



National  
Qualifications  
2016

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## 2016 History

### Higher

## Finalised Marking Instructions

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## General Marking Principles for Higher History

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

- (a) Marks for each candidate response must always be assigned in line with these General Marking Principles and the Detailed Marking Instructions for this assessment.
- (b) Marking should always be positive, ie marks should be awarded for what is correct and not deducted for errors or omissions.
- (c) If a specific candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed Marking Instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your Team Leader.
- (d) Where the candidate violates the rubric of the paper and answers two parts in one section, both responses should be marked and the better mark recorded.
- (e) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of hand writing or a confused start.
- (f) Use the full range of marks available for each question.
- (g) The specific Marking Instructions are not an exhaustive list. Other relevant points should be credited.
- (h)
  - (i) For credit to be given, points must relate to the question asked. Where candidates give points of knowledge without specifying the context, up to **1 mark** should be awarded unless it is clear that they do not refer to the context of the question.
  - (ii) Where marks are awarded for the use of knowledge, each point of knowledge must be developed, eg by providing additional detail, examples or evidence.
  - (iii). There are four types of question used in this Paper, namely:
    - A. Evaluate the usefulness of Source . . .
    - B. Compare the views of Sources . . .
    - C. How fully does Source . . .
    - D. Extended response questions using a range of stems, including ‘how important’, ‘how successful’, ‘how valid’, ‘to what extent’. These require candidates to demonstrate knowledge and understanding and to apply their skills of analysis and evaluation in order to answer the question asked.
  - (iv). For each of the question types (in iii above), the following provides an overview of marking principles and an example of their application for each question type.

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

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

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

- a maximum of **4 marks** can be given for evaluative comments relating to author, type of source, purpose and timing
- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for evaluative comments relating to the content of the source
- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for evaluative comments relating to points of significant omission

- B Questions that ask candidates to *Compare the views of two sources* (5 marks)**  
Candidates must interpret evidence and make direct comparisons between sources. Candidates are expected to compare content directly on a point-by-point basis. They should also make an overall comparison of the viewpoints of the sources.  
**Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 5 marks:**  
Each point of comparison will be supported by specific references to each source and should be awarded **1 mark**.  
An overall comparison which is supported by specific references to the viewpoint of each source should be awarded **1 mark**. **A second mark** should be awarded for a development of the overall comparison.
- C Questions that ask *How fully does a given source explain/describe . . .* (9 marks)**  
Candidates must make a judgement about the extent to which the source provides a full description/explanation of a given event or development.  
**Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 9 marks:**
- candidates should be given **up to 3 marks** for their identification of points from the source that support their judgement; each point from the source needs to be interpreted rather than simply copied from the source. **(USE MARKER CODE S)**
  - candidates should be given **up to 7 marks** for their identification of points of significant omission, based on their own knowledge, that support their judgement.
  - a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for answers in which no judgement has been made.
- D Extended response questions (20 marks)**  
Refer to Marking Grid (Page 4).

	Marker Code	Mark	0 marks	1 mark		2 marks	
Historical context	B F L	2	Candidate makes one or two factual points but these are not relevant.	Candidate establishes <b>two out of three</b> from the background to the issue <b>OR</b> identifies relevant factors <b>OR</b> a line of argument.		Candidate establishes <b>all three</b> . The background to the issue, identifies relevant factors and connects these to the line of argument.	
Conclusion	J	2	No overall judgement or summary is made.	Candidate makes a summary of points made.		Candidate makes an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.	
Use of knowledge	K	6	No evidence is used to support the conclusion	<b>Up to a maximum of 6 marks</b> , 1 mark will be awarded for each developed point of knowledge used to support a factor or area of impact. For a knowledge mark to be awarded, points must be: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>relevant to the issue in the question</li><li>developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)</li><li>used to respond to the demands of the question(ie explain, analyse, etc)</li></ul>			
Analysis	A+  A	6	There is a narrative response.	<b>Up to a maximum of 6 marks</b> , 1 mark will be awarded for each comment which analyses the factors in terms of the question.  <b>A maximum of 4 marks</b> will be awarded for comments which address different aspects of individual factors.			
Evaluation	E1 E2  E+	4	No evidence of an overall judgement being made	<b>1 mark</b> should be awarded where the candidate makes an isolated evaluative comment on an individual factor that recognises the topic of the question.	<b>2 marks</b> should be awarded where the candidate makes isolated evaluative comments on different factors that recognise the topic of the question.	<b>3 marks</b> should be awarded where the candidate connects their evaluative comments to build a line of argument that recognises the issue.	<b>4 marks</b> should be awarded where the candidate connects their evaluative comments to build a line of argument focused on the terms of the question

## Section 1 - Scottish

### Detailed Marking Instructions for each question

#### PART A - The Wars of Independence, 1249 - 1328

1.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 6 marks.</i></p> <p><b>Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:</b></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="231 499 805 533">Aspect of the source</th><th data-bbox="821 499 1425 533">Possible comment</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="231 544 805 723"> <b>Author:</b> Scottish nobles </td><td data-bbox="821 544 1425 723">           Useful as the nobles spoke on behalf of the Scottish political leaders therefore they were speaking with authority and in the absence of a king; their reply would have been considered an official statement. </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="231 734 805 992"> <b>Type of source:</b> Statement by the Scottish nobles </td><td data-bbox="821 734 1425 992">           Useful as the statement was a prepared and considered response by the Scottish nobles.             Less useful as it may be a biased response by the Scottish nobles during a three week adjournment after the break-up of the meeting at Norham. </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="231 1003 805 1216"> <b>Purpose:</b> Reply to Edward's demand at Norham to be recognised as overlord of Scotland </td><td data-bbox="821 1003 1425 1216">           Useful as the response of the Scottish nobles was to reject Edward I's demand of overlordship of Scotland showing that during the succession crisis, the Scots were concerned to safeguard the independence of the Scottish kingdom. </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="231 1227 805 1485"> <b>Timing:</b> May 1291 </td><td data-bbox="821 1227 1425 1485">           Useful as the statement was made only 7 months after news reached Scotland that the Maid of Norway had died on her way to Scotland resulting in the succession crisis, a struggle for the throne and a fear that there would be civil war between the rival claimants. </td></tr> </tbody> </table> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="231 1518 805 1552">Content</th><th data-bbox="821 1518 1425 1552">Possible comment</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="231 1563 805 1776"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In response to Edward I's demand at Norham that he is recognised as overlord of Scotland before he can judge between the claimants to the Scottish succession.</li> </ul> </td><td data-bbox="821 1563 1425 1776">           Useful as it provides insight of Edward's intentions towards Scotland during the succession crisis. It provides details of how Edward I claimed the overlordship of Scotland during a period of weakness in Scotland. </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Aspect of the source	Possible comment	<b>Author:</b> Scottish nobles	Useful as the nobles spoke on behalf of the Scottish political leaders therefore they were speaking with authority and in the absence of a king; their reply would have been considered an official statement.	<b>Type of source:</b> Statement by the Scottish nobles	Useful as the statement was a prepared and considered response by the Scottish nobles.  Less useful as it may be a biased response by the Scottish nobles during a three week adjournment after the break-up of the meeting at Norham.	<b>Purpose:</b> Reply to Edward's demand at Norham to be recognised as overlord of Scotland	Useful as the response of the Scottish nobles was to reject Edward I's demand of overlordship of Scotland showing that during the succession crisis, the Scots were concerned to safeguard the independence of the Scottish kingdom.	<b>Timing:</b> May 1291	Useful as the statement was made only 7 months after news reached Scotland that the Maid of Norway had died on her way to Scotland resulting in the succession crisis, a struggle for the throne and a fear that there would be civil war between the rival claimants.	Content	Possible comment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In response to Edward I's demand at Norham that he is recognised as overlord of Scotland before he can judge between the claimants to the Scottish succession.</li> </ul>	Useful as it provides insight of Edward's intentions towards Scotland during the succession crisis. It provides details of how Edward I claimed the overlordship of Scotland during a period of weakness in Scotland.
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We have no power to reply to Edward I's claim as we lack a king to whom the demand ought to be addressed and only a king has the power to answer.</li> </ul>	<p>Useful as the nobles claim that they could not respond to Edward's demand themselves as this part of the statement was a reminder to Edward that such an important demand could only be dealt with by the king of Scotland.</p> <p>Less useful as their denial of competence to reply to Edward's demands could be viewed as a delaying tactic and an attempt to avoid Edward's demand.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>King Edward has himself guaranteed the kingdom of Scotland's independence in the Treaty of Birgham-Northampton.</li> </ul>	<p>Useful as it provides evidence of the importance attached to the Treaty of Birgham by the Scots during the succession crisis. Despite the collapse of the marriage treaty after the death of the Maid of Norway, the Scots wanted to ensure the survival of their customs and rights and to maintain the independence of the kingdom of Scotland.</p>

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- Edward I had in fact claimed overlordship as recently as 1278 when it was rejected by Alexander III.
- The death of Alexander III in March 1286 posed a succession problem as there was no male heir.
- When Alexander died, his grand-daughter, Margaret, was aged three or four and was in Norway, where her father, Eric II was king.
- There was no precedent in Scotland for a queen ruling in her own right. The succession of a female, even as an adult, posed potential difficulties.
- Bishop Fraser of St Andrews was afraid of civil war when Robert Bruce the elder arrived in Perth with an army. Bishop Fraser asked Edward to come to the Scottish border in order to maintain peace.
- The seriousness of the situation after the death of Alexander III required the Scottish nobles to carry on the government of the country. Six Guardians were elected (two bishops, two earls, two barons) in a parliament in Scone.
- The Guardians compromised the independence of Scotland by asking Edward I for advice and protection.
- There were concerns to maintain the independence of Scotland. The Treaty of Birgham, the marriage of Margaret, Maid of Norway and King Edward's son, Edward, Prince of Wales, appeared to solve the potential threat of civil war and to establish a secure relationship with England through marriage. The Guardians however, were concerned to keep Scotland's separate customs and laws.
- A problem arose over the succession after Margaret's death on her way to Scotland in 1290. Her death left no obvious heir to the kingdom of Scotland.
- Following the invitation to be arbiter in the issue of Scottish succession, Edward showed his authority by inviting the Scottish leaders to meet him at his parliament at Norham rather than Edward travelling over the border into Scotland.
- Edward also showed his strength by ordering his northern armies to assemble at Norham. In addition, Edward organised his navy for a blockade of Scotland and raised taxes to prepare for a possible war.
- Edward put further pressure on the Scots representatives by asking them to prove that he, Edward, was not their overlord. The Scottish leaders replied they could not be asked to 'prove a negative'.
- The Scottish representatives were granted three weeks to reply to Edward's demands.

- Edward responded to the refusal of the Scots representatives to acknowledge his overlordship by asking the claimants to the throne to accept it instead.
- In the Award of Norham, nine claimants, fearing they would be left out of the judgement, accepted Edward's overlordship, and in so doing, compromised the independence of the kingdom.
- The Guardians and other leading Scots eventually took an oath of fealty to Edward. An English baron, Brian fitzAllan was appointed by Edward to the Guardians.
- The task of choosing a new king, known as the Great Cause was a long drawn out process, lasting over 15 months from August 1291 until November 1292. Thirteen claimants, not including Edward himself, presented themselves although only three, John Balliol, Robert Bruce and John Hastings, had a strong legal claim.
- Edward continued to exercise his overlordship over Scotland even after deciding in favour of John Balliol in November 1292. Balliol had the strongest legal claim, based on primogeniture, being a descendent of the eldest daughter of Earl David.
- Balliol had to swear fealty to Edward. Balliol also did homage to Edward in December 1292 at Newcastle. Edward exercised such authority which created problems for King John's reign.

**Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

2.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 5 marks.</i></p> <p><b>Possible points of comparison may include:</b></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="229 297 831 333">Source B</th><th data-bbox="831 297 1434 333">Source C</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td colspan="2" data-bbox="229 333 831 591"> <p><b>Overall:</b> The sources agree that Wallace's military leadership at the Battle of Stirling Bridge and his political leadership as Guardian made a positive contribution to Scottish resistance to Edward I.</p> <p><b>Source B</b> suggests there were divisions among the nobility and some reluctance to accept Wallace's Guardianship. However <b>Source C</b> suggests that on the whole Wallace had the support of the traditional nobility.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="229 591 831 855"> <p><b>Source B</b></p> <p>In the weeks which followed Wallace and Murray's victory at Stirling Bridge, English garrisons across central and southern Scotland surrendered.</p> </td><td data-bbox="831 591 1434 855"> <p><b>Source C</b></p> <p>Wallace and Murray's startling defeat of the largely cavalry force brought against them by Surrey and Cressingham at Stirling on the 11 September 1297 led to the near collapse of the English military control in Scotland.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="229 855 831 1016"> <p>Wallace was knighted and named guardian of the realm, thus reviving the office used between 1286 and 1292.</p> </td><td data-bbox="831 855 1434 1016"> <p>Wallace ...was knighted and afterwards elected as guardian, still in the name of King John but also of the Community of the Realm.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="229 1016 831 1178"> <p>Wallace appointed William Lamberton, a supporter of Scottish independence, as the new bishop of St Andrews.</p> </td><td data-bbox="831 1016 1434 1178"> <p>Wallace ...appointed new bishops - most importantly his friend William Lamberton to succeed William Fraser as bishop of St Andrews.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="229 1178 831 1339"> <p>Many of the nobles, clergy and others who opposed Edward's rule accepted Wallace as the best hope for the defence of the kingdom.</p> </td><td data-bbox="831 1178 1434 1339"> <p>Scotland's traditional leaders fought under Wallace's command.</p> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Source B	Source C	<p><b>Overall:</b> The sources agree that Wallace's military leadership at the Battle of Stirling Bridge and his political leadership as Guardian made a positive contribution to Scottish resistance to Edward I.</p> <p><b>Source B</b> suggests there were divisions among the nobility and some reluctance to accept Wallace's Guardianship. However <b>Source C</b> suggests that on the whole Wallace had the support of the traditional nobility.</p>		<p><b>Source B</b></p> <p>In the weeks which followed Wallace and Murray's victory at Stirling Bridge, English garrisons across central and southern Scotland surrendered.</p>	<p><b>Source C</b></p> <p>Wallace and Murray's startling defeat of the largely cavalry force brought against them by Surrey and Cressingham at Stirling on the 11 September 1297 led to the near collapse of the English military control in Scotland.</p>	<p>Wallace was knighted and named guardian of the realm, thus reviving the office used between 1286 and 1292.</p>	<p>Wallace ...was knighted and afterwards elected as guardian, still in the name of King John but also of the Community of the Realm.</p>	<p>Wallace appointed William Lamberton, a supporter of Scottish independence, as the new bishop of St Andrews.</p>	<p>Wallace ...appointed new bishops - most importantly his friend William Lamberton to succeed William Fraser as bishop of St Andrews.</p>	<p>Many of the nobles, clergy and others who opposed Edward's rule accepted Wallace as the best hope for the defence of the kingdom.</p>	<p>Scotland's traditional leaders fought under Wallace's command.</p>
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3. *Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 9 marks.*

**A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.**

**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:**

- The Comyns never displayed any outstanding talent in military matters.
- Bruce himself had quickly matures into a cunning and effective guerrilla leader.
- The new king was also blessed with an ability to attract and sustain a close-knit team of military commanders who were as effective in military terms as Bruce.
- Bruce could maintain a war on more than one front, sending his only surviving brother, Edward and the enthusiastic James Douglas, down into Galloway to deal with Balliol supporters there, while he himself tackled the Comyn heartland.

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- Bruce's decisive victory over the Earl of Buchan in the battle of Inverurie and the destruction of Comyn lands in the 'Herschip of Buchan' removed the threat from the powerful Comyn family.
- Bruce was increasingly able to leave much of the conduct of the war to such men as Edward Bruce, James Douglas and Thomas Randolph. Bruce's lieutenants were especially important in capturing castles such as Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Roxburgh from English garrisons.
- Edward Bruce, along with James Douglas, led the attack on Galloway and by 1309 was being styled lord of Galloway, a title formerly held by John Balliol.
- The death of King Edward I in 1307 while leading an army against Bruce removed Bruce's main military adversary. Edward's death also weakened English resolve to prosecute the war in Scotland.
- Edward II did not share his father's obsession with Scotland, and he lacked his father's drive and ability. King Edward II did not lead a major campaign into Scotland for several years which allowed Bruce to concentrate on fighting his Scottish enemies.
- Bruce reconquered Scotland from 1310 - 14 by conducting a successful campaign against English held castles in Scotland eg Dundee, Perth, Dumfries, Linlithgow, Roxburgh and Edinburgh.
- Raids were made on the north of England after 1311 and Bruce and his lieutenants led regular raids into England after 1314 to force Edward II to the negotiating table. Bruce attacked England in 1315, 1316, 1318, 1322, 1323 and 1328.
- The raids on England did not succeed in bringing Edward II to the negotiating table but did result in war weariness which contributed to a series of truces in the 1320s.
- Berwick, England's last major outpost in Scotland was captured by the Scots in 1318.
- Bruce inflicted a major defeat on the English at Old Byland in 1322 which almost resulted in the capture of Edward II.
- The support of the Scottish Church was also significant in Bruce's triumph. Most bishops supported Bruce as they saw him as the best hope of securing the independence of the kingdom which would ensure the independence of the Scottish Church. Churchmen preached Bruce propaganda thus promoting Bruce's struggle against his Scottish enemies in the Civil War.
- In the Declaration of the Clergy in 1310 Scotland's bishops declared their support for Bruce as the legitimate king of Scotland.
- Bruce's triumph over a huge English army at the Battle of Bannockburn (23-24 June 1314) completes Bruce's military control of Scotland and gains him increased support thereby securing his position as king of Scots.
- Bruce also weakened English power by sending Scottish armies under his brother Edward to campaign in Ireland. Despite the failure of the Scots to conquer Ireland

and the defeat and death of Edward Bruce in 1318, the possibility of a Celtic fringe alliance diverted English attention and forces from Scotland.

- Diplomacy also contributed to Bruce's triumph. Bruce's position was strengthened by king Philip of France's recognition of Bruce in 1310 which helped to raise Scottish morale.
- A powerful case for Scottish Independence was presented to the pope, in the letter known as the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 and in the Treaty of Edinburgh Bruce made major concessions to gain recognition of his kingship and of Scotland's independence.
- At a parliament held at Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1314, Bruce gave the nobles the opportunity to pledge their allegiance and keep their Scottish lands whilst disinheriting those who chose to side with England.
- Bruce's position was also strengthened by his brutal crushing of the 1320 'Soulis Conspiracy'. However Bruce also showed leniency towards former enemies. Bruce gathered support and ensured loyalty by rewarding his followers.
- Bruce triumphed when he finally secured peace between Scotland and England. Bruce exploited the weakness of the English government after the deposition of Edward II by once more launching attacks into northern England and into Ireland which succeeded in forcing the insecure government of Isabella and Mortimer to negotiate. The Treaty of Edinburgh (1328) formally recognised Bruce as king of an independent Scotland.

**Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
<b>Author:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>'Beggars' Summons'</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Useful as it claims to be from the poor in Scotland. However, it was in fact written anonymously and is thought to be the work of Protestants who were leading the Reformation in Scotland.</li><li>It is biased against the Friars as they are one part of the Catholic Church which the Protestants see as corrupt and open to bribery so may be less useful.</li></ul>
<b>Type of source:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>A summons - A written notice which was pinned to the door of friaries across the country.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>This is useful because it shows the discontent of the poor towards the Catholic Church in Scotland, in particular their resentment towards the friars.</li></ul>
<b>Purpose:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The Summons was written to act as a threat to the friars. It was to demand that the friars leave their friaries by next Whitsunday (12 May 1559).</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The source shows that they were prepared to take action against the friaries which makes it useful as it shows the anger and resentment that had built up in Scotland amongst Protestants prior to the Reformation.</li></ul>
<b>Timing:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1st January 1559.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Useful as it is a contemporary document written the year before the Reformation of 1560 as discontent was growing against the Catholic Church.</li></ul>

Content	Possible comment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We the blind, crooked, bedridden widows, orphans and all other poor have grievances with all friars within the realm.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it shows how the most vulnerable in society appear to have grievances against the friars.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Steal from us our lodgings, and then leave us to perish and die from the effects of poverty.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it shows how the friars appear to have taken advantage of the poor.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We have thought it wise to warn you by this public writing fixed to your gates, that between now and the Feast of Whitsunday next, you must remove yourselves from the friaries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it shows the strength of feeling and threats made by Protestants towards the Catholic Church.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Possible points of significant omission may include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increase in popular support of Protestant sentiment between 1547 and 1559 despite the absence of the figurehead Knox. This support can be seen in the Perth riot 11<sup>th</sup> May 1559 and stealing of the image of St Giles on the day of the saints celebration (1<sup>st</sup> September) 1558 in Edinburgh.</li> <li>Return of Knox as a figurehead. Hugely influential in gathering support for the movement through his preaching.</li> <li>Unhappiness under Mary of Guise due to heavy taxation and her pro-French policies.</li> <li>English military intervention crucial in early 1560.</li> <li>Increase of Protestant literature.</li> <li>Protestant martyrs such as George Wishart (1546) and Walter Myln (1558) helped garner popular support for the Protestant cause.</li> <li>Wish for Scots to create their own national cultural identity. Wish for no interference from England or France.</li> <li>Lack of strong leadership from the Catholic Church in Scotland. Particularly following the murder of Cardinal Beaton.</li> <li>Scotland disliked being ruled by a woman Mary of Guise.</li> <li>Protestant religious commitment. Hard-line and unwavering commitment to the cause.</li> <li>The Lords of the Congregation were encouraged by the prospect of support from the English after Elizabeth became Queen in 1558.</li> <li>Protestant ideas had been coming into Scotland for some time.</li> <li>English Bibles and books critical of the Catholic Church were distributed in Scotland following the Reformation in England.</li> <li>The Catholic Church failed to make sufficient reform to satisfy its critics.</li> <li>Increased numbers of the nobility opted for the new faith.</li> <li>The Lords of the Congregation had increasing support and took up arms against Mary of Guise.</li> <li>The weaknesses of the Catholic Church - decline and corruption; pluralism had not been addressed.</li> <li>Minors being given top positions in the church.</li> <li>Crown and nobility taking much of churches' revenues.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant points.</b></p>	

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

Possible points of comparison may include:

**Overall: Sources B and C** agree about the fact that the Kirk viewed James with distrust.

The sources also agree about James's attempts to exert control over the Kirk over his attendance at General Assemblies.

Possible points of comparison may include:

Source B	Source C
James had inherited a poor country divided by religious factions which viewed the monarch with mistrust.	James VI was viewed with a degree of distrust by his Kirk.
James's main claim was that the Sovereign's right came straight from God.	This was in part due to his relentless view that Kings were in charge of the church by divine rule.
While James's views were questioned by extremist Presbyterians, his resolve to exercise authority over the Kirk strengthened and in 1597, Andrew Melville was deposed as rector of St Andrew's.	The initiative passed to the king, and with the dismissal of Melville many ministers who had previously been happy to criticise him were more willing to accept.
Thereafter, the King attended all General Assemblies between 1597 and 1603, cementing his influence.	By 1603, James had exerted his influence with attendance at every General Assembly since 1597.

