakness as yet again the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had been broken. **Non-intervention:** • the Spanish Civil War took place between 1936 and 1939 between forces that defended the democratically elected Republic and forces that opposed it called Nationalists • the policy of non-intervention was sponsored by Britain and France through the Non-Intervention Committee; it also guaranteed that Britain would be on good terms with the victors • the policy was openly breached by Germany and Italy who sent significant military aid to Franco's Nationalist forces, and to a lesser extent the Soviet Union who sent help to the Republic • there was also intervention by volunteers of the International Brigades who fought for the Republic, but withdrew towards the end of 1938 • attacks on non-Spanish shipping ended after the British and French navies were ordered to destroy attacking foreign submarines and aircraft

	• the Spanish Civil War did not turn into a wider European conflict. In this the policy of non-intervention was successful, but at some cost as the dictators tested the weaponry and tactics that would be so successful in 1940. **Anschluss of March 1938:** • the joining together of German speaking Austria and Germany was banned by the Treaty of Versailles • Anschluss — failure of attempted Nazi coup in 1934 due to Italian opposition, but there was growing German influence over Austria from 1936 when they agreed to consult each other over foreign policy • the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg met with Hitler in 1938. Hitler seized the opportunity demanding jobs for Austrian Nazis in the Government • when Schuschnigg proposed putting this to a vote of the Austrian people Hitler acted, demanding his resignation and replacement with the Austrian Nazi, Seyss-Inquart • German troops and tanks then rolled into Austria on 12 March 1938 • the invasion itself was chaotic and inefficient from military point of view • war did not break out as a result of the Anschluss. Britain was sympathetic to German actions to a large extent and the enthusiastic welcome given to the German troops by the Austrians seemed to confirm it was a genuinely popular action • Hitler gained resources and again had got away with aggressive actions. He now turned his attention to Czechoslovakia. **Any other relevant factors.**

40.	**Context:** The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had always been one of convenience owing to the common enemy of Nazism. America had not recognised the Soviet Communist government's legitimacy until 1933. As the Second World War came to an end the tensions between a Capitalist America and her allies and the Soviet Union rapidly developed. **Ideological differences:** • impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the Western powers: Soviet withdrawal from World War I, involvement of the West with anti-Bolshevik Whites • ideological differences between Communist and Capitalism. Command economy vs Free Enterprise, One political party vs multi-party democracy • fears in the West that Communism was on the march led President Truman to the policy of containment — British power was in retreat — World War II had been expensive, so the British aimed to reduce their world commitments, specifically in Greece where civil war raged between Communists and Royalists. Fear of similar problems in Italy when allied troops left; activities of Mao in China • Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to support free peoples and proposals to oppose totalitarian regimes — exemplified by the Marshall Plan. Churchill made his 'Iron Curtain' speech in Fulton, USA • creation of competing military alliances — NATO and Warsaw Pact further polarised the world. The Soviet Union rejected the Western economic model and set up its own economic bloc: Comecon. **Other factors:** **Tensions within the wartime alliance:** • although they fought together there was tension between the USSR and Western Democracies during the war. The democracies were suspicious of the USSR because of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Stalin was paranoid that the Western Powers would throw their lot in with the Nazis and turn against the Soviet Union. His call for a second front against the Nazis did not happen until 1944. Millions of Russians had died by then • at the end of the war these tensions resurfaced. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR • Yalta conference — Stalin determined to hang on to land gained and create a series of sympathetic regimes in Eastern Europe. The USA wanted to create a free trade area composed of democratic states. Soviet actions, for example, in Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, created pro-Communist regimes • allied actions in Western Europe, for example, in Greece, further increased tensions. **Arms race:** • in August 1945 two atomic bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki • one aim of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to impress the USSR with their technological superiority and make them ready to make concessions in Eastern Europe. America had developed the bombs without telling the Soviets • in reality Stalin knew about the Manhattan Project, and it make him determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible leading to the development of the arms race. To Stalin it was another example of why the Western powers were not to be trusted. The Soviet Union needed to be strong • the Soviet Union developed their own atomic weaponry, detonating their first bomb in 1949. This shocked the world, and a nuclear arms race was born • America and the Soviet Union poured resources into developing their nuclear arsenals in order to show who was the most powerful. It can also be seen as an attempt to prove which system was superior

	• in 1952 America detonated a hydrogen bomb. The Soviets exploded a thermonuclear device in 1953 and their own hydrogen bomb in 1955. Each step showed an increase in the power of nuclear weaponry. Beginnings of developing new delivery systems such as the use of rockets. **Disagreements over the future of Germany:** • the Potsdam Conference illustrated the differences in policy that the allies had over Germany. The allied sectors remained free as compared to the Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations for the damage inflicted by the Germans on Russia • the Soviet Union was determined to keep Germany weak and divided whereas America wanted to create a stable economic partner • the economic status of Germany can be further seen with the creation of Bizonia in West Germany as France, Britain and America merged their zones to create one economic bloc. The introduction of Deutsche Mark in West Germany led to the Berlin Blockade in 1949 • the disagreement over the status of Germany was illustrative of the broader competing visions of capitalism and communism. **Crisis over Korea:** • at the end of World War II Soviet forces had occupied the north of Korea and US forces the South. As both sides withdrew the North developed as a communist state and the South as a capitalist one • Stalin encouraged Communist North Korea to invade the Capitalist South. This led to American-led UN intervention on behalf of the South, and resultant Chinese intervention as UN forces neared their border with Korea • Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. The war ended with stalemate along 38th Parallel and an eventual armistice between the two sides. Both North and South Korea claimed to be victors • the war illustrated how far the world had been divided into two competing political camps, each determined that their vision of society should prevail. The Cold War had been sealed with a Hot War • the War can also be seen as a success for the American policy of containment. With the communist triumph in China in 1949 and the Korean War American assets to contain communism would have to be deployed in Asia as well as the West. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**Context:** Historically, the United States felt that Cuba was in its 'sphere of influence'. In the years before 1959, Cuba was ruled by a military dictatorship led by General Batista. Batista's government was corrupt and was very unpopular with most Cuban people. Opposition grew led by Fidel Castro. **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. **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 refused • Khrushchev was sympathetic to Castro. He may have wanted to use Cuba as a launch pad for revolution in Central America. Missile deployment would provide protection for the revolution • argument that the 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, for example, a repeat of events in Hungary 1956 • rise of China as a rival for leadership of the Communist world led to pressure on Khrushchev from influential circles within the USSR to assert Soviet leadership.