6.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 9 marks.</i></p> <p><b>A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.</b></p> <p><b>Possible points which may be identified in the source include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• However, by 1573 there were over 500 such men preaching to the people showing the growing influence of the Kirk, in many parishes the people were being served by ministers who were well informed on religious matters.</li> <li>• The Kirk also remained committed to improving education throughout the land.</li> <li>• Above all, the people now heard the Word of God in their own language, a matter of indescribable worth.</li> <li>• Kirk services became more serious as the sound of music, and the playing of the organ in particular, were associated with the Catholic faith and became a thing of the past.</li> </ul> <p><b>Possible points of significant omission may include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <i>Second Book of Discipline</i> led indirectly to a regular meeting of ministers from 10 to 20 parishes for discussion of doctrine, which became the presbytery.</li> <li>• It proved impractical to dispossess the Catholic clergy of their benefices so they were allowed to retain two-thirds of their revenues for life.</li> <li>• Concessions made to Catholic clergy, on the grounds of old age or ill-health.</li> <li>• At the beginning of 1560, Scotland was a Catholic country with a Protestant minority. By 1603, it was a Protestant country with a small Catholic minority.</li> <li>• The Reformation did not lead to a significant transfer of wealth from the Church and much of the lands of the Catholic Church remained in the hands of the nobility.</li> <li>• The new church still had the problem of not having enough revenue for the parishes.</li> <li>• James VI was reluctant to enforce anti-Catholic laws.</li> <li>• Kirk sessions were instruments of moral and religious control.</li> <li>• The elaborate interiors of Catholic churches were replaced with plain, whitewashed parish kirks.</li> <li>• Observance of Catholic festivals and saints' days and festivals were discouraged</li> <li>• Literary works and Kirk sermons were conducted in English rather than Latin. The only Protestant bibles available to lowland Scots were in English. However, through time the English language became more familiar as English bibles were used in church.</li> <li>• Assistance given to the poor from the friaries ended. New plans to help the poor by the Presbyterian church faced difficulty.</li> <li>• The aim of a school in every parish not achieved but some advances were made in central Scotland.</li> <li>• Literacy rates improved during this period.</li> <li>• Many of the issues prevalent within the Catholic Church prior to the Reformation remained, such as: attendance; poverty of some parishes; and poor quality of preaching.</li> <li>• Scots merchants continued to trade with England and trading ports across the North Sea.</li> <li>• Scots focused on trade with the Protestant Dutch.</li> <li>• Trade with France continued despite the change in religion.</li> <li>• Former Catholics were required to dispose of all religious objects which in the past might have provided a sense of comfort.</li> <li>• Abolition of Christmas and Easter reflected fear of Catholic custom.</li> <li>• Respect for the Sabbath.</li> </ul>
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|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The observance of Catholic festivals and the performance of plays were actively discouraged.</li> <li>• Kirk Sessions were preoccupied with keeping wedding and other celebrations under control. Even though the Kirk decided to remove all organs from places of worship, there is evidence that in some areas music during services survived.</li> <li>• Great emphasis was laid upon attendance at both daily and Sunday services.</li> <li>• Prose writers tended to write in English rather than Latin or Scots - this also applied to sermons.</li> <li>• The catechism was used by ministers, school masters and elders to teach the principles of Protestantism to young Scots. Young people would be examined on their knowledge during the Sunday afternoon service.</li> </ul> |
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**Any other relevant points.**

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

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

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
<b>Author:</b> John Dalrymple - Earl of Stair	Useful as Stair was a prominent figure who was known to support future Union, but opposed any deal that would be bad for Scotland. Could argue less useful as author will be biased.
<b>Type of source:</b> Speech	Useful as it reveals strength of feeling amongst some MPs about Scotland's relations with England.
<b>Purpose:</b> to remind Scots of treatment by England during Darien Scheme	Useful as treatment of Scots by English created further resentment of King William and the English government.
<b>Timing:</b> 1706	Useful as contemporary to the period when the merits of Union were being debated.

Content	Possible comment
Scotland suffered from a lack of co-operation from England.	Useful as it informs MPs of cause for resenting English government.
England treated Scots as pirates and enemy aliens, not fellow British subjects.	Useful as it reveals how Scots were directly affected by English actions in Darien.
No security from union of crowns - Spain attacked Scots.	Useful as it suggests English influence had impact upon safety of Scots in Darien.

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- King William, under influence of English MPs, objected to Darien as it threatened English trade in the Caribbean.
- William persuaded many English investors to withdraw from the Company.
- William used his connections in Holland and persuaded the Dutch to refuse to manufacture or sell ships to the Scots.
- East India Company stopped foreign investment in Company of Scotland as it perceived it as a threat.
- William instructed English colonists in Jamaica not to offer any help to the Scots at Darien.
- William was influenced by English foreign policy towards Spain and France which governed his policy towards Darien.
- King William firmly controlled Scotland to reduce threat of Jacobite rebellion in support of James VII and II.
- Glencoe Massacre (in which Stair himself had been complicit) was announced as murder by the Scottish parliament.
- England's war with France affected English dealings with Scotland.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jacobite plot to assassinate William further strained relations between the two countries.</li> <li>• Continued effects on trade of English Navigation Acts of the 1660's preventing Scots trade with English colonies.</li> <li>• Issues concerning the succession - Act of Settlement (England).</li> <li>• Act of Security (Scotland) - threat to restore the Stuarts.</li> <li>• Wool Act and Wine Act in Scotland were declarations of Scottish independence in matters of trade.</li> <li>• Alien Act in England threatening Scottish trade with England created hostility in the Scottish parliament.</li> <li>• Consequence of 1688-89 Revolution: Scottish Parliament - no longer willing to 'rubber stamp' decisions taken in England.</li> <li>• Scotland's economic problems - seven ill years, no help from England or William during this time.</li> <li>• England's fear that France may use Scotland as 'back door' - threat of invasion from France made English wary of Scots who may choose to aid France.</li> <li>• Influence of the English Court on Scottish government - Queen Anne would employ only those who would support the Hanoverian Succession.</li> <li>• Queen Anne's determination to settle the Scottish succession on Sophia of Hanover and her heirs - would upset Jacobites and Episcopalians.</li> <li>• Distrust existing between Episcopalian Anglican Church and Presbyterian Church of Scotland.</li> <li>• Execution of Captain Green by mob in Leith highlighted anti-English feeling in Edinburgh as Union became more likely.</li> <li>• Covenanters still agitating for Covenant of 1638 to be observed.</li> <li>• <b>Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.</b></li> </ul>

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

Possible points of comparison may include:

Source B	Source C
<p><b>Overall:</b> Sources B and C agree that rather than a persuasive argument, bribery in the form of cash payments, land and the Equivalent was more important in the passing of the Treaty of Union.</p> <p><b>Source B</b> emphasises the role of Defoe in attempting to persuade MPs of the arguments in favour of union. <b>Source C</b> gives additional details about the Earl of Glasgow's role in the cash payments to MPs.</p>	
Any Court party arguments in favour of union, however well meaning, persuaded only a few despite winning their votes.	The Court party won all the votes, without making much effort or troubling themselves with reasoning.
Sums of money were certainly distributed to various MPs in order to secure the necessary votes for the passage of the Act of Union through the Scottish parliament.	A sum of £20,000 advanced from the Queen to ease the passage of the Treaty was distributed to various members of the Scottish Parliament by the Earl of Glasgow.
Promises of English landed estates were dangled before members of the Scottish nobility who supported the Treaty.	The English government was determined to secure the Treaty by offering Scottish nobles large and prosperous estates as means of making money after union.
The biggest sweetener was £398,085.10s - the precise "Equivalent" of all the losses of the Darien expedition.	The Equivalent seemed to offer repayment to the many Scots, including members of the Scottish parliament, who had lost their savings through the collapse of Darien.

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

**A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.**

**Possible points which may be identified in the source include:**

- One irony of the Union is that it did not in the end extinguish Scotland as a nation; it retained its own distinctive identity, attitudes and ideas, and its traditions were so strong that they were not easily removed
- the Treaty in this respect were not as harmful as they might have been, although it did exert a strong Anglicising influence
- guarantees to the Scottish legal system in the Treaty and to the Church in the Act of Security for the Kirk had more influence on Scotland
- the continuation of the Scottish systems of education and local government were a significant achievement of Union.

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- Scottish tradition still evident in other areas - culture, music, art, literature, Scottish Enlightenment, Scott, Smith, Hume, Burns.
- Influence of English agricultural techniques and innovations after Scottish landowners travelled south to parliament in London.
- Political effects: 1711 - parliament banned Scottish peers with English titles.
- Highland clans divided between Hanoverian and Jacobite loyalties.
- 1713 - Motion to repeal Act of Union defeated by 4 votes.
- Whig election victory in 1715 led to government delaying Malt Tax.
- 1725 - Secretary of State for Scotland replaced by Home Secretary.
- Economic effects: Scottish industry could not compete with English competition; only small number of Scots engaged successfully with colonies.
- New taxes particularly on imports led to increases in smuggling in Scotland and loss of revenue for government.
- Paper industry failed.
- Scottish linen industry suffered.
- Merchant shipping benefited, particularly trade with Baltic and Caribbean.
- Tobacco industry developed in Glasgow although not until around 1740 and only benefited a small amount of merchants.
- Agriculture improved; increased investment; 1727 - Royal Bank of Scotland.
- 1730s - Favourable economic climate; industries such as linen recovered.
- Jacobite reaction: Jacobites led national sentiment in literature and songs.
- 1708 - Abortive French-sponsored invasion by the Old Pretender.
- Jacobite rising of 1715; Earl of Mar played leading role; Battle of Sheriffmuir in November 1715 claimed as victory by both government and Jacobites.
- 1716 Disarming Act banned holding of weapons by Highlanders.
- 1719 - failed attempt at rising in north-west Scotland by earl Marischal.
- Other effects: claims of the unpopularity of union made vocally by opponents.
- 1712 - House of Lords became court of appeal for Scottish cases.
- 1724 - Outbreak of fence-smashing by levellers; 1725 - Shawfield riots in Glasgow in response to Malt Tax; 1736 - Porteous riots in Edinburgh.
- Military road-building; establishment of forts in Highlands.
- 1710 - Tories in parliament failed to remove Church of Scotland's privileges; 1711 - Greenshields case; 1712 - Toleration Act and Patronage Act.
- 1722 Marrow affair in Church of Scotland; 1733 secession from state church after some ministers objected to their support of certain religious writings.

**Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
<b>Author:</b> Editor of Chambers' Journal, a weekly Scottish magazine	Useful as the editor provides a well-informed description of the attractions of emigration
<b>Type of source:</b> Article from a popular weekly magazine	Useful as it was a popular publication which attracted a wide range of readers
<b>Purpose:</b> To encourage emigration to Canada.	Useful as an example of how publications were used to inform, promote and recruit emigrants.  Less useful as it is a biased/one sided view focusing only on the benefits of Canadian farming and attractions of emigration to Canada and omitting the hard work and difficult experiences which was often the reality encountered by many emigrants in clearing the land and building homes.
<b>Timing:</b> 1872	Useful as the article was written at a time when it was easier and cheaper for ordinary Scots to emigrate due to transport innovations

Content	Possible comment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Experienced farmers and skilled agricultural workers can earn far more overseas than they can here at home</li> </ul>	Useful as it explains that material gain was an important reason why Scots chose to emigrate. Useful as many Scots who emigrated earned higher wages.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the familiarity and neighbourliness of living among fellow Scots who had already emigrated in the past</li> </ul>	Useful as it explains that for many, a powerful attraction was the familiarity and security of community support offered by joining an established Scottish settlement. The thought of joining a community already created by families and friends reduced concerns about emigration.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the confident prospect that the poorest may become landowners thereby earning sufficient to make a living and to comfortably settle one's children.</li> </ul>	<p>Useful as it explains that a key factor in emigration was the prospect of owning land which for many Scots of modest means, only emigration could make real.</p> <p>Useful as the possibility of taking the future into their own hands was a big attraction for Scottish farmers and is corroborated by many eye-witness accounts.</p>

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- Newspapers in Scotland also published articles in support of emigration to the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. Guidebooks to help emigrants, such as 'Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada' were also produced along with posters with information and encouragement for potential Scottish emigrants.
- In the nineteenth century a network of emigration agencies developed across Scotland which advertised for passengers and organised their travel arrangements. The Canadian Government appointed agents in Scotland who toured markets, hiring fairs and agricultural shows in an effort to encourage able Scots to emigrate.
- Scots were encouraged to emigrate due to the help offered by charities and societies. The Highland and Islands Emigration Society raised money and helped poor crofters to leave Scotland for Australia and Canada.
- Emigration was also encouraged by the Government through the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Support offered included land grants and help with the costs of passage. Direct funding of emigration was provided by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922.
- Canada and New Zealand were attractive to Scottish farmers as they offered cheaper, fertile land.
- Letters home from relatives and friends who had already emigrated describing the attractions of colonial life and recounting the successes of Scots emigrants was important in encouraging Scots to move overseas.
- Scots emigrated due to the financial support of relatives. Relatives often paid for fares and provided help on arrival.
- Skilled workers from the towns, for example, textile workers, were attracted to emigrate by higher wages and better careers prospects.
- Some Scots were attracted to emigrate by the investment opportunities abroad in farming, mining and in the railways.
- Scots were encouraged to emigrate in search of gaining quick wealth as a result of the discovery of gold.
- Scots were encouraged to emigrate due to cheaper and more efficient transport.
- Although the Clearances were at their height earlier in the 1840s and early 1850s, some Highlanders emigrated due to the fear of forced evictions happening again.
- Many Highlanders were forced to consider emigration as a result of poverty and near starvation, for instance, during the potato blight. Rising rents, the poor quality of housing and the lack of good farming land as a result of the population increase pushed many to emigrate.
- Countries overseas offered a pleasant climate which contrasted with the wet weather, hardships and poor living of the Highlands.
- Highlanders emigrated due to the encouragement of landowners paying the fares of local people to emigrate.
- Scots from farming areas in the Lowlands of Scotland in particular were forced out of farming and encouraged to emigrate due to the lack of opportunities due to the effects of the agricultural revolution (mechanisation, specialisation, selective breeding) which led to a decrease in the number of workers required on the land.
- Scottish farmers and agricultural workers were forced to emigrate during the agricultural depression between 1880 and 1914.
- Scots from coastal towns were forced to emigrate as a result of the decline of the kelp and herring industries and later as a result of a depression in the fishing industry between 1884 and 1894.
- Scots were forced to emigrate due to unemployment and a lack of opportunities. Many Scottish workers emigrated due to the effects of the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930.
- Scots migrated from the countryside to the towns due to increased opportunities for work. Employment in the towns was seen as being more attractive due to shorter hours and more leisure time in contrast to the drudgery, isolation and long hours of farm work.

- Highlanders migrated to the towns to escape their difficult and poverty stricken lives farming poor soil in harsh weather.
- Scots migrated to the towns to gain access to the increased social and leisure opportunities such as shops, the pub, cinema, dance hall and football. Railways made moving to enjoy the 'bright lights' of the town much easier.
- Scots migrated due to the effects of increased mechanisation. Labour saving machinery reduced opportunities particularly in areas of the Lowlands of Scotland. Industrialisation also affected rural craftspeople. Such workers could not compete with factory produced goods and were forced to migrate in search of work in the towns and cities.
- Scots migrated to England which offered better opportunities in trades and profession such as medicine. Scots also took up farming opportunities in England, in Essex, in the south of England.

**Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

11.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 5 marks.</i></p> <p>Possible points of comparison may include:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="220 293 1412 1503"> <tr> <th data-bbox="220 293 810 333">Source B</th><th data-bbox="810 293 1412 333">Source C</th></tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" data-bbox="220 333 810 689"> <p><b>Overall:</b> Sources B and C agree that Scots played an important role in the development of Australian industries such as sheep farming and coal mining.</p> <p>Both sources also agree that the arrival of Scots emigrants in Australia was accompanied by the setting up of Presbyterian churches and that the Scots were involved in the development of education.</p> <p>While both sources highlight the importance of the Scots exporting agricultural skills, <b>Source B</b> suggests that some Scots became innovative by their experimentation with farming techniques such as irrigation.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <th data-bbox="220 689 810 730">Source B</th><th data-bbox="810 689 1412 730">Source C</th></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 730 810 853">There was a strong Scottish presence in the pastoral (sheep and cattle) industry, especially in eastern Australia.</td><td data-bbox="810 730 1412 853">All over eastern Australia Scots played a large part in covering the land with homesteads and sheep stations.</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 853 810 1077">Miners were also among the Scottish emigrants to Australia and were mainly to be found in coal mining.</td><td data-bbox="810 853 1412 1077">In the coal mining industry, particularly influential were James and Alexander Brown, originally from Lanarkshire whose mining business employed many fellow Scots and produced most of the coal in New South Wales by 1868.</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 1077 810 1245">The Presbyterian Church was by far the most important Scottish institution brought to Australia which was to influence many areas of Australian life.</td><td data-bbox="810 1077 1412 1245">An indication of the distribution of the Scots in Australia is given by the establishment of Presbyterian churches.</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 1245 810 1503">Scots and Presbyterians were prominent in the teaching profession with Presbyterian secondary schools established in great numbers in Victoria.</td><td data-bbox="810 1245 1412 1503">In areas where the Scots were strong, they were usually also associated with educational effort; for example, the support of the Church of Scotland for Melbourne Academy was so significant that it became known as ‘the Scotch College’</td></tr> </table>	Source B	Source C	<p><b>Overall:</b> Sources B and C agree that Scots played an important role in the development of Australian industries such as sheep farming and coal mining.</p> <p>Both sources also agree that the arrival of Scots emigrants in Australia was accompanied by the setting up of Presbyterian churches and that the Scots were involved in the development of education.</p> <p>While both sources highlight the importance of the Scots exporting agricultural skills, <b>Source B</b> suggests that some Scots became innovative by their experimentation with farming techniques such as irrigation.</p>		Source B	Source C	There was a strong Scottish presence in the pastoral (sheep and cattle) industry, especially in eastern Australia.	All over eastern Australia Scots played a large part in covering the land with homesteads and sheep stations.	Miners were also among the Scottish emigrants to Australia and were mainly to be found in coal mining.	In the coal mining industry, particularly influential were James and Alexander Brown, originally from Lanarkshire whose mining business employed many fellow Scots and produced most of the coal in New South Wales by 1868.	The Presbyterian Church was by far the most important Scottish institution brought to Australia which was to influence many areas of Australian life.	An indication of the distribution of the Scots in Australia is given by the establishment of Presbyterian churches.	Scots and Presbyterians were prominent in the teaching profession with Presbyterian secondary schools established in great numbers in Victoria.	In areas where the Scots were strong, they were usually also associated with educational effort; for example, the support of the Church of Scotland for Melbourne Academy was so significant that it became known as ‘the Scotch College’
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12.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 9 marks.</i></p> <p><b>A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.</b></p> <p><b>Possible points which may be identified in the source include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The shipbuilding industry still possessed a world reach and remained pre-eminent as in 1914 the Clyde yards built almost a fifth of the world's total output.</li> <li>• the interlinked coal, steel, iron and engineering industries, employing over a quarter of the Scottish labour force all dependent upon access to overseas markets in the Empire</li> <li>• Other manufacturing sectors - carpets, thread and woollens - covering the country from the Borders to the north-east Lowlands - were also dependant on overseas trade.</li> <li>• The role of the Scots as key junior partners in Empire was maintained after 1918 with the careers of numerous professional and middle class Scots continuing to be pursued within the Empire.</li> </ul> <p><b>Possible points of significant omission may include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empire contributed to the Clyde becoming the centre of the shipbuilding industry. Shipyards such as Fairfield's, Beardmore's and Denny's were world leaders in the production of shipping in the years up to 1914.</li> <li>• Empire created a market for Scottish goods. Heavy industries of Scotland exported a high proportion of their products. American grain might well be taken in sacks made in Dundee, by locomotives manufactured in Springfield near Glasgow (which produced one quarter of the world's locomotives in 1914), to be loaded onto ships built on the Clyde.</li> <li>• Empire provided raw materials for Scottish factories such as jute. The jute trade was closely associated with the Empire: the raw material came from the Indian province of Bengal. The textile manufactured from the raw material from the Indian province of Bengal was subsequently exported all over the world. Dundee textile firms became internationally known.</li> <li>• Empire enabled some firms and individuals to make great commercial fortunes. Examples include Scottish businessmen such as Sir Charles Tenant (chemicals), Sir James and Peter Coats (cotton) and William Weir (coal and iron).</li> <li>• Many wealthy Scots invested their profits at home by building mansions in the suburbs. Broughty Ferry near Dundee is an example of the display of wealth created by the jute industry.</li> <li>• Empire provided many middle-class Scots with successful careers, especially in India, as civil servants, doctors and as soldiers.</li> <li>• Empire encouraged Scottish martial tradition. Scottish soldiers often from the Highlands were used to protect the Empire and helped create the identity and reputation of the Scots as brave soldiers.</li> <li>• Empire provided a destination for large numbers of Scottish emigrants.</li> <li>• Empire also had negative effects on Scotland. The low-wage economy encouraged in Scotland by the export market led to considerable poverty for many.</li> <li>• Empire left Scotland vulnerable to international trade slumps due to the importance of commerce with the Empire. Due to an over dependence on exports Scotland was adversely affected after the First World War due to the world economic downturn.</li> <li>• Empire created competition for Scottish goods. Other countries in the Empire came to produce goods more cheaply. Examples of industries where this happened were sheep farming in Australia and New Zealand and the linen and jute industry in India.</li> <li>• Empire created investment opportunities. By the 1880s 40 per cent of all Australian borrowing was from Scotland. The Scots also invested in India.</li> </ul>
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- Investment a double-edged sword as Scottish industrial magnates sometimes used their profits to finance projects abroad which meant capital left Scotland.
- Italian immigration had an impact on Scottish society. Italian families contributed to the growing leisure industry. In 1903 there were 89 cafés in Glasgow, growing to 336 by 1905.
- Italian families settled in many towns on the coast and in the main towns. The Nardini family developed what was to become the largest café in Britain. Small sea side towns also had their own Italian cafés.
- In the late 1920s the College of Italian Hairdressers was set up in Glasgow.
- Jewish immigrants helped to develop the commercial life of Scotland. Jews settled in central Glasgow, typically setting up small businesses.
- Jewish immigrants were also important in the tobacco industry. Cigarette making was a common job for the Jewish immigrants to Scotland as there was no local workforce that could produce cigarettes.
- Jewish immigrants made an important contribution to the tailoring trade and helped produce affordable, quality clothing, especially men's suits.
- Lithuanian immigration contributed to the economic development of Scotland mainly through employment in the coal industry.
- Lithuanians joined the Scottish miners in bringing about improved working conditions through trade union activity.
- Lithuanian immigrants also contributed a distinctive culture to Scotland through their language and community activities. However the Lithuanian community integrated effectively into Scottish society therefore left less of a lasting impact. Lithuanians were also fewer in numbers than Irish immigrants and were not perceived as a threat to the Scottish way of life by native Scots. In addition many Lithuanians returned to Eastern Europe during First World War.
- Migration had a positive economic effect on Scotland. The immigrant Irish provided a workforce prepared to tackle the hardest of jobs. The Irish contributed to industrial developments in Scotland through the building of roads, canals and railways across Scotland.
- Irish immigration had a lasting cultural impact on Scottish society reflected in the creation of separate Catholic schools across most major urban centres in Scotland.
- Migration had an impact on Scottish sporting life - Edinburgh Hibernian was founded in 1875 by Irishmen living in the Cowgate area of Edinburgh. Glasgow Celtic was founded in 1887 by Brother Walfrid, a Catholic priest. A Catholic team in Dundee called Dundee Harp also existed for a short time. Dundee United was founded in 1909 and was originally called Dundee Hibernian.
- Irish immigrants also contributed to the culture of Scotland through the Protestant Orange Lodge Order.
- Irish immigrants and their descendants had an impact on Scottish politics. The Irish were important in the Scottish Trade Union movement and the development of the Labour Party in Scotland. The Irish community produced important political leaders like John Wheatley and James Connolly.
- A negative effect of Irish immigration was the presence of sectarian rivalries.

**Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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

13.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 6 marks.</i></p> <p><b>Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:</b></p>
<b>Aspect of the source</b>	<b>Possible comment</b>
<b>Author:</b> Scottish soldier on the Western Front.	<p>It is useful as it is from the diary of a private from the Royal Scots. It is the view of someone who experienced the war first-hand and who will be well informed about the Scots military involvement on the Western Front.</p> <p>Less useful as this diary extract only reflects the experience of one soldier.</p>
<b>Type of source:</b> A diary.	<p>It is useful as it is a personal account of his experience which reflects the broader experience of Scots on the Western Front. It is an eyewitness account to some of the events at High Wood. May be less guarded, so source may be more useful.</p>
<b>Purpose:</b> To record personal experiences during the war.	<p>It is useful as it is a record of a Scottish soldier's experience of particular aspects of life on the Western Front.</p>
<b>Timing:</b> 21 <sup>st</sup> July 1916.	<p>The source is useful as it dates from a time when Scottish soldiers were heavily involved in the war. It is useful as a contemporary account written at the time of the events at High Wood during the Battle of the Somme.</p>
<b>Content</b>	<b>Possible comment</b>
We got a whiff of tear gas still lingering after German bombardment, which made our eyes sore and watery.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it tell us that tear gas was used (against the Scots) by the Germans and what the effects were.</li> </ul>
We plunged into a hail of shells. The air was full of the roar of their approach and the drawn out shattering detonations of their explosions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it provides an insight of what an enemy bombardment of shells was like for Scottish soldiers who had to experience these.</li> </ul>
We were then sent to relieve the survivors of the Division which had suffered terrible losses in the unsuccessful attempt to occupy High Wood.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful as it provides insight into a failed attempt at High Wood in July 1916 during which there had been high levels of loss. A common experience for Scottish units during the war.</li> </ul>

**Possible points of significant omission may include:**

- Experience of trench warfare eg rats, lice, trench foot, snipers, boredom, fear of death, lack of sanitation, food rations, shell shock.
- By December 1914, 25% of the male labour force of western Scotland had already signed up.
- 13% of those who volunteered in 1914-15 were Scots.
- Young Scots urged to join the army through a mixture of peer pressure, feelings of guilt, appeals to patriotism, hopes for escapism and adventure, heroism, self-sacrifice and honour. For the unemployed, the army offered a steady wage.
- Kitchener's campaign was a huge success: examples such as by the end of August 20,000 men from the Glasgow area had joined up.
- In Scotland there were no official 'Pals Battalions' but in reality - the Highland Light Infantry/Tramway battalion; the 16th battalion/the Boys Brigade.
- In Edinburgh, Cranston's battalion and McCrae's battalions became part of the Royal Scots. McCrae's battalion was the most famous because of its connection with Hearts football club.
- Gas first used by the British at Loos 1915.
- Gas cylinders were replaced by gas-filled shells. Different types of gas, chlorine, phosgene, mustard and their effects.
- More soldiers killed on the Western Front by artillery fire than by any other weapon.
- Partly due to the static nature of trench warfare, the wounded suffered horribly.
- Bloody minded attitude of the survivors who used it to stimulate them for future battles.
- Losses were replaced and the Scottish units carried on though grousing and criticisms became more common.
- A British first field dressing was issued to all servicemen during the First World War. They were intended for use as soon after injury as possible, often applied by the wounded soldier himself.
- Medical support improved as the war went on.
- Loos: for many of Scotland's soldiers in Kitchener's New Army the initial taste of action for the volunteers came at Loos in September 1915.
- The 9th and 15th Scottish Divisions were involved in the attack; 9th lost almost 3,000 men killed and missing from 25 to 28 September; 15th lost over 3,000 in a single day.
- Loos was part of a series of British battles of Neuve Chapelle, Aubers Ridge, Festubert and Loos. Scottish losses were huge and all parts of Scotland were affected; of the 20,598 names of the missing at Loos a third of them are Scottish.
- Bravery and fighting spirit of Scottish units: 5 Victoria Crosses given to Scots after the battle in recognition of their extraordinary bravery; The Somme: Three Scottish divisions 9th, 15th [Scottish] and 51st [Highland] took part in the battle of the Somme, as well as numerous Scottish battalions in other units, ie the Scots Guards in the Household Division. 51 Scottish infantry battalions took part in the Somme offensive at some time.
- Piper Daniel Laidlaw of the KOSB played the pipes during an attack at Loos to encourage Scottish troops to charge. Laidlaw was awarded the Victoria Cross for his bravery.
- Huge Scottish sacrifice: 15th (Cranston's) Royal Scots lost 18 officers and 610 soldiers wounded, killed or missing. 16th (McCrae's) Royal Scots lost 12 officers and 573 soldiers; 16th HLI lost 20 officers and 534 men - examples of Scottish losses on the first day. The 9th (Scottish) Division performed well during the five months of fighting. Casualties were high: 314 officers and 7,203 other ranks, yet morale remained high.
- Battle of Arras in 1917 saw concentration of 44 Scottish battalions and seven Scottish named Canadian battalions, attacking on the first day, making it the largest concentration of Scots to have fought together. One third of the 159,000 British casualties were Scottish.

- High numbers of Scottish deaths at Loos, Somme Arras.
- The official figure given at the end of the war calculated that Scotland had suffered 74,000 dead.
- Huge sacrifice of Scots during the war: of 557,000 Scots who enlisted in the services, 26.4% lost their lives. One in five British casualties was Scottish.
- Experience of Scottish women on Western Front.
- Scottish leadership: role of Douglas Haig; strong Presbyterian background; believed in his mission to win; stubborn and stoical; famous for order in 1918 not to give ground and to fight to the end.
- Debate over Haig's role: considered to be one of the soldiers of his generation, he had a reputation as an innovative commander. In a balanced judgment the historian John Terrain calls him 'The Educated Soldier'. He had to deal with a military situation which was unique and no other general had had to deal with.
- That he did so with a vision of what was needed - he embraced the use of tanks for example - is to his great credit. He could be distant and was touchy, but he did visit the front and was aware of the sacrifices made; he was the architect of eventual victory.

**Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking principles for this kind of question.**

14.	<p data-bbox="220 152 1417 197"><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 5 marks.</i></p> <p data-bbox="220 224 1417 268"><b>Possible points of comparison may include:</b></p> <table border="1" data-bbox="220 291 1417 1265"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="220 291 810 331">Source B</th><th data-bbox="810 291 1417 331">Source C</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td colspan="2" data-bbox="220 331 810 555"> <p data-bbox="220 331 1417 443"><b>Overall:</b> Sources B and C broadly agree about the land issue in Scotland. They agree about promises of land, raiding, imprisonment and the failure of the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act.</p> <p data-bbox="220 470 1417 555"><b>Source B</b> highlights the specific role of propaganda. However, <b>Source C</b> highlights the wider effects of the war.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 555 810 857"> <p data-bbox="220 555 810 857"><b>Source B</b></p> <p data-bbox="220 600 810 857">The reaction from ex-servicemen might not have been so violent had the propaganda during and after the war not been so effective <b>OR</b> “During the war agents appointed by the government flooded Sutherland with literature containing guarantees to all of land.”</p> </td><td data-bbox="810 555 1417 857"> <p data-bbox="810 555 1417 857"><b>Source C</b></p> <p data-bbox="810 600 1417 857">The promise of land for men who served in the war was a central part of government policy.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 857 810 981"> <p data-bbox="220 857 810 981">Only weapon that had proved successful since the late nineteenth century was land seizure.</p> </td><td data-bbox="810 857 1417 981"> <p data-bbox="810 857 1417 981">The frustration generated land seizures on a scale not seen in the Highlands for forty years.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 981 810 1104"> <p data-bbox="220 981 810 1104">The landlord could have them arrested for breaking the law.</p> </td><td data-bbox="810 981 1417 1104"> <p data-bbox="810 981 1417 1104">The illegal occupation of land in the Highlands led to the arrest and imprisonment of many.</p> </td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="220 1104 810 1265"> <p data-bbox="220 1104 810 1265">In 1919 the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act came into operation, the stage now seemed to be set for rapid settlement, but it did not work out that way.</p> </td><td data-bbox="810 1104 1417 1265"> <p data-bbox="810 1104 1417 1265">The Land Settlement (Scotland) Act was unable to redistribute land according to the precise nature of the demand put by crofters.</p> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Source B	Source C	<p data-bbox="220 331 1417 443"><b>Overall:</b> Sources B and C broadly agree about the land issue in Scotland. They agree about promises of land, raiding, imprisonment and the failure of the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act.</p> <p data-bbox="220 470 1417 555"><b>Source B</b> highlights the specific role of propaganda. However, <b>Source C</b> highlights the wider effects of the war.</p>		<p data-bbox="220 555 810 857"><b>Source B</b></p> <p data-bbox="220 600 810 857">The reaction from ex-servicemen might not have been so violent had the propaganda during and after the war not been so effective <b>OR</b> “During the war agents appointed by the government flooded Sutherland with literature containing guarantees to all of land.”</p>	<p data-bbox="810 555 1417 857"><b>Source C</b></p> <p data-bbox="810 600 1417 857">The promise of land for men who served in the war was a central part of government policy.</p>	<p data-bbox="220 857 810 981">Only weapon that had proved successful since the late nineteenth century was land seizure.</p>	<p data-bbox="810 857 1417 981">The frustration generated land seizures on a scale not seen in the Highlands for forty years.</p>	<p data-bbox="220 981 810 1104">The landlord could have them arrested for breaking the law.</p>	<p data-bbox="810 981 1417 1104">The illegal occupation of land in the Highlands led to the arrest and imprisonment of many.</p>	<p data-bbox="220 1104 810 1265">In 1919 the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act came into operation, the stage now seemed to be set for rapid settlement, but it did not work out that way.</p>	<p data-bbox="810 1104 1417 1265">The Land Settlement (Scotland) Act was unable to redistribute land according to the precise nature of the demand put by crofters.</p>
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15.	<p><i>Candidates can be credited in a number of ways up to a maximum of 9 marks.</i></p> <p><b>A maximum of 2 marks may be given for answers which refer only to the source.</b></p> <p><b>Possible points which may be identified in the source include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After the war more people were listening to the Labour Party.</li> <li>• The Conservatives in the aftermath of the Great War emerged as a major force.</li> <li>• (In Scotland) voices were raised in calls for a separation of powers and the Scottish Home Rule Association re-established itself in 1918.</li> <li>• From the time of the “Red Clydeside” rising of 1919 Scots had found much in common with firebrands such as John MacLean.</li> </ul> <p><b>Possible points of significant omission may include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ILP MPs from Clydeside elected November 1922 were committed to home rule.</li> <li>• It was difficult for Home Rule to make progress in Westminster parliament.</li> <li>• Private members’ Home Rule bills failed.</li> <li>• Glasgow University Scottish National Association formed 1926.</li> <li>• Support for Home Rule waned within the Labour Party.</li> <li>• 1927 John MacCormick and Roland Muirhead, formed the National Party of Scotland. It distanced itself from the Labour Party. Drew support from intellectuals like Hugh MacDiarmid.</li> <li>• Some Liberals and Conservatives formed the Scottish Party at the end of the 1920s and proposed some form of devolution in an effort to attract Liberal and Unionist supporters.</li> <li>• The latter formed the National Party of Scotland but it had little electoral impact. (MacCormick and Muirhead each got less than 3,000 votes in the 1929 election.)</li> <li>• ‘Scottish Renaissance’ of the 1920s had strong leanings towards Home Rule and Independence - they challenged both the cultural and political relationship between Scotland and England.</li> <li>• Beginnings of change in Scottish attitudes to the Empire - linked with the ‘profound crisis which overwhelmed the nation between the wars’ (Devine).</li> <li>• Scots’ faith in their role as the economic power-house of the Empire had been shattered.</li> <li>• Extension of the franchise to women. Many working class women had become politicised by their war work and the rent strikes. Women, such as Mary Barbour, Agnes Dollan and Helen Crawford became role models for women keen to make their voice heard politically for the first time.</li> <li>• Initial instances of radicalism after war: 1919 - George Square.</li> <li>• The Clyde Workers Committee (CWC) was formed to control and organise action for an extension of workers’ control over industry.</li> <li>• Forty Hours Strike and demonstration at George Square, waving of red flag, riot, troops and tanks appeared on streets of Glasgow. Riot Act was read. The Cabinet agreed with the Scottish Secretary Robert Munro, that the confrontation was not strike action but a ‘Bolshevist rising.’</li> <li>• Class conflict - breaking of shop stewards, engineers and miners by 1926.</li> <li>• Splits and decline of the Liberal Party: Coalition Liberals supported Lloyd George and the coalition with the Conservatives at the end of the war. The supporters of Herbert Asquith, the old party leader, stood as Liberals.</li> <li>• Old Liberal causes died in the aftermath of the war.</li> </ul>
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- |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The Liberal Party, which had claimed guardianship of workers' interests on the pre-war era, was increasingly perceived as defending the well-being of employers and capital.</li><li>• In the second 1924 election the Liberals won only 9 seats in Scotland.</li><li>• Protestant/Orange vote foundered on the Conservatives' support for the 1918 Act giving state support to Catholic secondary schools; separate Orange and Protestant party established in 1922, splitting 'Moderate' (Conservative) vote.</li></ul> |
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**Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking principles for this kind of question.**



## Section 2 - British

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

16.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Feudalism is a term that is used to describe a society that is organised around relationships that emerge from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. There is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism.</p> <p><b>Peasants</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Feudal lords depended on the peasant classes; without their work in the fields the feudal system would not have worked.</li><li>• The peasants were used to form the bulk of the armies.</li><li>• Their importance was highlighted after the Black Death when they were able to demand a lot of money for their labour.</li><li>• The Peasants' Revolt (1381) demonstrates that when required the peasants could work together and make demands.</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The King</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Kings exercised control over their kingdoms, through patronage and gifts of land.</li><li>• The Barons were indebted to the king for the lands given to them.</li><li>• The king could therefore demand military service in return for a charter that granted the land to the baron and his descendants.</li></ul> <p><b>Justice</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The king granted judicial rights to the barons.</li><li>• He retained the right to hear any case in his own court.</li></ul> <p><b>Revenue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The king received revenue, from not only his own lands, but from feudal dues from all of his barons.</li><li>• The king received money in the form of scutage (shield tax), from those followers who refused to fight.</li><li>• The king could apply taxes (feudal aids and reliefs etc.) across the kingdom.</li></ul> <p><b>Knights and Chivalry</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Royalty understood the importance of the idea of chivalry if properly harnessed ie in favour of the monarchy. Kings hoped to encourage knights and keep their loyalty; romantic stories of the Arthurian Legends were a way of keeping knights loyal.</li><li>• The English crown attempted to recreate Camelot and the spirit of the round table. In a way, this way Edward I and Edward III kept the importance of chivalry alive in their realm.</li></ul> <p><b>The great Magnates</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Barons accounted for ownership of almost half the arable land in England; they could have lands from several lords or kings.</li><li>• Like the king, barons had control over the people under them; they could demand military service and raise an army of knights.</li><li>• Like kings they could raise revenue from their lands.</li></ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>
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## 17. Context

David I was the youngest son of King Malcolm III and St Margaret. By the time he succeeded to the throne in 1124, he was well connected with a good marriage, a rich inheritance and estates in Normandy, north England and southern Scotland. He sought to impose his authority on the kingdom of Scotland on his succession to the throne.

### Introduction of feudal landholding

- During his time in England, David became an admirer of the feudal landholding system. He introduced a form of military feudalism into areas of Scotland, notably the southwest, Lothian and the northeast.
- Noble families were imported from his lands in England and France and given grants of land. In return they offered David their support, both politically and militarily. Examples include Robert de Brus in Annandale and Walter fitz Allan in Renfrewshire and East Lothian.
- There was penetration in to Fife and beyond. Even land given in feudal due to Flemish knights in Moray.
- However, the Mormaers in Scotland were semi-independent and held autonomous power over large parts of Scotland. The Earls of Moray had a long tradition of independence, even going so far as to claim the crown during the reign of Macbeth. However, when its earl rebelled in 1130 and was killed near Brechin, David annexed the province for the crown and set up feudatories there.
- Leaders in the far west and north of Scotland also had a history of independence. In the south the lordship of Galloway, was under the leadership of Fergus, who from 1124 styled himself as King of the Gallowegians.
- There was no whole scale replacement of the native aristocracy. By the 1160s there were still 10 native earls and David was close to those in Fife and Dunbar.

### The need to develop the economy

- Before David I, revenue in Scotland was mostly limited to the incomes from royal demesnes.
- The lack of royal burghs limited international trade and early medieval Scottish kings lacked the financial resources to tackle the Mormaers directly without the Community of the Realm backing them.
- As a result David sought to develop more burghs, for example Perth, in order to generate revenue. Burghs allowed for privileged merchant communities. The rents, tolls and fines that the burghs provided were David's earliest and most important sources of money. By the end of his reign there were even burghs in Forres and Elgin in Moray.
- Moneyers were appointed by David and silver pennies were introduced.

### Law and order

- Royal justice was usually reserved for more serious crimes. Issues of land, an important aspect of justice, were often poorly judged or unfairly settled.
- Expansion of Royal Castles: Motte and Bailey.

### Development of royal government

- Development of offices during David I's reign such as Constable, Butler, Chamberlain and Chancellor. Supporters like Hugh de Moreville and Raulph de Souces became David's constable and butler.
- However, his household kept the Gaelic speaking 'Rannaire' [Divider of Food] and the royal body guard; the 'Durward'.

- Sherrifdoms were introduced along the style of Norman Kings of England. Larger than the traditional thanages.
- Sheriffs sought to replace thanes in the remote areas of the kingdom. They offered direct royal contact for those away from the traditional seat of power.
- However the continued use of officials with Gaelic names shows how he used the structures that already existed.

#### **Development of the royal military forces**

- The new feudal forces brought to David by his introduction of feudalism offered a significant advantage when dealing with the Celtic Mormaers.
- Traditionally it was the Mormaers who controlled the summoning of the Common army of Scotland. Now David had an independent force loyal to him.
- Did not always work well together, as seen at the disastrous Battle of the Standard.
- The peace settlement established during the disputed reign of Stephen-Matilda in England, extended Scotland's border further south than ever before.

#### **Development of the justice system**

- New Scottish barons were given the rights to hold their own courts within their fiefs. This was an extension of the king's law, rather than reliance on the traditional Celtic courts led by Brechons, experts in the law. Eventually these Celtic courts died out and were replaced with sheriff courts. The gradual acceptance of the king's law led the way to the decrease of importance of the Mormaers and the acceptance of central control.
- Justiciar appointed to complement the sheriffs: highest administrative and judicial officer.

#### **Development of the Church**

- Started by David's mother Margaret, the introduction of the Roman Church at the expense of the Celtic one offered a significant support to the development of royal authority. David gave significant grants of land to Religious orders. The greatest being the Cistercian house at Melrose in 1136. Benedictine at Dunfermline and the Augustinians at St Andrews and Holyrood.
- Important in the monastic economic development of land, but also important as the Church preached the divine grace of the king, it was hard to justify any rebellions against him.
- Loyalty was given from new religious orders free from corruption; in return David constructed magnificent Abbeys at Jedburgh and Holyrood. Established Diocese at Moray and Ross and down the east coast from St Andrews to Edinburgh (East Lothian).
- However, David was also sensitive to local needs and displayed reverence to the native saints eg St Mungo of Glasgow and Columba of Iona.

#### **Succession**

- David sought a smooth succession to his son. He did however use Celtic procedures, such as taking Malcolm round the country to secure acceptance and the use of Gaelic in the inauguration.

**Any other relevant factors.**

18.	<p>King John was the youngest, and favourite, son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. On the death of his elder brother Richard, he became King of England despite the claims of his nephew Arthur. He struggled to hold the widespread Angevin Empire together in the face of the challenges of the Capetian monarch of France and his own barons.</p> <p><b>Impact of the loss of Normandy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Had an impact on the Royal finances as it reduced John's income.</li> <li>• The recovery of the Royal lands north of the Loire became the focus of John's foreign policy and led to policies which eventually led to challenges to his authority.</li> <li>• The need to fund warfare to recover Normandy led to the frequent use of Scutage to raise cash. It was used much more frequently than under Henry II and Richard, levied 11 times in 17 years.</li> </ul> <p><b>Taxation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John was more efficient in collecting taxes.</li> <li>• Used wardships to raise cash.</li> <li>• Introduced new taxes: eg 1207 tax on income and moveable goods.</li> <li>• Improved quality of silver coinage.</li> </ul> <p><b>Administration of government</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John filled many of the roles in the Royal Household with new men; especially from Poitou. This was not popular with the English barons.</li> </ul> <p><b>Military Power</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Established the Royal Navy.</li> <li>• Extensive use of mercenaries rather than feudal service.</li> <li>• Able to exert his military strength against the nobility and the French.</li> <li>• John an able military commander; ie when conflict started with France and his nephew Arthur, he defeated them and captured Arthur.</li> <li>• His forces and his allies were decisively beaten at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214.</li> </ul> <p><b>Law and justice</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasingly partial judgements were resented.</li> <li>• John increased professionalism of local sergeants and bailiffs.</li> <li>• Extended the system of coroners.</li> </ul> <p><b>Relations with the Church</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John fell out with Pope Innocent III over the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent insisted on the appointment of Langton which John opposed.</li> <li>• Papal interdict laid on England and Wales for 6 years.</li> <li>• In 1213 John made England a fief of the papacy.</li> <li>• Noble uprising led by Archbishop of Canterbury.</li> </ul> <p><b>Relations with the Nobility</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nobles refused to fight in France. This was especially true of the northern Barons who had little stake in France.</li> <li>• Nobles felt their status was reduced by use of mercenaries.</li> <li>• John became increasingly suspicious of the nobles.</li> <li>• High cost of titles led to nobles becoming overly indebted.</li> <li>• John took hostages to ensure nobles behaved. He showed he was prepared to execute children if the father opposed him.</li> </ul>
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	<p><b>Magna Carta</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relations worsened over the course of the reign, ending with Magna Carta and rebellion of many Barons.</li> </ul> <p><b>John's personality</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He could be generous, had a coarse sense of humour and was intelligent.</li> <li>• However, could also be suspicious and cruel: vicious in his treatment of prisoners and nobles.</li> <li>• Arthur, his nephew, died in mysterious circumstances.</li> <li>• Powerful lords like William de Braose fell from favour and were persecuted. William's wife and son were imprisoned and died. He died in exile in France.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other relevant factors.</b></p>

## PART B - The Century of Revolutions, 1603 - 1702

19.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>During the reign of James I in England 1603-25, the House of Commons had challenged the Divine Right of Kings, and relations between crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. When James I had ascended the throne, Parliament had become used to wielding some power due to developments during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, but James wanted to exercise the same authority in England as he had been accustomed to in Scotland. Factors contributing towards James I's problems were economic, religious (in relation to both Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism), political, legal and Scotland related.</p> <p><b>Politics</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Parliament had been encouraged since the days of Henry VIII to make policy, and therefore its members felt they could criticise the Crown freely; however, James I asserted the divine right of kings as he claimed he had been accustomed to this in Scotland, which made his status as a foreigner more unattractive to the English Parliament.</li><li>• The House of Commons opposed James I to such an extent that the stability of the nation was affected.</li><li>• The king conceded defeat in the Goodwin Case which gave Parliament fresh impetus to challenge him further.</li><li>• James I attempted to curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved.</li></ul> <p><b>Economic issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• James I wanted to exist financially independent of Parliament and manipulated the statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws which were designed merely to raise revenue.</li><li>• Fiscal devices such as monopolies and wardships were unpopular.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• Increases in customs duties led to the Bates Case in 1606 which James I won, although Parliament declared the duties illegal in 1610.</li></ul> <p><b>Religious issues - Presbyterianism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• James I had a lifelong hatred of Puritanism; Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform.</li><li>• The king feared moves towards Presbyterianism and rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying 'no bishops, no king', and vowing to maintain an Episcopalian Church of England.</li><li>• Puritans existed in large numbers in House of Commons and were demanding church reform early in James I's reign.</li><li>• 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.</li></ul>
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### **Religious issues - Roman Catholicism**

- James I relaxed the Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics, which revealed that there were more Roman Catholics than many in the House of Commons had feared.
- The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 increased tension and turned many against Roman Catholics.
- Parliament was horrified that the king allowed his son to marry a Roman Catholic French princess and allow her to celebrate mass privately at court.
- Furthermore, James I admired the religious power of the monarchies in France and Spain, both Roman Catholic countries and England's traditional enemies.
- James conducted many negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, whose influence at court many Puritans resented. In 1604 they concluded a peace, bringing their nineteen-year war to an end with the Treaty of London.
- Eventually the king issued the House of Commons with the Rebuke of 1621, a ban on discussing foreign policy so that he could forge stronger links with Spain. This generated much anti-Catholic feeling amongst James I's political opponents who disapproved of this developing relationship.