	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 (ICBMs) '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. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**Context:** The Domino Theory was used by American Presidents, starting with Eisenhower to justify American intervention to help the South of Vietnam in their struggles against the Communist North. This can be seen as part of the broader American struggle to contain Communist expansion. American intervention increased over subsequent Presidential administrations until Nixon sought Vietnamisation of the conflict and withdrawal of American forces. **Weaknesses of South Vietnam:** • corruption and decay of South Vietnamese government, especially in Saigon. A Catholic elite controlled a largely Buddhist population. Lack of political and social cohesion in South Vietnam led to divisions and turmoil which filtered through to their armed forces • South Vietnamese troops could fight well if well led and motivated, but many generals acted as local warlords. Americans complained they went on 'Search and Avoid' missions rather than engaging with the Vietcong • the leadership was corrupt. The rule of Diem favoured family members and was unwilling to scale back his anti-Buddhist actions thereby alienating a large proportion of his own population. Was eventually removed by South Vietnamese army officers in 1963 with the full knowledge of the CIA • his successors were not much better. Even the Americans thought that the leadership of Ky and Thieu was by 'bottom of the barrel individuals.' **Other factors:** **Difficulties faced by US military:** • terrain did not suit US military strengths of airpower and firepower. This was an army geared to fight the Soviet Union, not a guerrilla war • difficulties dealing with the jungle conditions and knowing which Vietnamese were the enemy led to stress and confusion • short commissions for officers and rotation of troops led to loss of expertise in the field • soldiers brave, but a minority did not believe in the war. Many were also reluctant conscripts. Many Americans addicted to drugs. As the war developed many examples of 'fragging' where soldiers shot their officers. Also, racial tension between white and Black American soldiers as the war progressed • mass bombing had no real effect according to the Jason Study by MIT in 1966, owing to the agricultural nature of North Vietnam and the widespread jungle cover • tactics on the ground — US technological superiority in heavy weapons negated by the terrain • widespread use of helicopter gunships — these inflicted heavy casualties but were a blunt weapon. Many civilian deaths which did not help win 'hearts and minds' • use of defoliants like Agent Orange — US (and their South Vietnamese allies) lost the battle for hearts and minds, despite inflicting approximately 2,000,000 casualties for the loss of one tenth of those. **Strengths of North Vietnam:** • North Vietnam — a hard peasant life bred determined soldiers. Viet Cong enlisted for years unlike American troops who signed up for a year. Belief in their cause of Communism also a factor. Great determination, for example, the Ho Chi Minh trail was kept open despite American bombers continually bombing it • Viet Cong knew the jungle, survived in atrocious conditions, developed effective tactics and were more effective in winning the 'hearts and minds' of civilians than the Americans. Military objectives were realistic — General Giap aimed to break the will of the American Government. Support of Chinese and Soviet aid from 1965 of importance • the North Vietnamese were well led with an inspirational leader in Ho Chi Minh, though he was ageing by the mid-60s. Role and determination of Le Duan is also of importance in the North's leadership. He was behind the policy of active attacks on American and South Vietnamese forces to demoralise the enemy. He was also important in developing the Tet offensive

	• the military support for the North from China and the Soviet Union from 1965 is of great importance. It enabled the development of a sophisticated air defence system which inflicted heavy casualties on American bombers and fighters. **Changing public opinion in the USA:** • public opposition supported by the press was probably the main reason for withdrawal. Vietnam a media war, images showed the public the brutality of war, for example, South Vietnamese police chief executing a Viet Cong in Saigon during the Tet Offensive of 1968, Mai Lai massacre. Such images damaged American claims to be the 'good guys' • extent of the opposition is debated. Probably a minority in 1965, growing by the time of crucial Tet offensive in 1968. Oct 1969 largest anti-war protest in US History. Protestors in every major city in America • opposition of Black Power groups. Protest could be violent — May 1970 protest at Kent State University, Ohio led to four students being shot. Unpopularity of the draft • USA was a democracy — public pressure and perception mattered. Nixon noted extent of opposition: withdrawal of 60,000 troops in 1969, policy of Vietnamisation. Economic cost of the war: US deficit of $1.6 billion in 1965 increased to $25.3 billion in 1968. Tax increases unpopular. Congress only got involved in limiting money and action in late 1960s and early 1970s • divisions within administrations, for example, LBJ had Rusk advising to continue the struggle in South-East Asia, compared to Senator Fulbright arguing for de-escalation. **International isolation of the USA:** • the Vietnam War was a media war which turned much international opinion against the US • none of America's allies form the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation became involved in the war • there was support from allies in Asia, such as Australia, South Korea and New Zealand, but this aid became unpopular at home and led to the withdrawal of Australian troops, for example. As a superpower American could ignore this, but this was a propaganda gift for her enemies. **Any other relevant factors.**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]