### **Legal issues**

- James I attempted to control the court system by appointing judges who would favour the Crown; Parliament saw this as unfair and objected to the abuse of power.
- The king 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 used his position to influence proceedings in the prerogative law courts such as the Court of Star Chamber and protect 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.

### **The difficulties James had ruling both England and Scotland**

- Parliament in London rejected the king's proposed union between Scotland and England as they felt he was making no attempt to understand the English constitution, which accorded greater powers to Parliament in London than were accorded in Edinburgh.
- James I sought to obtain greater taxation in Scotland, and employed members of loyal clans as government agents, at considerable expense, to extract payment of overdue taxes or fines.
- James I exerted his influence in the Highlands with force, giving permission for certain clans to attack clans who had not professed loyalty to him.
- As legitimate king of Scotland, James I (and VI) was carrying out a role into which he had been born; however, his position in trying to maintain rule over two kingdoms, and the dominance of England, meant Scotland proved to be more than a minor irritation in his attempts to achieve stability.

**Any other relevant factor.**

20.

### **Context**

The English Civil War lasted from 1642 to 1649. It was fought between the Royalist forces, who supported Charles I, and Parliamentarians, who opposed the king's authority. During the reign of James I, 1603-25, the House of Commons had challenged the Divine Right of Kings. When Charles I ascended the throne in 1625, relations between crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. Factors contributing towards the war were economic, religious, political, and legal; the legacy of James I was also a factor, as were Scottish matters and the events of 1640-2.

### **Economic issues**

- Charles I wanted to be financially independent, but resorted to anachronistic methods of raising revenue, such as a Declaration of Forced Loans in 1625 to fund wars with France and Spain, and a continuation of the enforcement of the Forest Laws re-discovered by James I.
- The punishing of Distraint of Knighthood raised £150,000 between 1633 and 1635 by fining those with incomes of over £40, a practice unheard of since medieval times.
- The raising of Ship Money in 1635 was highly controversial, as the king demanded money to the value of a ship from towns throughout the country, extending the medieval practice of requesting this only from ports to aid the defence of the realm. The Ship Money Case of 1637 involved an MP, John Hampden, who refused to pay but was defeated in court.
- The 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.

### **Religious issues**

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



- The king used the church for political purposes, with clergymen often holding public office in the civil service. Charles I appointed clerics to ministerial positions, including the Bishop of London who became Lord High Treasurer in 1636.

#### **Political issues**

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

#### **Legal issues**

- Charles I's 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.
- Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Stafford, was the king's chief minister from 1628 to 1633, and was authorised by Charles I to use the Council of the North to enforce his ruthless "Thorough" policies in the north of England to put down rebellions and influence the justice system. After 1633, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and although he revived Ireland's fishing, farming and linen industries this was merely to generate more money for the crown and make the Irish subservient to the king.

### **Legacy of James I**

- James I, who reigned between 1603 and 1625, continually opposed the Puritan movement and resisted calls for Presbyterianism in the Anglican Church. He rejected the Millenary Petition in 1604 and persecuted Puritan leaders. This caused resentment amongst Puritan MPs.
- In addition, his adopted tolerant policy towards Roman Catholicism. He relaxed the Recusancy Laws in 1603 and approved of his son's marriage to a Roman Catholic princess from France.
- James I used anachronistic laws to increase his personal wealth, raising taxes himself and selling honours and titles to those who could afford to buy them.
- James I's imprisonment of MPs in the Tower of London showed absolutist tendencies. In addition, his assertion of Divine Right was a notion less accepted in England than in Scotland.
- James I intervened continually 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 the England and Scotland. This meant that the issue of ruling both countries was significant in making it almost impossible to achieve the stable rule of either.

### **Scottish issues**

- Laud's imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland in 1637 was fiercely opposed by members of Scottish Kirk. His policies towards Scotland provoked hostility in Scottish Parliament.
- Thousands of Scots signed the National Covenant in 1638, pledging to defend Presbyterianism. The Covenanting movement was a political challenge to Laud, and was also therefore a challenge to royal power in Scotland. This led to a weakening of Charles I's position in England as the military threat from the Covenanters forced the king to attempt to reconcile his differences with Parliament.
- Charles I's defeat in the First and Second Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 further weakened his authority over Parliament in England. Threats of Scottish invasion in 1640-2 led to drastic action by Parliament in forming its own army.

### **Events of 1640-2**

- By 1640-41, Puritans and the High Church were in bitter dispute over proposed reforms of Church of England. Parliament had imposed anti-Episcopalian conditions on its co-operation with the king in his request for funds to fight Scotland.
- Charles I had asked for Parliamentary funding for the Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640. MPs took advantage of the situation, demanding the abolition of ship money which would be seen as a victory in the face of years of perceived financial tyranny.
- Parliament insisted on the introduction of the Triennial Act in 1641, legislating for Parliament to be called at least every three years. In response to rumours of plots against him, in January 1642, Charles I entered the House of Commons to try and arrest 5 Puritan MPs, including John Hampden, but they escaped.
- Parliament made increasing demands on the king, such as the abolition of the prerogative law courts including the Star Chamber, High Commission and Council of the North. The House of Commons impeached Wentworth who was then arrested in March 1641 and condemned to death after Charles I signed an Attainder Act agreeing to this.
- There were minor rebellions in Ireland, as hostilities broke out after people rose up against the ruthless policies imposed by Wentworth during 1630s. In addition, threats were faced from Scotland, as with England in crisis, invasion by the Covenanters seemed likely.

- |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 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.</li></ul> |
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**Any other relevant factors.**

**21. Context**

After the Interregnum, the monarchy was restored in 1660. Charles II reigned until 1685, although he used loopholes in the Restoration Settlement to rule without Parliament from 1681 onwards. His brother James II ruled from 1685, but his attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688-9, when his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange were asked by Parliament to become joint monarchs, under terms known as the Revolution Settlement. Factors contributing towards the Revolution were religious and political; the roles of both Charles II and James II were important; the role of parliament and the absence of a Bill of Rights were also factors.

**Religious issues**

- James II issued the First Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687 which suspended the Test Act, which stated that all holders of civil office, both military and political, should be Anglican and should swear an oath against Roman Catholic doctrine.
- The king also issued the Second Declaration of Indulgence in May 1688, which stated that toleration towards Roman Catholics should be preached in every church in England on two successive Sundays.
- Charles II had been an Anglican, but had secretly signed the Treaty of Dover in 1670, a deal agreeing with Louis XIV that he would declare himself Roman Catholic when his relations with Parliament improved. He entered the Third Dutch War in alliance with France in 1673, and eventually declared himself a Roman Catholic on his death bed.
- James II promoted Roman Catholics to key posts in government and the army. The new heir to the throne, born in 1685, was to be raised as a Roman Catholic. This religious crisis this created in the minds of MPs drove the momentum for Parliamentarians to send for William and Mary.
- The Restoration Settlement in 1660 had stated that the Church of England would carry on using the Prayer Book approved by the Stuarts. There were hostile divisions between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

**James II**

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

## **Charles II**

- The king, exiled in France for the Interregnum, had accepted limitations on his power when the monarchy was restored in 1660. However, loopholes in the Restoration Settlement allowed him to make policy without Parliament. This caused indignation among MPs.
- The legal terms of the 1660 Restoration had upheld the Triennial Act and the abolition of prerogative law courts, and prohibited non-Parliamentary taxation. It also stated that Charles II should live off his own finances and not receive money from Parliament, although in return, Parliament granted the king taxation on alcohol.
- In 1677 the king's Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Danby, who was anti-French, was persuaded by some MPs to arrange the marriage of the king's niece, Mary, to William of Orange, a Dutch prince. This was a response to Charles II's foreign policy which broke the 1668 Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, by allying himself with Louis XIV. This did not reduce Parliament's alarm at the king's pro-French and Roman Catholic leanings.
- Nevertheless, towards end of reign Charles II ruled alone for 4 years after dissolving Parliament in March 1681 and ignoring the Triennial Act in 1684. In 1683 he imposed a new Charter for the City of London which said that all appointments to civil office, including Lord Mayor, should be subject to royal approval.

## **Political issues**

- James II's use of the Suspending and Dispensing Powers in 1687, although not illegal, was seen by Parliament as a misuse of royal privilege. Questions had also been raised by MPs over monarchical control of the army after the king called troops to London in 1685, which was perceived as another abuse of power.
- As in the pre-Civil War era, both post-Restoration Stuart monarchs advocated Divine Right and practised absolutism. Charles II's dismissal of Parliament in 1681 and James II's dissolution in 1685 resembled Charles I's conduct at the start of his "Eleven Year Tyranny" in 1629.
- Charles II's Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, had been unpopular due to his mishandling of the Second Dutch War between 1665 and 1667, and was even blamed for the Great Plague of 1665 and the Fire of London in 1666. MPs opposed his influence at court and impeached him in 1667, forcing him into exile.
- So, in June 1688 as crisis approached, James II hastily promised to recall Parliament by November and announced that Roman Catholics would be ineligible to sit in it. He also replaced Roman Catholic advisors, as well as those in the high ranks of the army and navy, with Protestant ones.

## **The role of Parliament**

- Parliament resented James II's abuses of power but took comfort from thought that he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary. However, the king's wife had a son, James Edward, in June 1688, to be raised as Roman Catholic. This led to Parliament writing to Mary, by now married to the Dutch Prince William of Orange, offering her the Crown.
- William and Mary arrived at Torbay in November with an army of 15,000, and after many in the House of Lords declared their support for William, on Christmas Day James II fled to France. Parliament had also persuaded the king's younger daughter Anne, as well as leading generals, to declare their support for Mary. Subsequent to these events, William and Mary became joint sovereigns on February 13<sup>th</sup> 1689.

**Absence of a Bill of Rights between crown and Parliament**

- With no document resembling a Bill of Rights that would formalise the powers held by monarch and Parliament, some MPs felt that a settlement involving William and Mary would have to include one. Without one, future monarchs, including William and Mary, could preach notions of Divine Right, absolutism and passive obedience. This meant that Parliament wanted limitations on the power of the monarchy to be written into law.
- In March 1689, therefore, Parliament drew up a Declaration of Right, which legalised a new relationship between crown and Parliament in matters such as finance, law, the succession and religion. This became the Bill of Rights in December that year, and had to be signed by William and Mary as a condition of their remaining on the throne. The importance of the Bill of Rights confirms the view that the blurred lines between monarchs and Parliament had been a problem in the past.

**Any other relevant factors.**

22.	<p data-bbox="231 280 343 324"><b>Context</b></p> <p data-bbox="231 324 1444 459">During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a large productive work force was required as the sugar plantation system spread throughout the West Indies. As the number of indentured servants declined plantation owners increasingly turned to enslaved Africans as a source of labour.</p> <p data-bbox="231 481 774 526"><b>Failure of alternative sources of labour</b></p> <ul data-bbox="231 526 1444 1456" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="231 526 1444 694">• The slave trade developed due to the rapid decline in the number of native Indians who were first used as a source of labour in the West Indies. Poor diet and European diseases were largely responsible for this. Although compared to the later enslavement of Africans, the use of the native populations was on a small scale. Few colonists were also willing to work voluntarily on the plantations as manual labour.</li><li data-bbox="231 694 1444 929">• There was a limit to the number of British criminals who could be sent as forced labour. Britain had very harsh laws in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with 300 capital crimes, examples would be pick pocketing more than 1 shilling, shop lifting 5 shillings or more, stealing a sheep or a horse, poaching rabbits. Transportation to the West Indies was seen as an alternative to hanging. Some of those transported were for political or religious reasons. For example, many Jacobite's were treated in this way. As political upheavals subsided, the number of political prisoners declined.</li><li data-bbox="231 929 1444 1176">• There was also a lack of indentured servants. These poor Europeans would sign a contract binding them to work for a fixed period, usually 3-7 years, in return for their passage abroad although it was not unknown for poor people in cities such as London and Bristol to find themselves on ships to Jamaica after being kidnapped or plied with drink. Some Europeans were classed as Redemptioners: They arranged with the ship's captain, to pay for their passage within a specified time after arrival or be sold to the highest bidder.</li><li data-bbox="231 1176 1444 1456">• Historian Eric Williams has argued that there were not enough indentured servants to replace those who had served their time and that escape was much easier for Europeans. As a result, for economic reasons plantation owners started to turn to African slaves for labour. Williams argues that the decisive factor was the fact that enslaved Africans were cheap and that while an indentured servant would be working for a limited number of years, the enslaved African would work for life. For a while European indentured labour existed alongside enslaved Africans but as African slavery increased, European indentured labour gradually came to an end.</li></ul> <p data-bbox="231 1478 422 1523"><b>Other factors</b></p> <p data-bbox="231 1523 486 1568"><b>Shortage of labour</b></p> <ul data-bbox="231 1568 1444 1769" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="231 1568 1444 1769">• Huge profits made from the trade in tropical crops created a demand for labour to work on plantations in the colonies. Crops such as sugar cane required a large labour force to plant; look after, harvest and process crop in harsh conditions. There was a high death rate among native populations due to lack of resistance to diseases brought by Europeans and ill-treatment at the hands of colonists created labour shortage in the West Indies.</li></ul>
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### **Religious factors**

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

### **Racist attitudes**

- The unequal relationship that was created as a consequence of the enslavement of Africans was justified by the ideology of racism - the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans.
- Entrenched racism among members of the merchant and landowning classes meant that enslaving African captives was accepted by colonists.
- Many Europeans claimed that African captives would suffer if slave trade was abolished eg criminals and prisoners of war would be butchered and executed at home.
- Many colonists believed that slaves were fortunate to be provided with homes, protection and employment, in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots.

### **Legal position**

- The legal status of slaves as property was long established. It took a series of court cases from the 1770s that dealt with the rights of former slaves within the British Isles to challenge the legality of slavery and the slave trade eg Granville Sharp's resolute campaign to prove the illegality of slavery in England that culminated in Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case.

### **Military factors**

- The Seven Years War was chiefly an imperial war fought between Britain, France and Spain and many of the most important battles of the Seven Years War were fought at sea to win control of valuable overseas colonies. Britain emerged from the war as the leading European imperial power, having made large territorial gains in North America and the Caribbean, as well as India. Slave labour was necessary to exploit these gains.

### **Importance of West Indian colonies**

- The slave trade generated finance - It was an important source of tax revenue and West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours.
- Financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions emerged to support the activities of the slave traders. Slave traders became bankers and many new businesses were financed by profits made from slave trading.

### **Any other relevant factors.**



**23. Context**

As the number of enslaved Africans increased with the growth of the slave trade, a climate of fear was created as slave owners became increasingly outnumbered. The fear of revolt was reflected in the conditions on board the slave ships on the middle passage and in the harsh discipline on the plantations.

**Fear of revolt**

- Both on slave ships and plantations there was a constant fear of a slave revolt. On ships, security was paramount, as crews were heavily outnumbered by their cargoes. This meant that slaves were kept under decks for long periods. It also meant that they were usually shackled for the whole passage.
- As the number of revolts on slave ships grew so did the cost as larger crews were required.
- On plantations, there was fear of slave resistance, both overt and otherwise. Draconian legal codes were enacted by island assemblies (dominated by planters) covering the treatment/punishment of runaways as well as those who resisted openly.
- Escaped ex-slaves called Maroons raided plantations, killed militia and freed slaves. Due to the inability of the planters to crush them they entered into a treaty with them which gave them some toleration in return for leaving the slave system alone.

**Other factors****Financial considerations**

- In essence, the slave trade and the institution of slavery were commercially based. Most participants entered the trade or owned or worked the plantations as a means of income. Financial considerations were usually paramount.
- Slave ships carried as many slaves as possible in order to make as much profit as possible. The debate over 'loose' or 'tight' pack on board slave ships had little to do with humanitarianism. In loose pack, slaves were treated better and had better conditions, but the prime motivation was the transport of as many slaves as possible to the auctions in the West Indies, alive.
- At auctions at the end of the Middle Passage, slaves were chosen for their ability to work. Little thought was given to family bonds.
- To extract as much work from slaves as possible on the plantations, slaves were often beaten or worse.
- As slaves were property, bought and paid for, they were valuable. On the other hand, they were cheap enough to work, or beat, to death. This was known as 'wastage'.
- The British Caribbean islands were particularly cursed by a culture of absentee owners; estates were managed by overseers whose main interest was to amass profits in order to gain a foothold in the plantation economy.
- Owners and overseers were aware of the risks to their own health from a lengthy stay in the West Indies and often were concerned to make as much money as quickly as possible in order to return to Britain and enjoy their wealth.

**Racism and Prejudice**

- The harsh treatment of enslaved Africans was often justified by racism, the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans.
- Slave traders who bought slaves at trading posts on the African coast often believed that African captives would otherwise be executed as prisoners of war or for crimes.

- There was ignorance of African culture and achievements. Africans were regarded by some Europeans as almost another species. This was used as an excuse for extreme brutality.
- Slaves were treated not as fellow human beings but as moveable property. This was illustrated by the case of the Liverpool slave ship, the Zong. The killing of slaves was not considered to be murder in the eyes of the law.

#### **Religious concerns**

- Slave traders/owners were able to point to the existence of slavery in the bible, and use this as a justification for the institution.
- Traders/owners claimed that slaves were being exposed to Christianity. Enslavement was therefore good for them, as it gave them the chance of eternal salvation.
- Some participants were religious and moderated their treatment of slaves accordingly.

#### **Humanitarian concerns**

- Humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of slaves in Africa or on the Middle Passage. Participants were not in daily close contact with slaves and did not get to know them personally.
- The West Indian plantations, on the other hand, were often small communities. Where members of the owner's family were present, bonds of affection grew between slaves and free. Where such personal ties did not exist, there was less moderation of the brutalities of slavery.
- Some slave ship captains were more humane and lessened the harsh conditions of the Middle Passage.

#### **Any other relevant factors.**

24.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The early progress of the abolitionist campaign was temporarily stalled by events outside Britain. One such event was the French Revolution, the effects of which led to a fear of change among Britain's politicians.</p> <p><b>Effects of the French Revolution</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The French Revolution had a detrimental effect on the progress of the abolitionist campaign as there was the belief among many British MPs that the abolitionist cause was associated with French revolutionary ideas. For example, the abolitionist campaigner, Thomas Clarkson openly supported the French Revolution.</li> <li>• Although, initially, the French Revolution was generally welcomed in Britain, the execution of Louis XVI and soon after, Britain being at war with France changed the views of both the public and Britain's politicians. Wealthy and powerful people in Britain were shocked by the events which were viewed as being far too radical. Britain's politicians became worried about the activities of British radicals and feared they had links with their French counterparts. In Britain political societies which had supported the French revolution were now forced to shut down. Basic civil freedoms began to be withdrawn, anti-republican associations were formed, and government informers became more common due to a fear that events in France may be repeated in Britain.</li> <li>• A number of Acts were passed which limited civil rights. Approval for any political meeting was required if more than 50 people were in attendance. People could be arrested if they spoke or wrote in any way which could stir up hatred or criticism of the Government. Interestingly, Wilberforce although consistently for abolition gave his support to these Acts. The result was however a halt to the popular grass roots support for the Abolition Societies, which had made such an impact in the 1780s.</li> <li>• Due to the similarity in tactics - associations, petitions, cheap publications, public lectures, public meetings, pressure on Parliament, some abolitionists were linked to radicals. The Anti-Republican associations produced petitions which people became frightened not to sign. In this climate it became difficult for the abolitionists as the anti-abolitionists soon linked them to French radical politics and made them appear unpatriotic. By the 1790s very few apart from hardened radicals still supported abolition.</li> <li>• Britain's involvement in the French Revolutionary Wars also delayed the abolitionist campaign. To oppose the slave trade during a major war seemed unpatriotic to many people, leading to a loss of support for the abolitionists' cause.</li> <li>• It was argued that the slave trade was vital in Britain being able to sustain an expensive war effort against France. Not only did Britain need ships and sailors to protect itself and the Empire but a lot of money was required to pay for the war with France. Britain could therefore not risk ending the slave trade which might have resulted in a loss of much needed finance.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Slave rebellion in St. Domingue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An obstacle to abolition was the fear of the impact of ending the slave trade. Fears over the consequences of abolition were increased when slaves on the French colony of Saint-Domingue rose up against their rulers and ended slavery. There was a high loss of life, perhaps as high as 200,000. Under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the escaped slaves set up an independent country called Haiti. Abolition was associated with this symbol of violence and exaggerated the general fear of slave revolts. Such slave violence played into the hands of the slave lobby, confirming their warnings of anarchy.</li> </ul>
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- The defeat of the colonial French by rebellious slaves on St Domingue sent shock waves throughout the Atlantic world and unsettled slave owners everywhere. British leaders were worried that similar slave rebellions might break out on neighbouring British islands such as Jamaica. They banned any moves towards abolishing the slave trade claiming it would encourage slaves in the West Indies to revolt.
- Britain suffered humiliation when it attempted to take the rebel French Colony, beaten by disease and the ex-slave army.
- When the Revolutionary government of France attempted to regain control, however, support for abolition grew as a means of striking at the French once war was declared.

#### **The power of vested interests**

- Successive British Governments were influenced by powerful vested interests in Parliament and industry that had the wealth and power to buy votes and exert pressure on others in support of the slave trade.
- Many absentee plantation owners and merchants involved in the slave trade rose to high office as mayors or served in Parliament. William Beckford, the owner of a 22,000 acre estate in Jamaica, was twice Lord Mayor of London. In the mid to late 1700s over 50 MPs in Parliament represented the slave plantations.
- Many MPs themselves had become wealthy as a result of the slave trade which made it difficult to get a law abolishing the slave trade through Parliament. These MPs were wealthy and powerful enough to bribe other MPs to oppose abolition. Liverpool MPs Banastre Tarleton and Richard Pennant used the House of Commons to protect their families' business interests.
- Members of Parliament who supported the slave trade made speeches in Parliament opposing abolition. They argued that millions of pounds worth of property would be threatened by the abolition of the slave trade. They also argued that the slave trade was necessary to provide essential labour on the plantations and that abolition of the slave trade would ruin the colonies.
- MPs with business interests which made money from the slave trade used delaying tactics to slow down any moves towards abolition or supported compromise solutions. In 1792, in a response to Wilberforce's Bill to end the slave trade, Henry Dundas proposed a compromise of gradual abolition over a number of years. Henry Dundas, termed the 'uncrowned king of Scotland' was Secretary of State for War and First Lord of the Admiralty and as such, protected the interests of Scottish and British merchants in the Caribbean.
- Wealthy merchants from London, Liverpool and Bristol also exerted pressure on governments to oppose the abolition of the slave trade. In 1775 a petition was sent to Parliament by the mayor, merchants and people of Bristol in support of maintaining the slave trade.
- The House of Commons was dominated by various interest groups, of which the West India Lobby was for long the most powerful. Tactics included producing pro slave trade witnesses to testify in Parliamentary inquiries into the slave trade. The West India Lobby included the Duke of Clarence, one of the sons of George III, and proved tough opposition to the abolitionists. Governments were often coalitions of interests, and often relied on patronage, either through the distribution of posts or the appeasement of such interests.

#### **Anti-abolition propaganda**

- Vested interests conducted a powerful propaganda campaign to counter that of the abolitionists, though some of the arguments and evidence were specious.
- Slave owners and their supporters argued that millions of pounds worth of property would be threatened by the abolition of the slave trade. The slave trade was necessary to provide essential labour on the plantations. Abolition of the slave trade would ruin the colonies.

### **Importance of the trade to the British economy**

- The slave trade generated finance - It was an important source of tax revenue and West Indian colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours. Taxes would have to be raised to compensate for the loss of trade and revenue. Abolition would help foreign rivals such as France as other nations would fill the gap left by Britain.
- British cotton mills depended on cheap slave produced cotton.
- Africa provided an additional market for British manufactured goods.
- Individuals, businesses and ports in Britain prospered on the back of the slave trade.
- Shipbuilding benefited as did maritime employment.

### **Attitudes of British governments**

- Initially British governments were anxious to protect the rights of property, which attacks on slavery seemed to threaten. The tactical decision to concentrate on the abolition of the slave trade circumvented this to an extent.

### **Fears over national security**

- Abolition could destroy an important source of experienced seamen; there was a possibility that Britain would lose its advantage over its maritime rivals. On the other hand, the Triangular Trade was as much a graveyard as a nursery of seamen. The slave trade was seen as the 'nursery of seamen' - it provided training for sailors joining the Royal Navy.

### **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>By the mid-19th century changes to Britain's economy (industrialisation) were resulting in social change, such as the demand for literacy. Such changes brought about increasing demands for political change.</p> <p><b>Changing political attitudes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Political reform was no longer seen as a threat. In the USA and in Europe, struggles were taking place for liberty and a greater political say for the people. Britain tended to support these moves abroad, making it logical for this to happen in Britain too.</li><li>• The growing influence of the Liberal Party in challenging older vested interests – the Liberal Party opposed the power of the old land-owning aristocracy, eg the secret ballot to assist the working-class electorate to use their political voice to promote social reforms.</li><li>• Politicians combined acceptance of changes which they suspected were unavoidable while ensuring that their own party political interests would be protected.</li><li>• The death of former PM Palmerston represented the changing tone of politics as the reactionary ideas of the early 19th century gave way to new ideologies.</li><li>• The veto of the unelected chamber was removed partly as result of the 1910 elections fought on the issue of 'peers vs people' and the financing of social reform to help the poor, especially in urban areas.</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The effects of industrialisation and urbanisation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Urbanisation and growing class identity within an industrial workforce and the spread of socialist ideas led to demands for a greater voice for the working classes. Also, the growth of the Labour party offered a greater choice.</li><li>• Demographic change, including rapid urbanisation, sparked demands for redistribution of seats.</li><li>• The growing economic power of middle-class wealth-creators led to pressure for a greater political voice.</li><li>• Basic education, the development of new, cheap, popular newspapers and the spread of railways helped to create an awareness of national issues.</li><li>• After 1860 the fear of the 'revolutionary mob' had declined. Skilled working men in cities were more educated and respectable. That was an argument for extending the vote in 1867.</li></ul> <p><b>Role of pressure groups</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The 1867 Reform Act was passed amongst considerable popular agitations; before them the Reform League and Reform Union had been active.</li><li>• The suffragists and suffragettes were influential in gaining the franchise for women.</li><li>• Role of trade unions may also be considered.</li><li>• There was debate about the methods which should be adopted, whether direct action or peaceful protest would be more effective.</li><li>• Large-scale meetings, eg Hyde Park.</li></ul>

**Party advantage**

- In 1867 the Conservative Party became the government after 20 years out of power. To an extent the Reform Act could be seen as 'stealing the Liberal's clothes' to gain support.
- The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 limited the amount of spending on elections; the Liberals believed the advantage held by wealthier Conservative opponents would be reduced.
- By placing the reforms of 1883 and 1884 close to the next election, the Liberals hoped to gain advantage from grateful new voters in towns more fairly represented after the redistribution of seats.

**The effects of the First World War**

- The war necessitated more political change. Many men still had no vote but were conscripted to fight from 1916. As further reform for males was being considered, fears of a revival of the militant women's campaign, combined with a realisation of the importance of women's war work led to the Representation of the People Act of 1918 which gave votes to more men and some women.
- The role of women can be overstated as the eventual franchise was for women aged over 30. Many munitions workers were younger than this.
- It could also be argued that the war provided an opportunity for the coalition government to give women the vote. No one political party was able to claim it was behind the idea.

**The effects of examples of developments abroad**

- In a number of foreign countries there was a wider franchise than in Britain; in others women could also vote. Neither development had threatened the established social order.

**Any other relevant factors.**

26.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The campaigns for women's suffrage must be seen within the wider context of a changing society and the massive social and political changes happening in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The campaign for women's suffrage was a clear attempt to influence the development of democracy in Britain at a time of changing attitudes about the sexes between 1851 and 1928 when women gained the right to vote on the same terms as men.</p> <p><b>The part played by women in the war effort, 1914-18</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 and two days later the NUWSS suspended its political campaigning for the vote. Undoubtedly the sight of women 'doing their bit' for the war effort gained respect and balanced the negative publicity of the earlier Suffragette campaign. A WSPU pro-war propaganda campaign encouraged men to join the armed forces and women to demand 'the right to serve'.</li> <li>• Women's war work was important to Britain's eventual victory. Over 700,000 women were employed making munitions.</li> <li>• The creation of a wartime coalition also opened the door to change.</li> <li>• The traditional explanation for the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 has been that women's valuable work for the war effort radically changed male ideas about their role in society and that the vote in 1918 was almost a 'thank you' for their efforts. But the women who were given the vote were 'respectable' ladies, 30 or over, not the younger women who worked long hours and risked their lives in munitions factories.</li> <li>• Another argument about the 1918 act is that it only happened because politicians grew anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war but lost their residency qualification to vote and women could be 'added on' to legislation that was happening anyway.</li> <li>• The war acted more as a catalyst but the tide was flowing towards female franchise before it started.</li> </ul> <p><b>The women's suffrage campaigns</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The NUWSS believed in moderate, 'peaceful' tactics to win the vote such as meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills. Membership remained relatively low at about 6,000 until around 1909 but grew to 53,000 by 1914 as women angered by the Suffragettes' campaign found a new home.</li> </ul> <p><b>The militant Suffragette campaign up to 1914</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emmeline Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903. WSPU adopted the motto 'Deeds Not Words'. The new strategy gained publicity with noisy heckling of politicians. Newspapers immediately took notice. The Suffragettes had achieved their first objective - publicity. Violent protest followed eg window smashing campaign and arson attacks aimed to provoke insurance company pressure on the Government. The prisons filled with Suffragettes.</li> <li>• Women used hunger strikes as a political weapon to embarrass the government. In response the government introduced the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act - the Cat and Mouse Act.</li> <li>• The actions of the Suffragettes mobilised opinion for and against. It can be argued that were it not for the Suffragette campaign, the Liberal Government would not even have discussed women's suffrage before World War One. But for opponents the militant campaign provided an excellent example of why women could not be trusted with the vote.</li> </ul>



	<p><b>Changing attitudes to women in society</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The campaigns for women's suffrage could also be seen within the context of societies' changing attitudes towards women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, in the words of Martin Pugh, 'their participation in local government made women's exclusion from national elections increasingly untenable.' Millicent Fawcett, a leader of the NUWSS, had argued that wider social changes were vital factors in the winning of the right to vote.</li> </ul> <p><b>The example of other countries</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women were able to vote in other countries such as New Zealand, and in some American states.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

## 27. Context

Attitudes towards poverty in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were laissez-faire. Although the Liberals had not been elected on a social reform ticket in 1906, the overwhelming evidence regarding the scale of poverty, as well as developing concerns about the health of the nation (as an Empire Britain could ill afford to let her economic lead slip), led to a series of limited social reforms that were introduced by the Liberal Party.

### The young

- Children were thought to be the victims of poverty and unable to escape through their own efforts. In this way they were seen as 'the deserving poor'. Child neglect and abuse were seen as problems associated with poverty.
- The Provision of School Meals Act allowed local authorities to raise money to pay for school meals but the law did not force local authorities to provide school meals.
- Medical inspections after 1907 for children were made compulsory but no treatment of illnesses or infections found was provided until 1911.
- The Children's Charter of 1908 banned children under 16 from smoking, drinking alcohol, or begging. New juvenile courts were set up for children accused of committing crimes, as were borstals for children convicted of breaking the law. Probation officers were employed to help former offenders in an attempt to avoid re-offending.
- The time taken to enforce all the legislation meant the Children's Charter only helped improve conditions for some children during the period.

### The old

- Rowntree had identified old age as the time when most people dropped below his poverty line. Old age was inescapable and so was clearly associated with the problem of poverty.
- Old Age Pensions Act (1908) gave people over 70 up to 5 shillings a week. Once a person over 70 had income above 12 shillings a week, their entitlement to a pension stopped. Married couples were given 7 shillings and 6 pence.
- The level of benefit was low. Few of the elderly poor would live till their 70th birthday. Many of the old were excluded from claiming pensions because they failed to meet the qualification rules.

### The sick

- Illness can be seen as both a cause and consequence of poverty.
- The National Insurance scheme of 1911 applied to workers earning less than £160 a year. Each insured worker got 9 pence in contributions from an outlay of 4 pence - 'ninepence for fourpence'. As a result workers would be paid 10s a week for the first thirteen weeks.
- Only the insured worker got free medical treatment from a doctor. Other family members did not benefit from the scheme. The weekly contribution was in effect a wage cut which might simply have made poverty worse in many families.

### The unemployed

- Unemployment was certainly a cause of poverty.
- The National Insurance Act (Part 2) only covered unemployment for some workers in some industries and like Part 1 of the Act, required contributions from workers, employers and the government. For most workers, no unemployment insurance scheme existed.

	<p><b>Other reforms which could be argued helped address problems associated with poverty</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1906 a Workman's Compensation Act covered a further six million workers who could now claim compensation for injuries and diseases which were the result of working conditions.</li> <li>• In 1909, the Trade Boards Act tried to protect workers in the sweated trades like tailoring and lace making by setting up trade boards to fix minimum wages.</li> <li>• The Mines Act and the Shop Act improved conditions.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

28.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Local self-government for Ireland in the late nineteenth century had created a number of politically experienced leaders. This, coupled with land reform, gave political nationalism an economic base from which to demand self-government. There was also an increasingly radical edge to this, albeit at the margins, through James Connolly and the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Tension was exacerbated by the reaction from the Protestant dominated north of Ireland.</p> <p><b>Nationalist response to the Home Rule Bill</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up as a reaction. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Fein and the IRB all joined hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80,000 members.</li> <li>• In 1913, a third private army was set up, the Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly, a socialist. It had two clear aims - to gain independence for Ireland and set up a socialist republic, for working class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Unionist response to the Home Rule Bill</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Setting up of the UVF.</li> <li>• Curragh Mutiny: British officers stationed in Ireland declared they would not use force against the Unionists.</li> </ul> <p><b>The Irish Cultural Revival and Re-emergence of Irish Republicanism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up 'for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes.' Games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular. In 1883 the Gaelic League was also set up whose aim it was to revive, and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature.</li> <li>• Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1904 to boycott all things British and to press for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would cause the British Government to collapse. The IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. Both these groups wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both willing to use force.</li> </ul> <p><b>The British Position over Ireland - the effects of the 1910 elections</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise; they passed the third reform bill. In 1908 Campbell-Bannerman had been replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who in 1909 had declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule.</li> <li>• With the support of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, a Bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a Bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a Bill for two years. As a result the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed.</li> </ul>
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	<p><b>Redmond and Home Rule</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> </ul> <p><b>Distinctive economic and religious features of the Northern Counties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government led by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Northern Ireland based on Catholic faith; this they were opposed to.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant points.</b></p>

## 29. Context

The radicalisation of Irish politics engendered during the First World War, led to conflict between the British State and Irish nationalists. Attempts to solve the problem of who was to govern in Ireland led to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, which effectively created two governments, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. However, this gave only very limited devolved power which was unacceptable to the Irish nationalists.

### **The policies and actions of the British government**

- The British aim between 1918 and 1921 was to reduce Ireland to obedience within the United Kingdom and in doing this relied increasingly on military force. The best houses in local areas were taken and used, with the occupants evicted, if the local police station had been burned or destroyed.
- RIC members were instructed to challenge civilians from ambush and shoot them if they did not obey the RIC officers. RIC officers were encouraged to shoot suspicious looking people, sometimes innocent people were killed. RIC officers were protected by their superiors.
- The Black and Tans were responsible for violence, theft, drunken rampages, attacks on villages such as the burning of Balbriggan, village creameries being burnt down and houses destroyed. In March 1919 the Lord Mayor of Cork was shot dead by RIC men. At Croke Park, where there was a Gaelic football match taking place, the Black and Tans fired in to the crowd, killing 12 people and injuring 60.
- The violence led to a drift to extremism, culminating in the sacking of Cork City by the Black and Tans.

### **Other factors**

#### **The legacy of the First World War - 1918 election, and the growth of Sinn Fein**

- The aftermath of the Easter Rising, and the anti-conscription campaign, led to a decline in support for the Nationalist Party and a huge growth in support for Sinn Fein (Sinn Fein membership reached 112,000). In the 1918 General Election Sinn Fein won 73 seats, compared to winning none in 1910, 34 representatives were in prison, one had been deported, two were ill and seven were absent on Sinn Fein business, so there was only 25 present when they held their first public meeting in January 1919. This meant control of the nationalist movement largely moved to the IRB and the IVF. With the support of the majority of the population, the IRA was prepared to wage an armed struggle against the British.

#### **The Declaration of Independence and the establishment of the Dail**

- Republicans led by Sinn Fein, who did not attend Westminster, met at the Mansion House in Dublin and declared themselves 'Dail Eireann'. De Valera was made the President of Ireland, Arthur Griffith Vice President and Michael Collins Minister of Finance. Most local councils in Ireland, except in Ulster, recognised the rule of this new assembly. By 1921 1,000 Sinn Fein 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 Dail failed to meet very regularly but worked using couriers carrying communications between those in hiding. Law and order was maintained though, as the Dail 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 Dail had won the support of masses, the Catholic Church and professional classes in Ireland. The Dail wrested power away from Britain to a considerable extent due to military wing of the Dail.

	<p><b>The position of the Unionists in the North</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ulster Unionists won an extra 10 seats and now had 26 seats in Westminster, making partition increasingly likely. Additionally, Unionists had made a huge blood sacrifice in the First World War (eg on the Somme) and naturally expected this to be reflected in any post-war settlement in Ireland.</li> </ul> <p><b>IRA tactics and policies</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The IRA campaign used guerrilla tactics against a militarily stronger foe eg attacks on agencies of law and order, RIC, magistrates and police barracks, ambush, assassination, the disappearance of opponents, the sabotage of enemy communications and the intimidation of local communities into not supporting the British forces, attacks on British troops and G-men (detectives concentrating on IRA atrocities), the attempted assassination of Lord French (Viceroy). British forces found these increasingly frustrating to contend with, and this ramped up the violence and bitterness on both sides.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

30.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>By the early 1960s Northern Ireland was relatively stable. However, the Northern Ireland Nationalists were discriminated against in terms of housing, employment and electorally. In 1964 a peaceful civil rights campaign started to end the discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland.</p> <p><b>The Unionist ascendancy in Northern Ireland and challenges to it</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Population of Northern Ireland divided: two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic: it was the minority who were discriminated against in employment and housing.</li> <li>• In 1963, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Viscount Brookeborough, stepped down after 20 years in office. His long tenure was a product of the Ulster Unionist domination of politics in Northern Ireland since partition in 1921.</li> <li>• Unionist ascendancy: Before 1969 elections not held on a "one person, one vote" basis: gerrymandering used to secure unionist majorities on local councils. Local government electoral boundaries favoured unionist candidates, even in mainly Catholic areas like Derry/Londonderry. Also, right to vote in local elections restricted to ratepayers, favouring Protestants, with those holding or renting properties in more than one ward receiving more than one vote, up to a maximum of six. This bias preserved by unequal allocation of council houses to Protestant families.</li> <li>• Challenges as Prime Minister O'Neill expressed desire to improve community relations in Northern Ireland and create a better relationship with the government in Dublin, hoping that this would address the sense of alienation felt by Catholics towards the political system in Northern Ireland.</li> <li>• Post-war Britain's Labour government introduced the welfare state to Northern Ireland, and it was implemented with few concessions to traditional sectarian divisions. Catholic children in the 1950s and 1960s shared in the benefits of further and higher education for the first time. This exposed them to a world of new ideas and created a generation unwilling to tolerate the status quo.</li> <li>• Many Catholics impatient with pace of reform and remained unconvinced of Prime Minister O'Neill's sincerity. Founding of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in 1967. NICRA did not challenge partition, though membership mainly Catholic. Instead, it called for the end to seven 'injustices', ranging from council house allocations to the 'weighted' voting system.</li> </ul> <p><b>Economic issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Northern Ireland was left relatively prosperous by World War Two, with the boom continuing into the 1950s. But by the 1960s, as elsewhere in Britain, these industries were in decline eg Harland and Wolff profitable 'til early'60s, but government help in 1966. Largely Protestant workforce protected as a result.</li> <li>• Catholic areas received less government investment than their Protestant neighbours. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed or in low-paid jobs than Protestants in N. Ireland. Catholic applicants also routinely excluded from public service appointments.</li> <li>• The incomes of mainly Protestant landowners were supported by the British system of 'deficiency payments' which gave Northern Ireland farmers an advantage over farmers from the Irish Republic.</li> <li>• Brookeborough's failure to address the worsening economic situation saw him forced to resign as Prime Minister. His successor, Terence O'Neill set out to reform the economy. His social and economic policies saw growing discontent and divisions within his unionist party.</li> </ul>
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### **Role of the IRA**

- Rioting and disorder in 1966 was followed by the murders of two Catholics and a Protestant by a 'loyalist' terror group called the Ulster Volunteer Force, who were immediately banned by O'Neill.
- Peaceful civil rights marches descended into violence in October 1968 when marchers in Derry defied the Royal Ulster Constabulary and were dispersed with heavy-handed tactics. The RUC response only served to inflame further the Catholic community and foster the establishment of the Provisional IRA by 1970 as the IRA split into Official and Provisional factions.
- The Provisional IRA's strategy was to use force to cause the collapse of the Northern Ireland administration and to inflict casualties on the British forces such that the British government be forced by public opinion to withdraw from Ireland.
- PIRA were seen to defend Catholic areas from Loyalist attacks in the summer of 1970.

### **Cultural and political differences**

- The Catholic minority politically marginalised since the 1920s, but retained its distinct identity through its own institutions such as the Catholic Church, separate Catholic schools, and various cultural associations, as well as the hostility of the Protestant majority.
- Catholic political representatives in parliament refused to recognise partition and this only increased the community's sense of alienation and difference from the Unionist majority in Northern Ireland.
- Nationalists on average 10-12 in NI Parliament compared to average 40 Unionists. In Westminster 10-12 Unionists to 2 Nationalists.
- As the Republic's constitution laid claim to the whole island of Ireland, O'Neill's meeting with his Dublin counterpart, Seán Lemass, in 1965, provoked attacks from within unionism, eg the Rev. Ian Paisley.
- Violence erupted between the two communities, in 1966 following the twin 50th anniversaries of the Battle of the Somme and the Easter Rising. Both events were key cultural touchstones for the Protestant and Catholic communities.

### **The issue of Civil Rights**

- From the autumn of 1968 onwards, a wide range of activists marched behind the civil rights banner, adopting civil disobedience in an attempt to secure their goals. Housing activists, socialists, nationalists, unionists, republicans, students, trade unionists and political representatives came together across Northern Ireland to demand civil rights for Catholics in Northern Ireland.
- The demand for basic civil rights from the Northern Ireland government was an effort to move the traditional fault-lines away from the familiar Catholic-Protestant, nationalist-unionist divides by demanding basic rights for all citizens of Britain.
- Civil rights encouraged by television coverage of civil rights protest in USA and student protests in Europe. Also by widening TV ownership: 1954, 10,000 licences, by 1962 there were 200,000 leading to increased Catholic awareness of the issues that affected them.
- As the civil rights campaign gained momentum, so too did unionist opposition. Sectarian tension rose: was difficult to control, and civil disobedience descended into occasions of civil disorder.

### **Any other relevant factors**

## Section 3 - European and the World

### PART A - The Crusades, 1071 - 1204

31.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In 1095 Pope Urban II urged Christians from all over Europe to fight a holy war to drive out the Muslims from the Holy Land. Among Urban II's reasons for launching a crusade was a desire to increase the power of the papacy. Pope Urban II saw the appeal from Byzantium as an opportunity to assert papal power and authority not only over western European leaders and people, but to assert the influence of Rome onto the Byzantine and Muslim East.</p> <p><b>Attempts to assert Papal authority</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The new style of pope, influenced and trained at the monastery of Cluny, heralded a shift in the emphasis of Christianity. The papal reforms influenced by the Cluniac establishment demanded actual, as well as spiritual, power. No longer were popes to be subservient to the monarchs or warlords of Europe. A Cluniac reformer himself, Pope Urban II was keen to build on the reforms of previous popes.</li><li>• The papacy was anxious to re-join the two halves of the Christian church. Since the Great Schism of 1054, where the Pope of Rome and Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated each other, it had been the goal of every pope to become head of the Greek Orthodox Church and to extend Roman influence into the eastern Mediterranean. Now the Crusade seemed to offer Pope Urban the opportunity to achieve this.</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The ongoing struggle between church and state - the Investiture Contest</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Popes now actually challenged kings and demanded the right to appoint priests, bishops and cardinals as they saw fit. This led to the development of the Investiture Contest, a prolonged war between Pope Gregory VII and the German Emperor, Henry IV. A low point was reached in 1080 when Henry appointed a separate Pope and attacked Rome with his armies. This power struggle had damaged the reputation of the papacy and directly affected Urban, possibly influencing his decision.</li><li>• A crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors.</li><li>• 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.</li></ul> <p><b>Fear of Islamic expansion</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Founded by the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic religion had exploded onto the world in the late seventh century, advancing across the Christians principalities of North Africa, through Spain and into southern France, where it had been halted in the eighth century and pushed back into Spain.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• He pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God'.</li><li>• He detailed claims of Turkish activities such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration.</li></ul>

### **The threat to Byzantium**

- The Seljuk Turks had been threatening the Empire for decades. The Byzantines had been defeated in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. Between 1077 and 1092 the Byzantines had been driven out of the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Turks were now encroaching further west towards the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. There was fear in Europe that if Byzantium was allowed to fall then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into central Europe would be inevitable.
- The Byzantine Emperor, Alexius was seen as a bulwark against this eventuality and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously.
- The threat to Byzantium was perhaps exaggerated by the Emperor Alexius who had negotiated a treaty with Kilij Arslan in 1092 and was hiring more and more mercenaries from Europe to protect the Empire.

### **The threat to Mediterranean trade**

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

### **The emergence of a knightly class**

- The introduction of Norman feudalism across Western Europe had created a knightly class. Their dedication to learning the arts of war had created a culture based around the skills of fighting. Even the tournaments had come to be seen as an integral part of the culture and as entertainment.

### **Papal desire to channel the aggressive nature of feudal society**

- Urban's appeal specifically targeted the nobility of France and northern Europe in the hope of diverting the violence of the warring European kingdoms in order to create peace within Europe. For knights to use their skills in anger was a sin. Pope Urban had long considered how he could turn the nature of the Western knights to a less aggressive, less damaging activity.
- The Church was determined to reverse what it perceived as the breakdown of society in many parts of Western Europe. As a man of God, Urban II saw a crusade as an opportunity to avoid the evils of civil war in Europe.
- The Church had already successfully introduced the Peace of God, an agreement that non-combatants would be spared 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.**

## 32. Context

Despite many hardships, the First Crusade was a unique and overwhelming success. Muslim disunity and the lack of a single Muslim leader were very much to the crusaders' advantage and assisted the crusaders in their victories.

### Divisions among the Islamic states

- The division in the Islamic faith was between the Sunni and the Shia, a split dating back to the death of the prophet Muhammad (AD 632).
- By the 1070s, the Sunni controlled Asia Minor and Syria, under the leadership of the caliph of Baghdad while the Shia ruled Egypt under a caliph based in Cairo. The two groups hated each other more than they hated the crusaders and were known to form alliances with the crusaders in order to make gains on their fellow Muslim enemy.
- At the time of the First Crusade, there was a lack of stable leadership in Anatolia due to the death of several leaders from both the Sunni and the Shia branches of Islam. A series of petty rulers fought for leadership.
- As a result, the Islamic response to the First Crusade was slow in getting under way. Not only were the Islamic leaders more willing to fight among themselves than join forces against the common enemy, many did not even realise that the crusaders were a common enemy. Kilij Arslan, for example, expected the 'Princes Crusade' to be no more of a concern than Peter the Hermit's followers. Thus he was off raiding his Muslim neighbours when Nicaea came under attack.
- Further evidence of division amongst the Islamic states was when Kerbogha's army abandoned him at the battle of Antioch in 1098. Many had feared that his victory would allow him to gain a semblance of authority over the other Seljuk Turkish leaders. There was tension in his army as the Turks mistrusted the Arab speaking Muslims and the different tribes of nomads. The lack of unity was clear among the divisions of Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus. Infighting among the Turkish leaders led to Kerbogha being abandoned at the battle's critical moment.
- The fundamental division of Muslim between the Fatimids and the Seljuk is illustrated in the Egyptian's seizure of Jerusalem. The Egyptian army used siege engines to reduce the walls of Jerusalem in a siege that lasted 6 weeks. This not only damaged the defences of the city but reduced the number of defenders available. The Fatimids even sent embassies to the crusaders offering them Jerusalem in exchange for an alliance against the Seljuk.
- For the Muslims the First Crusade was not seen as a holy war, at least not at the outset. To the Muslims, unifying to face the Christians was a more dangerous idea than the crusaders themselves.

### Other factors

#### The religious zeal of the Crusaders

- Without their belief in what they accepted as God's Will, the First Crusade would have disintegrated long before it reached Jerusalem. The sheer determination of the Crusaders helped them through incredible hardships during their passage through the Taurus Mountains and at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. Because they believed God would help them, the Crusaders attempted the impossible, where most armies would have surrendered. Visions during the siege of Antioch and the discovery of the Holy Lance were much needed boosts to morale. The Lance had become a mystical weapon to be wielded on Christ's behalf. The fact that the crusading army was now in possession of such a relic caused the majority of the crusaders to believe in their own invincibility. The miracle perceived by the crusaders lifted their spirits and brought them victory over.

- Kerbogha's army at Antioch and gave them the energy and confidence for the next stage of their crusade - Jerusalem.
- Another vision came to the rescue of the Crusaders at Jerusalem. Peter Desiderous announced he had received a vision from Bishop Adhemar saying the city would fall to them if they would fast and walk on barefoot in procession around the city. God's Hand was even clearer when the crusaders fought their way across the city wall on 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.

#### **The military power of the Crusader knights**

- The First Crusade had been unexpected by local Muslim leaders. Those that had witnessed the ineptitude of the People's Crusade expected Christian knights to be as inept in combat. However Christian knights were often ferocious fighters, used to long campaigns in Europe, whereas the knights of the East were seen as gentlemen of culture and education.
- The mounted tactics of the knights were relatively unknown in the east and the sight of the largest concentration of knights in history assembled on the field was a truly awesome sight. This full frontal charge of the knights was in contrast to the tactics deployed by the Islamic forces. Their hit and run horse archers were not prepared for this aggressive style.
- It was the strategic skill of Bohemond of Taranto and the discipline that he had instilled in his men which saved the crusaders from a ferocious Turkish attack near Dorylaeum.
- Crusading knights used aggressive combat tactics, and utilised heavier armour and barding for their horses. The constant fighting of the 12th century had well prepared the organised and disciplined knightly classes for warfare. Many, such as Raymond of Toulouse, had combat experience against the Moors in Spain.

#### **Misunderstanding of the Crusaders' intent**

- Muslims misunderstood the threat of the Western knights. Many saw this as another expedition from Byzantium and thought them soldiers of Alexius. Such raids had occurred before; however this was different. Here the Christians had an ideological motivation not yet encountered by the Islamic leaders.

#### **Aid from Byzantium**

- The First Crusade was the only Crusade to have significant support from Constantinople. Even though Alexius's army did not participate in the Crusade itself, they did cause problems, diverting a lot of Muslim resources.
- Alexius also provided much needed supplies at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem.

#### **Any other relevant factors.**

### 33. Context

The Third Crusade is viewed as the greatest-ever crusade in Europe to be launched against the Muslim East. Both heroic military leadership and diplomatic negotiations were features of the Third Crusade. Despite defeating Saladin in battle and forcing Saladin to a peace treaty, Richard ultimately failed to recapture Jerusalem.

#### Richard's military strengths

- Despite Muslims and Christians having fought a on and off battle over Acre over two years, Richard's leadership and expertise broke the deadlock and forced the surrender of Acre after 5 weeks of bombardment, mining and repeated assaults.
- Richard's arrival in June 1191 with money and with the cutting edge of western military technology in the form of enormous siege engines which struck the fear of God into opponents. This enabled Richard to seize control of the battle and to intensify the bombardment.
- Richard switched tactics at Acre after the destruction of his great war machines. He offered his soldiers four gold coins for every stone they could remove from the base of one of the towers, putting so much effort on the one point that a breach in the wall was created.
- Further evidence of Richard's leadership skills at Acre, were shown when, despite falling ill with 'arnaldia' he ordered himself to be carried to the walls in a silken quilt and there, protected by a screen, fired his crossbow at the city which further inspired his troops.
- The capture of Acre was a major boost for the crusaders and brought the unimpeded rise of Saladin to a halt.
- Richard demonstrated firm, if brutal, leadership in August 1191 when he took the drastic decision to massacre the 2700 Muslim prisoners taken at Acre when Saladin failed to meet the ransom payment. Richard knew feeding and guarding the prisoners would be a considerable burden and suspecting that Saladin was deliberately using delaying tactics to pin Richard down, Richard resolved the situation quickly and effectively in order to carry on his momentum and capitalise on his victory at Acre.
- Richard demonstrated that he was a great military strategist on the march from Acre down the coast to Jaffa. Under Richard's leadership, the Crusader army of 12 000 men set out along the coast in immaculate formation. Inland were the foot soldiers with their vital role of protecting the heavy cavalry, the cavalry themselves were lined up with the Templars at the front and the Hospitallers at the back, the strongest men to protect the most vulnerable parts of the march. Between the cavalry and the sea was the baggage train, the weakest, slowest and most difficult part to defend. Finally out to sea was the crusader fleet to provide the well-defended columns with essential supplies.
- Richard's military leadership was crucial to the survival of the crusaders on the march to Jaffa. Forced to face terrible conditions, Richard allowed the soldiers rest days and prevented fights over the meat of dead horses. Despite the constant attacks, Richard showed enormous discipline as he kept his troops marching even as they were being peppered by arrows. Richard was insistent that no crusader should respond and break formation denying Saladin an opportunity to inflict a crushing defeat on the crusader forces. Richard wanted to charge on his own terms. Such discipline showed Richard to be a true military genius.

- At the battle of Arsuf, Richard reacted immediately to the breaking of the Crusader ranks and personally led the attack which eventually swept the Muslims from the battlefield. Richard turned his whole army on the Muslims and fought off two fierce Muslim counter attacks. Led by Richard, the Crusader charge smashed into Saladin's army forcing them to retreat. Richard's planning and meticulous attention to detail created the circumstances in which his personal bravery could shine through. The victory of Richard's army over Saladin's forces at the Battle of Arsuf and the success of the Crusaders in reaching Jaffa was an important turning point in the Third Crusade. Saladin's aura of success had been breached.
- Richard displayed inspired military leadership and immense personal bravery at Jaffa. When Richard heard that Saladin had stormed the port of Jaffa in July 1192, Richard responded with characteristic brilliance. Richard rushed south from Acre with a tiny force of only 55 knights and crossbowmen at the head of a sea borne counter attack. Despite being heavily outnumbered Richard ordered his men to attack and was one of the first to wade ashore at the head of his small army. The surprise of his attack turned the battle around and gave the crusaders an improbable and dramatic victory. The Muslim troops themselves were overawed by Richard's courage and nerve. Richard's highly disciplined and organised army had again proved too much for Saladin's men and they retreated.
- Richard ability as a military tactician was shown by his caution on the march to Jerusalem. To ensure his advance on Jerusalem could be properly sustained, Richard carefully rebuilt several fortresses along the route.
- Richard also demonstrated his strategic competence when he withdrew twice from Jerusalem, realising that once recaptured, Jerusalem would be impossible to defend due to insufficient manpower and the possibility that their supply lines to the coast could be cut off by the Muslims. Despite his personal desire to march on Jerusalem, Richard was a general and knew that military sense told him that his depleted force of 12 000 men and lack of resources couldn't hold Jerusalem against Saladin's vast army drawn from across the Muslim world.
- That Richard was a military strategist of the highest order was also demonstrated on his journey to the Holy land when he captured Cyprus and sold part of it to the Templars. Richard recognised the long term importance of Cyprus as a base for crusading armies to use when supplying and reinforcing expeditions to the Holy Land.
- Richard also realised that Egypt was the key to Saladin's wealth and resources. Ever the military strategist Richard wanted to take the mighty fortress of Ascalon which would threaten Saladin's communications with Egypt. Richard was aware that in order to keep Jerusalem after it was captured; Egypt would need to be conquered first. Richard wrote to the Genoese asking for a fleet to support a campaign in the summer of 1192 but the crusader army was not interested in Jerusalem and wanted to proceed to Jerusalem. Richard reluctantly agreed to march on Jerusalem before campaigning in Egypt.
- Although the Third Crusade failed in its ultimate aim of the recovery of Jerusalem, Richard's leadership played a crucial role in providing the Crusaders with a firm hold on the coastline which would provide a series of bridgeheads for future crusades. Compared to the situation in 1187, the position of the Crusaders had been transformed.

#### **Richard's military weaknesses**

- Richard was ultimately unable to recapture Jerusalem, the main objective of the Third Crusade.
- Richard also failed to draw Saladin into battle and inflict a decisive defeat. He failed to comprehensively defeat Saladin.

### **Saladin's military strengths**

- Saladin counter attacked at Acre. Saladin's troops launched fierce attacks on the Crusaders at given signals from the Muslim defenders and launched volley after volley of Greek fire putting Richard on the defensive as all three of his giant siege towers went up in flames. Saladin also sent a huge supply ship with 650 fighting men in an attempt to break into Acre's harbour. After destroying a number of English vessels, it scuttled itself rather than have its cargo fall into Christian hands. On the march south to Jaffa, Saladin's army unleashed a relentless series of forays and inflicted constant bombardment, tempting the Christians to break ranks. Saladin's skilled horsemen made lightning strikes on the Crusaders showering the men and their horses with arrows and cross-bow bolts. The crusaders lost a large number of horses and the crusaders themselves resembled pincushions with as many as ten arrows or crossbow bolts protruding from their chain mail.
- Saladin massed his forces from Egypt and all across Syria and launched an intense bombardment on the Crusaders which tested the Crusader knights' discipline and patience, not to react, to the absolute limits.
- At the Battle of Arsuf, despite the devastating impact of the Crusader charge, Saladin's own elite Mamluk units rallied and offered fierce resistance.
- To prevent the crusaders taking Ascalon, Saladin made the decision to pull down Ascalon's walls and sacrifice the city.
- While the crusaders remained in Jaffa and strengthened its fortifications Saladin took the opportunity to destroy the networks of crusader castles and fortifications between Jaffa and Jerusalem.
- In October 1191 as the crusaders set out from Jaffa and began the work of rebuilding the crusader forts along the route to Jerusalem, they were repeatedly attacked by Saladin's troops.
- At the end of July Saladin decided to take advantage of the crusader's retreat from Jerusalem by launching a lightning attack on Jaffa in an attempt to break the Christian stranglehold on the coast. In just four days the Muslim sappers and stone throwers destroyed sections of Jaffa's walls which left only a small Christian garrison trapped in the citadel. Saladin's forces blocked help coming from overland which meant that relief could only arrive by sea.
- Arguably Saladin's greatest military achievement was to gather and hold together (despite divisions) a broad coalition of Muslims in the face of setbacks at Acre, Arsuf and Jaffa. Although the consensus is that Saladin was not a great battlefield general (It could be argued that his triumph at Hattin was down more to the mistakes of the crusaders than his own skill), Saladin was still able to inspire his troops and fight back. Saladin's continued resistance had ensured that Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands.

### **Saladin's military weaknesses**

- Saladin found it increasingly difficult to keep his large army in the field for the whole year round. In contrast to the Crusading army, many of his men were needed back on their farms or were only expected to provide a certain number of days' service.
- Saladin's authority was ignored when the garrison at Acre struck a deal with Conrad of Montferrat to surrender. Saladin was lost control of his men at Jaffa.
- The stalemate at Jaffa showed that Saladin was incapable of driving the Crusaders out of southern Palestine.



**Richard's diplomatic strengths**

- During the siege of Acre and despite his illness Richard opened negotiations with Saladin showed his willingness to use diplomacy.
- That Richard was skilled in the art of diplomacy was shown in his negotiations with Saladin's brother, Al-Adil. A bond was forged between them and Richard even offered his sister Joan to be one of al-Adil's wives as part of a deal to divide Palestine between the crusaders and the Muslims. Richard's connection with Al-Adill was enough of an incentive for Saladin to agree to a truce with Richard.
- Richard negotiated a five year truce over Jerusalem.

**Richard's diplomatic weaknesses**

- Richard showed poor diplomacy towards his allies. After the victory at Acre, Richard's men pulled down the banner of Count Leopold of Austria, claiming his status did not entitle him to fly his colours alongside the king of England, even though Leopold had been fighting at Acre for almost two years. This resulted in Leopold leaving Outremer in a rage, taking his German knights with him (Eighteen months later he imprisoned Richard after the king was captured returning through Austria).
- Richard also failed to show subtlety in his dealings with King Philip. Richard's inability to share the spoils taken during this attack on Cyprus with Philip helped persuade the ill king of France that he was needed at home. The one thing Richard had wished to do was keep Philip with him on the Crusade; now he had to worry about French incursions into his Angevin Empire.
- Against advice Richard backed Guy de Lusignan to become King of Jerusalem, against the popular Conrad of Montferrat, perhaps because he was the favorite of Philip. This continued support of Guy resulted in a compromise that no one liked. The assassination of Conrad was even whispered by some to be Richard's fault. The end result was the withdrawal of the support of Conrad's forces and those of the Duke of Burgundy's remaining French knights.

**Saladin's diplomatic strengths**

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

**Saladin's diplomatic weaknesses**

- Saladin faced increasing discontent from his Muslim allies
- Saladin negotiated a five year truce over Jerusalem despite his strong position.

**Any other relevant factors.**

34.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>By 1763, Britain had ruled the thirteen American colonies for over a century. The harmony with Britain which colonists had once held had become indifference during Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s. The ascendancy of George III in 1760 was to bring about further change in the relationship between Britain and America. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, the King strengthened Britain's control over the colonies. Factors contributing towards colonial resentment included George III, the Navigation Acts, the old colonial system, political differences between the colonists and the British, and British neglect of the colonies.</p> <p><b>George III</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• George III increased the number of British soldiers posted to the colonies after the Seven Year War ended in 1763.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• In addition, George III ensured there was a highly visible Royal Navy attendance on the Atlantic coast, whose job it was to patrol for smugglers importing from Holland, France or Spain and ensure compliance with the Navigation Acts.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• However, cynics in America argued that the King was merely working to ensure continued revenue for Britain, whose national debt had grown from £75million to £145million between 1756 and 1763.</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Navigation Acts</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 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.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• 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.</li><li>• 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.</li></ul>

### **The old colonial system**

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

### **The Proclamation of 1763**

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

### **Political differences**

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

**British neglect**

- During the Whig Ascendancy from 1727 to 1760, colonist Assemblies had assumed the powers which should have been exercised by Governors, such as the settlement in new territories acquired during that time including the Ohio Valley and Louisiana. Although they objected 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 points.**

35.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In the 1760s and 1770s, the thirteen colonies in America witnessed resentment from colonists towards Britain. Several crises including the Stamp Act in 1765, the Boston Massacre in 1770 and the Tea Act in 1773 created a momentum of hostility. The colonists' last hope of compromise, the Olive Branch Petition, was rejected by Britain in 1775 and the Continental Congress declared independence in 1776, leading to a five year war which the colonists won. Factors to be considered amongst British opinion are the views of Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, George III, parliament, the Earl of Chatham and other British people such as politicians, industrialists and the working classes including those living in England, Scotland and Ireland.</p> <p><b>Thomas Paine</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Paine had met Benjamin Franklin in London and he assisted Paine to settle in Philadelphia in October 1774.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Edmund Burke</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• He proposed a Motion of Conciliation from Britain to the 1<sup>st</sup> 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.</li> <li>• Burke believed George III's actions to have accelerated colonists' moves towards independence, but his views were dismissed as alarmist by many Parliamentarians in the pre-war years.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul>
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- 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.

### **George III**

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

### **Parliament**

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

### **Earl of Chatham**

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

#### **Differing British views of the situation in the colonies**

- Lord Grenville was Prime Minister 1763-5, 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 1765-6, and was inclined to be lenient towards America. However, after he repealed the Stamp Act he passed the Declaratory Act, proclaiming British Parliamentary supremacy over America.
- The Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister 1768-70, and believed in the removal of duties in America but stood firm on the notion of British supreme authority. Despite his opposition to taxation, he insisted that duties on tea remain.
- Lord North was Prime Minister from 1770 until 1782. He believed Parliament should enforce British interests and supremacy in the colonies. He was supported by the British landed classes as long as he did not attack their interests and had the confidence of George III. North oversaw the Coercive Acts and Quebec Act. He led Britain through the war and spent a fortune on military supplies in America and the West Indies, believing the war could be won.
- John Wilkes was elected as an MP in 1768, although Parliament refused to allow him to take his seat as he was so radical. He was recognised by American radicals as honest and freedom-loving, fighting against the tyranny of Crown and Parliament. He favoured “rights and privileges of freeborn subjects in a land of liberty”, and spoke out against British policy in the House of Commons.
- British cotton industrialists and mill owners, including some MPs, favoured the Navigation Acts as they guaranteed a supply of raw materials from the colonies. However, as the crisis approached war, they merely wanted a speedy resolution in order to allow trade to continue. Cotton mill workers - workers wanted trade to be maintained in order to preserve jobs, and so favoured any moves by the British government which would resolve the crisis.
- In Scotland and Ireland, some people sympathised with the colonists’ resentment of “English” rule and understood their calls for greater autonomy.
- In America, British settlers and other Empire Loyalists in the colonies favoured the status quo, and after the Revolution 70,000 left the new states to settle in Canada.

**Any other relevant factors.**

36.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The American War of Independence took place between 1776 and 1781, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and the threat of enslavement. The war was fought not only on American soil, but on the high seas and across the world once other European Powers became involved. Factors which contributed to the colonists' victory were British military inefficiency, George Washington's military capability and leadership, France's entry to the war and its contribution worldwide, local knowledge held by the Continental Army and other worldwide factors.</p> <p><b>British military inefficiency</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to instructions, such as when Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for America, hatched a plan to separate the New England colonies from the others in mid-1777. This involved General Howe moving his forces north from New York, but Howe misinterpreted his orders and moved south during August, rendering the plan futile.</li> <li>• Meanwhile, General Burgoyne, commander of British forces in Canada, had received orders to march south into the Hudson valley towards Ticonderoga in early 1777. Burgoyne, however, was left isolated in the Hudson valley after capturing Ticonderoga because Howe had gone south and General Clinton was too slow to move north in place of Howe, and so, confronted by large American forces, Burgoyne was forced to surrender his 3,500 men and equipment at Saratoga in October 1777.</li> <li>• Furthermore, changes in personnel hindered operations, as politicians such as Lord North and Lord Germain promoted or appointed officers frequently, causing inconsistency and lack of stability at command level.</li> <li>• Petty jealousies amongst military leaders also obstructed progress, so that even after military campaigns had been waged successfully or battles had been won, there was no co-operation, leading to the British losing land gained, particularly after French entry in 1778.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Washington's military capability</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington was aware that the British forces would hold the advantage in open battle, so he fought using guerrilla warfare effectively, for example at the significant crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776.</li> <li>• This was part of a surprise raid on British posts which resulted in Washington's small bands of men crossing the river back to their positions in Pennsylvania with captured supplies and arms. Guerrilla warfare, therefore, was an effective weapon in Washington's armoury.</li> <li>• In addition, Washington taught his troops to fire accurately from distance on those occasions when they were engaged in open battle, particularly in the fight to control the New Jersey area in the first half of the war.</li> <li>• During the attack on Princeton in January 1777 and the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, Washington's forces successfully drove the British from the battlefield.</li> <li>• Washington's "scorched earth" campaign during the summer of 1779 was aimed at Iroquois settlements in New York in revenge for their co-operation with the British early in the war.</li> <li>• This policy deterred further collaboration between Native Americans and the British Army. Although brutal, this strategy increased colonists' chances of winning the war on land.</li> </ul>
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- Moreover, Washington had experience of serving with British Army during Seven Years War, and had been a leading figure in the British capture of Pittsburgh in 1758. He was aware of British military practice and the weaknesses in the chains of communication between London and North America.

#### **Washington's leadership**

- He was a self-made Virginian who had become a successful tobacco planter in the 1760s and involved himself in local politics as a member of the Virginia legislature.
- As a military hero from the Seven Years War, his choice as Commander of the Continental Army in 1775 gave heart to many. So Washington's business and political reputation were key features of his authority during the war.
- His personal qualities included the ability to give speeches to his troops, emphasising the incentive of independence if they won the war. Washington was aware of the political aspect of the conflict, and turned military defeats, of which he suffered many, into opportunities to inspire his forces to fight on.
- Washington's leadership at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-8 saw him preserve the morale of his 10,000-strong army in terrible conditions, particularly by his allowing soldiers' families, known as Camp Followers, to remain with the troops.
- His appointment of celebrated Prussian drill sergeant Baron Friedrich von Steuben to maintain discipline meant firearms skills stayed at a high quality.
- His promotion of Nathaniel Greene through the ranks from Private to Quartermaster-General meant regular food for the soldiers as well as adequate supplies of ammunition and uniforms, including boots.
- The trust he showed in the French General Lafayette led to Congress commissioning Lafayette into the Continental Army before the French entered the war, allowing him an important role in strategic planning.

#### **French entry into the war**

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

#### **French contribution worldwide**

- The strength of French navy meant Britain had to spread its forces worldwide, particularly as France attacked British colonies in the Caribbean Sea and Indian Ocean. In addition, there were attempts to raid Portsmouth and Plymouth in order to land soldiers on the British mainland.
- Admiral d'Orvilliers defeated the Royal Navy in the Battle of Ushant in the English Channel in July 1778, weakening British defences in preparation for further attacks on the south-coast of England.
- Admiral de Grasse successfully deceived British fleets in the Atlantic to arrive at Chesapeake Bay in September 1781 prior to the Yorktown surrender.

- The entry of France into the conflict encouraged Spain and Holland to follow suit within next two years, declaring war against Britain in June 1779 and December 1780 respectively.
- French action against the Royal Navy gave these European Powers confidence to attack British interests in India and the southern colonies.

#### **Local knowledge**

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

#### **Other worldwide factors**

- Spain entered into the war in June 1779, intent on mounting an attack on the British mainland.
- Dutch entry into war came in December 1780, providing another threat of invasion.
- These European Powers stretched British resources even further and made British less effective in its overall military effort.
- The Armed League of Neutrality was formed in December 1780. The involvement of Russia, Denmark and Sweden in an agreement to fire on the Royal Navy, if provoked, placed extra pressure on Britain.
- The war at sea was a vital feature of Britain's weaknesses. British concentration was diverted from maintaining control of the colonies on land towards keeping control of maritime access to its wider Empire. Ultimately, with the surrender at Yorktown, it was loss of control of the sea which led to the eventual British defeat.

**Any other relevant factors.**

37.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In France, the Ancien Régime was the old order, which came to an end with the French Revolution of 1789. The king was at the centre of the Ancien Régime, governing through Councils and Ministries. Taxes and laws were set by royal edict. The absolute monarchy ruled in provinces through Intendants, and in towns through Parlements. The Ancien Régime consisted of Three Estates. Factors contributing to the threat to security included taxation, corruption, the royal family, financial issues, the position of the clergy, the role of the nobility, and grievances held by the peasantry and bourgeoisie.</p> <p><b>Taxation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Unfair nature of the system.</li><li>• Privileged orders of the First and Second Estates were exempt from many taxes.</li><li>• The Church received the tithe from peasants who lived on its lands - one tenth of their produce.</li><li>• The nobility could tax the peasantry for hunting, shooting and fishing on their land.</li><li>• Cumbersome administration - tax collected by the Farmers General, who had a vested interest in collecting as much as they could.</li><li>• The Third Estate (peasantry, urban workers and bourgeoisie) had to pay indirect taxes such as the gabelle (on salt), aides (on luxury goods) and the douanes (on imported goods).</li><li>• The Third Estate paid direct taxes such as the capitation (to local government) and the vingtieme (to central government).</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Corruption</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Absolutist nature of the monarchy meant that many resented the lack of political representation.</li><li>• Much of the functioning of central and local government was carried out with favour shown to individuals.</li><li>• Court advisors were concerned with protecting their position rather than contradicting the king or warning him against bad decisions.</li></ul> <p><b>Royal family</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Louis XVI was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure.</li><li>• King was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants.</li><li>• King never called the Estates General (before 1789).</li><li>• Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality.</li><li>• Queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge.</li><li>• Monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry.</li><li>• Decadence of the court.</li></ul> <p><b>Financial issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Financial problems were arguably the biggest threat to the Ancien Régime.</li><li>• Created in part by France's involvement in wars - most recently the American War of Independence - brought France to bankruptcy.</li><li>• By the 1780s, the Treasury deficit was estimated at 112,000,000 livres.</li><li>• Failure to reform - several finance ministers suggested changes to the taxation system but were thwarted by the privileged classes.</li></ul>

- Turgot, Controller-General 1774-76 was dismissed after suggesting physiocratic reform and the abolition of town guilds.
- Necker, 1776-81, reduced court expenses, cut the number of tax-farmers, but had to borrow heavily to finance the war in America. Disclosure of court expenditure brought about his dismissal.
- Calonne, 1783-87, floated loans and spent freely, and attempted to persuade nobles to accept a land tax but resigned when they refused this.
- Brienne, 1787-88, tried to impose taxes on the privileged classes but the Parlements refused to confirm this and he was dismissed.

#### **The position of the clergy**

- The clergy was split into the upper and lower clergy, the latter identifying more closely with the Third Estate. The church hierarchy was resented by the lower clergy.
- Parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality but the upper clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation.
- The Church owned a large amount of land and paid relatively little taxation. The upper clergy were concerned to protect their privileges.

#### **The role of the nobility**

- Like the clergy, the upper nobility were concerned to protect their privileged status, particularly access to posts at court and in the army, and their exemptions from taxation.
- Natural supporters of the monarchy, they saw some threat from the rise of the bourgeoisie.
- There were also tensions between the traditional nobility (of the sword) and the newly ennobled nobility (of the robe).
- The 'old' sought to hold onto their control of key positions of the State, the Army and the Church, much to the annoyance of the 'new'.

#### **Grievances held by the peasantry**

- The 3<sup>rd</sup> Estate was liable for compulsory military service.
- The peasantry were liable for forced labour on public roads and buildings - this service was called the corvée.
- The peasantry had to pay to use their landlords' ovens to bake bread.
- The peasantry would be likely willing to support change when it came.
- Poor pay and high food prices.
- During times of poor harvests and bad winters, resented the lack of help from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Estates.

#### **Grievances held by the bourgeoisie**

- The bourgeoisie had to pay the taille if they did not want to do military service.
- The bourgeoisie desired political power but The Estates General, the collective group of representatives from each of the Three Estates, had not been called since 1614.
- Resented the extravagant lifestyle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Estate.
- The bourgeoisie were educated and were aware of the criticisms made of the Ancient Regime by the French philosophical movement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Any other relevant factors.**

38.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The French Revolution of 1789 brought about the downfall of the Ancien Regime, the collapse of absolutism and ultimately in 1792 the end of the French monarchy. The constitution was established in 1789 and was an attempt to retain the French monarchy with limited powers and according representation to royalists, Jacobins and Girondists. Factors contributing to the failure of the constitution included the character and actions of Louis XVI, weaknesses in the constitution and government, financial problems and the effects of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1792.</p> <p><b>Character of Louis XVI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even before the outbreak of revolution in July 1789, Louis had shown himself incapable of making the strong decisions necessary to save the monarchy.</li> <li>• The king was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants.</li> <li>• The king was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure.</li> <li>• King placed no trust in the Estates General.</li> <li>• Monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry.</li> <li>• Decadence of the court.</li> <li>• Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality.</li> <li>• Queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The king's attitudes and actions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King never called the Estates General (before 1789).</li> <li>• Flight to Varennes had already stirred anti-royalist feelings.</li> <li>• Louis was from the start unsupportive of the principle of constitutional monarchy.</li> <li>• He dismissed Controller-General (Finance Minister) Calonne in the face of opposition from the nobility to the major tax reforms needed to save France from bankruptcy.</li> <li>• Even in the weeks before the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the king seemed to be preparing for a counter-revolution through the build-up of troops at Versailles.</li> <li>• After the Declaration of the Rights of Man in August 1789, Louis failed to openly endorse its principles.</li> <li>• There was considerable suspicion about the king, which made the achievement of a constitutional monarchy unlikely.</li> <li>• Even before his veto on decrees against 'refractory' clergy and émigrés in December Louis' actions during 1791 had done the monarchy immeasurable harm.</li> <li>• His lukewarm support for the reforms of the Constituent Assembly had generated popular hostility in Paris from the spring of 1791 onwards.</li> <li>• The king was likely to seek support from European allies to increase his powers.</li> </ul> <p><b>Weaknesses in the constitution and the government</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The constitution still accorded the king a power-sharing arrangement with the Legislative Assembly.</li> <li>• Limitations on the power of the monarch would never be accepted by Louis.</li> <li>• Within 6 months of the first meeting of the Assembly in October 1791 the king had been exercising his veto in a manner unacceptable to the Girondists and Jacobins.</li> <li>• The government's actions against the Church were unpopular with the peasantry.</li> <li>• The Civil Constitution of the Clergy made clergymen state employees which Roman Catholic priests objected to.</li> </ul>
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**Financial problems**

- The economy had been damaged by events of the Revolution (and was already in crisis before 1789).
- Inflation was spiralling, making the constitutional monarchy unpopular in the provinces.
- In towns and cities increased bread prices were unpopular amongst industrial workers in urban areas.
- Continued heavy taxation of the poorest sections of society.
- The financial benefits of the Revolution were perceived as being enjoyed by the wealthy and bourgeoisie.

**The outbreak of war**

- The Revolution was radicalised to the point where the position of the monarchy became impossible because of the king's identification with the enemy.
- Partly, as was said above, this was Louis' own fault but it should be remembered that France declared war on Austria in April 1792.
- However, radical anti-monarchists believed that a successful war against Austria would bring them increased support at home and prove a decisive blow to the monarchy.
- The final overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 had become inevitable under the pressures exerted by the war.

**Any other relevant factors.**

**39. Context**

The French Revolution of 1789 brought the end of the Ancient Regime. After a failure to establish a constitutional monarchy between 1789 and 1792, the monarchy was abolished, and the king and queen were later executed. The period of Terror then took place until 1795, at the end of which the new Directory was created, but this was brought to an end with the creation of the Consulate by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. Amongst the factors which led to this were political instability, the increasing intervention of the army in politics, the role of Sieyes, the constitution of 1795, and the role of Bonaparte himself.

**Political instability**

- In the late summer of 1794 France was emerging from two years of increasing radicalisation.
- Growing bitterness between opposing factions within the country.
- The Jacobins, under Robespierre, had been overthrown and a 'White Terror' was soon to sweep the country in revenge for the excesses of the radical left during the Terror.
- France had been torn apart by civil war, with suspicions existing within communities in both urban and rural areas.
- The country was threatened by foreign armies egged on by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow the Revolution.
- France was riven by religious conflict occasioned by the State's opposition to the primacy of the Catholic Church.

**Other factors****Increasing intervention of the army in politics**

- Even before the 1795 constitution was ratified the army had been used to quell sans-culottes insurgents who sought to invade the Convention and to repel an émigré invasion at Quiberon.
- Napoleon's use of a 'whiff of grapeshot' to put down the disturbances in October merely underlined the parlous nature of politics at the time.
- The army was deployed in May 1796 to put down the left-wing Babeuf Conspiracy.
- The Directory reacted with the Coup of Fructidor in September 1797 when the first 'free' Convention elections returned a royalist majority.

**Role of Abbe Sieyes**

- Sieyes was afraid that France would descend into anarchy as a result of the on-going political conflict, and deemed the 1795 constitution unworkable.
- Sieyes enlisted the aid of Bonaparte in mounting a coup against the constitution.
- The Convention, the Directory and the legislative councils had run their course and few, if any, mourned their passing.

**The Constitution of 1795**

- Policy-makers framed a new constitution which sought to reconcile the bitterness of the preceding years by imposing checks and balances against the emergence of one dominant individual, group or faction. In so doing, many historians argue that the new constitution was a recipe for instability in the years which followed.
- A bi-cameral legislature was established wherein each chamber counter-balanced the power of the other. By so doing it inhibited strong and decisive government.
- To ensure continuity, the new Convention was to include two-thirds of the outgoing deputies from the old. This enraged sections of the right who felt that the forces of left-wing radicalism still prevailed in government.

- The resulting mass protests in October 1795 were put down by the army under Bonaparte. The principle of using extra-parliamentary forces to control the State had been established with Bonaparte right at the heart of it. It was to prove a dangerous precedent.
- Annual elections worked against consistent and continuous policy-making.
- So did the appointment of an Executive - the Directory - one of whose members rotated on an annual basis.
- Again, the counter-balance between the legislature and the executive may have been commendable but it was to prove inherently unstable in practice.

#### **Role of Bonaparte**

- Following participation in warfare in Europe and the Middle East, Bonaparte returned in October.
- Public perception was of Bonaparte as a hero, someone who could restore France to its former glory after years of revolutionary chaos and confusion.
- Bonaparte himself had political ambitions and planned to support Sieyes in the dissolution of the Directory and then seize power himself.
- Bonaparte cited the Coup of Fructidor to the Council of Five Hundred as evidence of their own culpability in the imminent downfall of the Directory.
- Bonaparte led the army in deposing the Directory in November 1799.
- Bonaparte's use of the military gave him greater authority in later dealings with Sieyes.

**Any other relevant factors.**



40.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In 1815 'Germany' was not a unified state but a loose confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. However, the development of a German sense of culture after 1815 created a greater feeling of unity and led to a growth of nationalism.</p> <p><b>Cultural factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Main unifying force was language – 25 million Germans spoke the same language and shared the same culture and literature.</li><li>• Writers and thinkers (eg Heine, Fichte, Goethe, Brothers Grimm, Schiller and Hegel) encouraged the growth of a German consciousness.</li><li>• Post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities.</li><li>• Growth of Burschenschaften pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil – zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task.</li><li>• The Hambacherfest and student demonstrations – little was accomplished by the students.</li><li>• Early 19th century was a time of great change in all European states and it has been suggested that the political changes of the time can be partly explained by an understanding of the cultural developments of the time.</li></ul> <p><b>Other Factors</b></p> <p><b>Economic factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Urbanisation and industrialisation of the German states – political fragmentation – can be argued to be the most important obstacle to German economic development.</li><li>• Middle-class businessmen called for a more united market to enable them to compete with foreign countries. They complained that tax burdens were holding back economic development.</li><li>• Prussian economic expansion - drift in power away from Austria and towards Prussia as the latter began to build on rich resources such as coal and iron deposits.</li><li>• Prussia's gain of territory on the River Rhine after 1815 meant it had good reason to reach an agreement with neighbours to ensure relatively free travel of goods and people between its lands in the East and the West.</li><li>• Prussia created a large free-trade area within Prussia itself.</li><li>• Railway/road development – post-1830s the development of railways/roads ended the isolation of German states from each other. This enabled the transport and exploitation of German natural resources. Economic cooperation between German states encouraged those seeking a political solution to the issue of German unity.</li></ul> <p><b>The Zollverein</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Zollverein – the 'mighty lever' of German unification. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic free-trade area (Austria excluded). Members of the Union voluntarily restricted their sovereignty (even if only for selfish interests) to allow for economic gain through joining the Prussian-led Customs Union. German nationalists in the late 1830's saw it as a step towards a wider political union.</li></ul>

### **French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars**

- Ideas of the French Revolution appealed to the middle classes in the German states.
- Impact of Napoleonic wars – many Germans argued that Napoleon/France had been able to conquer German states pre-1815 due to their division as separate, autonomous territories. German princes had stirred national feeling to help raise armies to drive out the French, aiding the sense of a common German identity with common goals.

### **Political factors**

- 1848 revolutions in Germany raised consciousness greatly even though they failed.
- Many Liberals were middle-class and were also receptive to nationalist ideas.

### **Military weakness**

- The French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the German states were weak.
- French troops had marched across Germany for over 20 years, and had humiliated Prussia, the strongest 'German' state at Jena and Auerstadt. Germany had been carved up by Napoleon, the North Sea coast being incorporated into France itself, and the Confederation of the Rhine set up as a puppet state. Divided, the German states could not defend their territorial integrity.
- Germany had been used as a recruiting ground by Napoleon: Germans had died to protect France. Even the enlarged post-Vienna states would be powerless, with the exception of Prussia, to prevent this happening again.

**Any other relevant factors.**

41.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Between 1815 and 1850 there was a growth in German nationalism across the German confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. Due to a variety of divisions ranging from religious to political, there were many who did not support German unification.</p> <p><b>Austrian strength</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The states within 'Germany' had been part of the moribund Holy Roman Empire, traditionally ruled by the Emperor of Austria.</li> <li>• Post - 1815 the chairmanship of the <i>Bund</i> was given to Austria on a permanent basis, partly as she was considered to be the major German power.</li> <li>• Metternich's work - to oppose liberalism and nationalism. His use of the weapons of diplomacy and threats of force eg Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles. Use of the police state, repression and press censorship.</li> <li>• Austrian control over the administration and management of the empire, stamping authority on the <i>Bund</i>.</li> <li>• Treaty of Olmutz, 1850 - signalled the triumph of Austria and humiliation of Prussia which showed that Austrian military strength was an important obstacle. Although Austrian military strength was in decline, this was not apparent until the 1860s.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>German Princes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The leaders of the German states obstructed unification - protective of their individual power and position. They wanted to maintain the status quo which would safeguard this for them.</li> <li>• Particularism of the various German states - autonomous and parochial in many ways.</li> <li>• Self-interest among German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt.</li> </ul> <p><b>Resentment towards Prussia</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smaller states, particularly in the south, resented the economic and political predominance of Prussia.</li> <li>• There was a reluctance to accept unification within the Prussian state, which had a significant non-German population and which contained a large conservative/ reactionary landed class.</li> </ul> <p><b>Divisions among the nationalists</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; <i>grossdeutsch</i> and <i>kleindeutsch</i> arguments.</li> <li>• Failure of the Frankfurt Parliament - lack of clear aims and without an armed force to enforce its decisions. Lack of decisive leadership. Divisions among the 'revolutionaries' regarding aims and objectives.</li> </ul> <p><b>Religious differences</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religion - northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic; thus the north looked to Prussia for help and protection while the south looked to Austria.</li> </ul>
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**Economic differences**

- The smaller states of the West had more advanced economies than the Prussian heartlands.
- Even within Prussia there were significant social differences between the industrially advanced territories on the Rhine and the largely agricultural areas in the East, which were dominated by the Junkers (although less so than in the 18<sup>th</sup> century), who were adversely affected by the agricultural depression of the 1820s.
- Austria's failure to join the Zollverein led her to create her own customs union.

**Indifference of the masses**

- Popular apathy - most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany; nationalism affected mainly the educated/business classes.
- Lack of coincidence between political boundaries and ethnic/linguistic ones
- However, politically based literature and propaganda also reached the masses, helping to bond their ideals and strengthen their resolve for both reform and unification.

**Attitudes of foreign states**

- France had been able to dominate central Europe for centuries due to its lack of unity. Although most of Germany had been united by Napoleon into the Confederation of the Rhine, it was not in French interests for Germany to be united, particularly as that would present a barrier to France achieving a frontier on the Rhine.

**Any other relevant factors.**

42.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In 1933, Hitler had become chancellor of Germany. A number of factors contributed to Hitler and the Nazis' rise to power, including economic difficulties caused by the hyperinflation crisis of 1923, the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression which followed.</p> <p><b>Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'A Republic without Republicans'/'a Republic nobody wanted' - lack of popular support for the new form of government after 1918.</li> <li>• 'Peasants in a palace' - commentary on Weimar politicians.</li> <li>• Divisions among those groups/individuals who purported to be supporters of the new form of government eg the socialists.</li> <li>• Alliance of the new government and the old imperial army against the Spartacists - lack of cooperation between socialist groups - petty squabbling rife.</li> <li>• The Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') - arguably Germany too was democratic. 'The world's most perfect democracy - on paper.'</li> <li>• Lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, with the exception of Stresemann.</li> <li>• Inability (or unwillingness) of the Republic to deal effectively with problems in German society.</li> <li>• Lukewarm support from the German Army and the Civil Service.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Resentment towards the Treaty of Versailles</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Treaty of Versailles: acceptance by Republic of hated terms.</li> <li>• Land loss and accepting blame for the War especially hated.</li> <li>• Led to growth of criticism; 'November Criminals', 'Stab in the back' myth</li> </ul> <p><b>Appeal of the Nazis after 1928</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nazi Party had attractive qualities for the increasingly disillusioned voting population: they were anti-Versailles, anti-Communist [the SA took on the Red Front in the streets], promised to restore German pride, give the people jobs.</li> <li>• The Nazis put their message across well with the skillful use of propaganda under the leadership of Josef Goebbels.</li> <li>• Propaganda posters with legends such as "Hitler - our only hope..." struck a chord with many.</li> <li>• The SA were used to break up opponents meetings and give the appearance of discipline and order.</li> <li>• Gave scapegoats for the population to blame from the Jews to the Communists.</li> </ul> <p><b>The role of Hitler</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hitler was perceived as a young, dynamic leader, who campaigned using modern methods and was a charismatic speaker.</li> <li>• He offered attractive policies which gave simple targets for blame and tapped into popular prejudice.</li> </ul>
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**Social and Economic divisions**

- Over-reliance on foreign loans left the Weimar economy subject to the fluctuations of the international economy.
- 1923 (hyperinflation) - severe effects on the middle classes, the natural supporters of the Republic; outrage and despair at their ruination.  
The Great Depression - arguably without this the Republic might have survived.  
Germany's dependence on American loans showed how fragile the recovery of the late 1920s was. The pauperisation of millions again reduced Germans to despair.
- The Depression also polarised politics in Germany - the drift to extremes led to a fear of Communism, which grew apace with the growth of support for the Nazis.

**Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents**

- Splits in the left after suppression of Spartacist Revolt made joint action in the 1930s very unlikely.
- Roles of von Schleicher and von Papen. Underestimation of Hitler.
- Weakness/indecision of Hindenburg.

**Any other relevant factors.**

43.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The origins of Italian nationalism can be traced back to the Renaissance and the writings of Machiavelli who urged Italians to seize Italy from the 'barbarians'. However, the ideas of Mazzini and his anti-Austrian views led to the development of more political nationalism in the 19th century.</p> <p><b>Cultural factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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'.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Economic factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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).</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Tariff walls between the Italian states and the disorganised railway system prevented economic development of Italy, which did lead businessmen to be interested in unification.</li> </ul> <p><b>Military weakness</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak. The fragmentation of Italy in the Vienna Settlement restored Italy's vulnerability to foreign invasion.</li> </ul> <p><b>Effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italian intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship.</li> <li>• Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism – he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in a single system of weights and measures; improved communications; helped trade, inspiring desire for at least a customs union. Napoleon's occupation was hated – conscription, taxes, looting of art.</li> </ul>

**Resentment of Austria**

After the Vienna settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena, Tuscany. Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers. Conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion in the police, civil service and army only for German speakers was resented.

- Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that Italians could never forget that they were under foreign control and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state.

**Role of Mazzini**

- Radical nationalist Mazzini not only inspired dreams of a united, democratic Italian republic through his written works, but also formed an activist movement – ‘Young Italy’ – whose aim was to make these dreams a reality.

**Secret societies**

- The growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari, led to revolts in 1820, 1821, 1831. Also Young Italy and their revolts in the 1830s.

**Any other relevant factors.**



**44. Context**

By 1850 the forces of nationalism had grown in Italy. The revolutions of 1848 showed this. However, there were many obstacles which prevented unification from happening before 1850 such as the dominant position of Austria and her dependent duchies.

**Dominant position of Austria and her dependent duchies**

- Following Vienna Settlement Austria Emperor Francis I had direct control of Lombardy and Venetia. Relatives of the Austrian Hapsburg Emperor controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany (Central Duchies). Austria had agreements with the other states.
- Lombardy and Venetia were strictly controlled - censorship, spies, conscription (8 years), policy to employ German speakers (Austrian) in law, police, army civil service so controlled others (non Austrian).
- Austrian army was a common sight in major cities and in the Quadrilateral fortress towns on Lombard/Venetian border (Verona, Peschiera, Legnano, and Mantua). The Austrian army was sent in by Metternich to restore order following the Carbonari-inspired revolts in 1820, 1821 and 1831.
- Austria had first class commander, Radetsky. In 1848 Charles Albert's army won two skirmishes but Radetsky awaited reinforcements then defeated Albert at Custoza forcing an armistice. Radetsky re-took Milan in August.
- After Albert's renewal of war Radetsky took just three days to defeat him again (Novara). He then besieged Venetia until the Republic of St Mark surrendered on 22 August 1849. Austrians re-established control across north and central Italy.

**Other factors****Divisions among the nationalists**

- Secret societies lacked clear aims, organisation, leadership, resources and operated in regional cells.
- Moderate nationalists feared extremists like Mazzini.
- The 1848/49 revolutions showed that nationalist leaders did not trust one another (Manin and Charles Albert) or would not work together (C. Albert and Mazzini).
- Failure to capitalise on Austrian weakness in 1848.

**Social, economic and cultural differences**

- Geographical difficulties hindered the spread of nationalist ideas.

**Political differences**

- There was division between those desiring liberal changes within existing states and those desiring the creation of a national state.

**Attitude of the Papacy**

- Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism in 1848.

**Italian princes**

- Individual rulers were opposed to nationalism. They feared for their position within a united Italy.

**Indifference of the masses**

- Patriotic literature inspired intellectuals and students but did not reach the vast majority of the population who were illiterate (90% in some areas). The mass of the population were indifferent to nationalist ideas.

**Any other relevant factors.**

45.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>By 1925, Mussolini and the Fascists had gained power in Italy. A number of factors contributed to the Fascist rise to power in Italy, such as Mussolini's personality and oratory skills.</p> <p><b>Role of Mussolini</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Powerful orator - piazza politics.</li> <li>• He seized his opportunities. He changed political direction and copied D'Annunzio.</li> <li>• He used propaganda and his newspaper effectively and had an ear for effective slogans.</li> <li>• He dominated the fascist movement kept support of fascist extremists (Ras).</li> <li>• He relied on strong nerve to seize power and to survive the Matteotti crisis.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Economic difficulties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• WWI imposed serious strain on the Italian economy. The government took huge foreign loans and the National Debt was 85 billion lira by 1918. The Lira lost half of its value, devastating middle class savers. Inflation was rising; prices in 1918 were four times higher than 1914. This led to further major consequences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- no wage rises</li> <li>- food shortages</li> <li>- two million unemployed 1919</li> <li>- firms collapsed as military orders ceased.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Weaknesses of Italian governments</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliamentary government was weak - informal 'liberal' coalitions. Corruption was commonplace (trasformismo). Liberals were not a structured party. New parties formed: PSI (socialists), PPI (Catholic Popular Party) with wider support base threatening existing political system.</li> <li>• WWI worsened the situation; wartime coalitions were very weak. 1918; universal male suffrage and 1919 Proportional Representation; relied on 'liberals' - unstable coalitions. Giolitti made an electoral pact with Mussolini (1921); fascists gained 35 seats then refused to support the government. Over the next 16 months, three ineffective coalition governments.</li> <li>• Fascists threatened a 'March on Rome' - King refused to agree to martial law; Facta resigned; Mussolini was invited to form coalition. 1924 Acerbo Law.</li> </ul> <p><b>Resentment against the Peace Settlement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large loss of life in frustrating campaigns in the Alps and the Carso led to expectation that these would be recognised in the peace settlement; Wilson's commitment to nationalist aims led to the creation of Yugoslavia and a frustration of Italian hopes of dominating the Adriatic.</li> <li>• 'Mutilated victory' - Italian nationalists fuelled ideas that Italy had been betrayed by her government.</li> </ul>
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**Appeal of the Fascists**

- They promised strong government. This was attractive after a period of extreme instability.
- Violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless. It appealed to many ex-soldiers.
- Squadristi violence directed against socialism so it gained the support of elites and middle classes.

**Role of the King**

- The King gave into fascist pressure during the March on Rome. He failed to call Mussolini's bluff.
- After the Aventine Secession the King was unwilling to dismiss Mussolini.

**Social and economic divisions**

- Membership of Trade unions and PSI rose - strikes, demonstrations, violence. 1919/20 'Biennio Rosso' in towns - general strike 1920; army mutiny; occupation of factories.
- Industrialists/middle classes were fearful of revolution. Governments failed to back the police so law and order broke down.
- In the countryside, there was seizure of common land - peasant ownership increased.

**Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents**

- D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume was not stopped by the government.
- Government failed to get martial law to stop fascist threat. Some liberals supported the Acerbo Law.
- Socialist General Strike July 1922 - failed. Socialists' split weakened them; refused to join together to oppose fascism.
- Liberals fragmented into four factions grouped around former PMs. They were too weak to effectively resist. Hoped to tame fascists.
- PPI were divided over attitude to fascism - right wing supported fascism. Aventine Secession backfired; destroyed chance to remove Mussolini.

**Any other relevant factors.**

46.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Opposition groups were weak in the Tsarist state before 1905. The main reasons for making this possible were the 'Pillars of Autocracy'. Each of these 'Pillars' strengthened the Tsar's position, and made it almost impossible for opposition groups to challenge the state.</p> <p><b>Opposition groups</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposition groups, eg Social Democrats (supported by industrial workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British-style parliament), were fairly weak. However, these groups were not powerful or popular enough to effect change.</li> <li>• There were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (supported by peasants seeking land reform). Moreover these groups were further weakened by the fact they were divided and disorganised.</li> <li>• The leaders were often in prison or in exile.</li> </ul> <p><b>'Pillars of Autocracy'</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The Fundamental Law</b> stated 'To the emperor of all Russia belongs the supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear'. This was the basis of the Tsarist state.</li> <li>• <b>The army</b> was controlled by the officers who were mainly upper-class, conservative and loyal to the Tsar. They ensured that the population and the peasantry in particular, was loyal to the Tsar. They crushed any insurgence and were used to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar.</li> <li>• <b>The secret police (Okhrana)</b> was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and weed out opposition to the Tsar. They did this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. Those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar were imprisoned or sent into exile. Large numbers were exiled.</li> <li>• <b>The civil service</b> mainly employed middle-class people, therefore ensuring the loyalty of that class. The civil service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption and controlling meetings which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate.</li> <li>• <b>The Church</b> helped to ensure that the people, particularly the peasants, remained loyal to the Tsar. They preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar. Ensured the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Law.</li> </ul> <p><b>Censorship</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This controlled what people could read, what university lecturers could say, access to schools, and limited the number and type of books available in libraries.</li> </ul> <p><b>Russification</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This was the policy of restricting the rights of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language. As a result, law and government were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language. This maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minorities. State intervention in religion and education. Treated subjects as potential enemies and inferior to Russians.</li> </ul>

	<p><b>Zubatov unions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Organised by the police, these were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories, thus reducing the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups. Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes and so were disbanded due to pressure from employers.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

47.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>After the 1905 Revolution the Tsar had to strengthen his authority and weaken the threat of any opposition. He attempted to restore authority between 1905 and 1914 by introducing a variety of political and economic reforms led by Stolypin.</p> <p><b>Role of the Tsar</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tsar Nicholas II appointed Stolypin to restore order. He used a ‘divide and conquer’ policy to deal with each of the threats individually. He secured the loyalty and control of the armed forces by promising overdue pay, improved conditions and training.</li> <li>• The Tsar issued the October Manifesto and the Fundamental Laws which were crucial in strengthening the Tsarist state. He ruled by divine decree which along with the support of the Russian Orthodox Church, helped the Tsar use religion to secure his power.</li> </ul> <p><b>Restoring Order</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stolypin was given the job of restoring order after the rural violence, industrial strikes and terrorism during and after the 1905 Revolution. He used measures such as military courts which issued death penalties - ‘Stolypin’s necktie’ - as well as sentences of hard labour in Siberia. He used the Okhrana and censorship to silence the Tsar’s opponents.</li> <li>• Stolypin also enforced Russification and disenfranchisement to suppress the national minorities. Public order was restored as ringleaders were dealt with severely and this acted as a deterrent, thereby strengthening the Tsarist state. However, there was still discontent in some areas.</li> </ul> <p><b>Political Reforms - Dumas</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stolypin believed that the Tsarist system would only survive if there were some political and social reforms which would reduce social bitterness and therefore reduce opposition. Stolypin wanted middle class support so he showed respect for the Duma and tried to work with it rather than against it. He changed the franchise in 1907 which prevented many national minorities, peasants and workers from voting although they did still have a say in the Zemstvos. This allowed him to obtain a more co-operative Third Duma which passed his land reforms.</li> <li>• Stolypin’s work with the Dumas helped to strengthen the Tsarist state as he helped secure the support of the middle class and Liberals for the Tsarist state.</li> </ul> <p><b>Economic Reforms</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stolypin’s main plan was preventing another revolution through economic reform, particularly land reforms. He tried to address some of the economic problems facing Russia like food shortages and rural over-population. Stolypin felt that if the peasants and industrial workers were happy then they would be loyal to the Tsar and therefore any revolutions would fail. Stolypin’s land reform details such as cancelling redemption payments, Kulaks, freedom from commune, Peasant Loan Bank and more land available. Peasants were encouraged to leave their overcrowded communes and relocate to Siberia or Central Asia.</li> <li>• Stolypin also introduced reforms in education which became compulsory and Stolypin hoped this would allow them to get more highly skilled jobs. He introduced improvements in industrial working conditions and pay and as more factories came under the control of inspectors, there were signs of improving working conditions. As industrial profits increased, the first signs of a more prosperous workforce could be detected.</li> </ul>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1912 a workers' sickness and accident insurance scheme was introduced. Stolypin's economic reforms tried to strengthen the Tsarist state by improving life and work for the vast majority of the population.</li> <li>• However, the land reforms did not modernise as much as had been hoped. Despite the record harvest of 1913, there was an economic slump which made life difficult for people and affected their loyalty to the Tsarist state.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

48.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>After the abdication of the Tsar in March 1917 the Provisional Government took control of Russia. However, they were not an elected body but a provisional government put in place to keep Russia stable and to continue her war effort. Yet, by October 1917 the Provisional Government had been swept from power by Lenin and the Bolshevik's who carried out a successful revolution.</p> <p><b>Weaknesses of the Provisional Government</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Provisional Government was an unelected government; it was a self-appointed body and had no right to exercise authority, which led it into conflict with those bodies that emerged with perceived popular legitimacy.</li> <li>• The Provisional Government gave in to the pressure of the army and from the Allies to keep Russia in the War.</li> <li>• Remaining in the war helped cause the October Revolution and helped destroy the Provisional Government as the misery it caused continued for people in Russia.</li> <li>• Failure to deal with the main issues of the Russian people.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other Factors</b></p> <p><b>Political discontent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The July Days was an attempt by the Bolsheviks to seize power. Rising in support of the Kronstadt sailors who were in revolt.</li> <li>• The revolt was easily crushed by the Provisional Government but showed increasing opposition to the Provisional Government, especially from the forces.</li> <li>• The impact of the Kornilov Revolt.</li> <li>• Kerensky appealed to the Petrograd Soviet for help and the Bolsheviks were amongst those who were helped.</li> <li>• Some Bolsheviks were armed and released from prison to help put down the attempted coup.</li> </ul> <p><b>Appeal of the Bolsheviks</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lenin returned to Russia announcing the April Theses, with slogans such as "Peace, Land and Bread" and "All Power to the Soviets".</li> <li>• Lenin talked of further revolution to overthrow the Provisional Government and his slogans identified the key weaknesses of the Provisional Government.</li> <li>• The Bolsheviks kept attending the Petrograd Soviet when most of the others stopped doing so and this gave them control of the Soviet, which they could then use against the Provisional Government.</li> <li>• The Bolsheviks did not return their weapons to the Provisional Government after they defeated Kornilov.</li> <li>• Bolsheviks were able to act as protectors of Petrograd.</li> </ul> <p><b>Dual power - The role of the Petrograd Soviet</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The old Petrograd Soviet re-emerged and ran Petrograd.</li> <li>• The Petrograd Soviet undermined the authority of Provisional Government especially when relations between the two worsened.</li> <li>• Order No. 1 of the Petrograd Soviet weakened the authority of the Provisional Government as soldiers were not to obey orders of Provisional Government that contradicted those of the Petrograd Soviet.</li> </ul>
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	<p><b>Economic problems</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The workers were restless as they were facing starvation due to food shortages caused by the war.</li> <li>• The shortage of fuel caused problems for the workers</li> <li>• The shortage of food and supplies made the workers unhappy and restless.</li> <li>• The Bolsheviks' slogans appealed too many such as the workers control of industry.</li> </ul> <p><b>The Land Issue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All over Russia peasants were seizing nobles' land and wanted the Provisional Government to legitimise this.</li> <li>• The failure of the Provisional Government to recognise the peasants' claims eroded their confidence in the Provisional Government.</li> <li>• Food shortages caused discontent, and they were caught up by revolutionary slogans such as "Peace, Land And Bread"</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors</b></p>

49.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>By the 1920s the USA's open door policy on immigration had closed. New laws were introduced to further restrict immigration. The traumas of the First World War changed many Americans' attitudes towards immigrants.</p> <p><b>The effects of the First World War</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many immigrants during the First World War had sympathies for their mother country which led to resentment within the USA.</li> <li>• A large part of the US immigrant population was of German or Austrian origin. Many of these immigrants had supported the German side in the war and society was split when the USA joined the war against Germany. Anti-German propaganda containing stories of German atrocities increased dislike and suspicion of immigrants from Germany and the old Austrian Empire.</li> <li>• Irish Americans were suspected of being anti-British.</li> <li>• Many citizens felt hostile to anything foreign. During the war, many Americans resented having to become involved in Europe's problems. After the First World War the USA was even more in favour of an isolationist policy. By 1918 the USA wanted to leave Europe behind especially after the November armistice, when ships began to bring the wounded back to the United States from the European Western Front. Many Americans therefore did not want new waves of immigrants bringing 'European' problems to the USA.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Isolationism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s were in some respects a development of existing attitudes towards immigration apparent in the 19th century. Before the 1920s, the USA's 'open door' policy did not apply to everyone. Before 1900 the USA had reduced Asian immigration. The first significant law to restrict immigration into the USA was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which banned Chinese immigration.</li> <li>• 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".</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Despite Woodrow Wilson's support of a League of Nations to sort out future disputes between countries, in November 1919 and March 1920 the US Senate voted against US membership of the League of Nations, and refused to accept the terms of the League of Nations covenant. The USA was determined not to be involved in Europe's problems or become dragged into another European war. The USA was now firmly committed to a policy of isolationism.</li> </ul>

### **Fear of revolution**

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

### **Prejudice and racism**

- Attitudes towards immigration changed due to fears concerning the changing nature of immigration. Up until the 1880s most immigrants to the USA came from northern and western Europe from, for example, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. After 1880 the majority of immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe, from countries such as Russia, Poland and Italy. Descendants of the more established immigrants, known as WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were concerned there would be a flood of new immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe which they believed would threaten their way of life. Some new immigrants continued to wear traditional dress which was not viewed as being 'American'.
- Many new immigrants were Catholic or Jewish which led to the belief that the arrival of new immigrants would threaten the Protestant religion.
- Many new immigrants were unfamiliar with democracy. This was viewed as a threat to the American constitution.

### **Social fears**

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

	<p><b>Economic fears</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Attitudes towards immigration changed due to increased fears that the jobs of 'Americans' would be threatened. Due to new production methods employers realised they could make huge profits by employing immigrants and paying them low wages. Trade unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages.</li><li>• New immigrants were also used as 'strike breakers' as long hours and low wages in the USA were often better than what they were used to. There was huge resentment towards immigrant strike breakers which led to an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country.</li></ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors.</b></p>

**50. Context**

Although the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929 symbolises the start of the US economic crisis which in turn led to a worldwide Depression, problems in the American economy went beyond the stock market, and began before 1929. The weakness of the American banking system, for example, was highlighted in the autumn of 1929 when many banks failed to cope with the sudden rush to withdraw savings.

**Weaknesses of the US banking system**

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

**Other factors****Overproduction of goods**

- New mass-production methods and mechanisation meant that the production of consumer goods had expanded enormously creating a consumer boom in the 1920s. Items such as irons, ovens, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, radios and telephones became very popular. The production of automobiles rose from 1.9 million in 1920 to 4.5 million in 1929.
- By 1929 those people who had the money to buy consumer goods - even on credit, had already bought them. Cars, radios and other electrical goods had flooded the market and more was being made than people could buy. The USA was experiencing the serious problem of over production. Radios, telephones, washing machines, refrigerators and other goods were piling up in warehouses across the country.

**Under consumption - the saturation of the US market**

- The enormous output of goods required a corresponding increase of consumer buying power, ie higher wages. However, workers' income in the 1920s did not rise with the increased productivity. The purchasing power of farmers had also declined. Between 1920 and 1932 the total income of farmers dropped by approximately 70%. Many small farmers lived in appalling conditions and many lost their farms due to outstanding debts.
- Throughout the 1920's business had benefited from low tax policies. The result of this was that the bottom 40% of the population received only 12.5% of the nation's wealth. The economic boom of the 1920s was not a good time for everyone. In 1928 it was estimated that 42% of Americans did not earn enough to buy adequate food, clothing or shelter. Many American people were too poor to afford the new consumer goods.
- In contrast, the top 5% of the population owned 33% of the nation's wealth. Only a wealthy minority of the US population could afford the new consumer goods that rolled off factory production lines.
- Therefore, domestic demand never kept up with production. By the end of the 1920s the market for the new consumer goods was saturated. By 1929 automobile factories had to lay off thousands of workers because of reduced demand.

### **Republican government policies in the 1920s**

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

### **International economic problems**

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

### **The Wall Street Crash**

- During the 1920s many people were encouraged to buy shares in American companies. As the share prices went up, the demand for shares increased further as people saw the chance to make easy money. The boom of the 1920s however was very fragile and the rise in share prices was based on the confidence that prosperity would continue.
- By the late 1920s ordinary people, banks and big businesses were buying shares 'on the margin', paying only a fraction of the full price at the time of purchase, intending to sell on the shares at a profit before the rest of the payment became due. This meant that share buyers were forcing up share prices with money they did not really have.
- During the late 1920s, the economic boom started to slow down. There was an atmosphere of uncertainty in October 1929 and some shareholders began to sell their shares, believing that prices were at their peak.
- On 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 did play a role in the depression but its significance was more as a trigger. The Wall Street Crash led to a collapse of credit, and of confidence. The Wall Street Crash revealed how fragile and unstable the economic boom of the 1920s really was.

### **Any other relevant factors**

51.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Despite modest progress in black Americans' civil rights, a number of events highlighted the continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination in post war America. While these events publicised the full horrors of segregation, they also demonstrated that segregation could be challenged and changed which was a significant factor in the development of a more organised mass movement for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s.</p> <p><b>The continuation of prejudice and discrimination</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continuing racial discrimination pushed many black Americans to demand civil rights. The experience of war emphasised freedom, democracy and human rights yet in the USA Jim Crow laws still existed and lynching went unpunished.</li> <li>• The continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination was highlighted when Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black boy from Chicago was murdered in Mississippi. The Emmett Till case had a big effect on the development of the civil rights movement due to the publicity of the trial. Despite being virtually unrecognisable due to being beaten up so badly, Emmett's mother insisted on showing her son's corpse in an open coffin which shocked both local people and the nation.</li> <li>• The US Supreme Court's 1954 decision to end segregation in schools (Brown v the Topeka Board of Education) followed by the protest at Little Rock High School, Arkansas, in 1957, encouraged civil rights campaigners. The sight of Elizabeth Eckford being bullied and threatened for attending a white school made national and world news headlines.</li> <li>• The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama (over the arrest of Rosa Parks, who refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus) was one of the first successful protests and showed the effectiveness of united peaceful, non-violent protest.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The experience of black servicemen in the Second World War</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Despite the US army being segregated, black servicemen in Europe had freedoms they had never experienced in America. Even in prisoner of war camps, black airmen were treated as officers regardless of their colour.</li> <li>• As a result, black soldiers, sailors and airmen supported the 'Double-V' campaign: victory against the enemy abroad in the war and victory for Civil Rights at home in America.</li> <li>• A. Philip Randolph is credited with highlighting the problems faced by black Americans during World War Two which planted the seeds that grew into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a mainly black union. The porters, who travelled on long-distance overnight trains, could carry news between black communities in the rural South and those in northern cities.</li> <li>• During the Second World War, A. Philip Randolph threatened a mass protest march in Washington unless discrimination in defence industry jobs and in the armed forces was ended. In 1941 Randolph and other black leaders met President Roosevelt with three demands: an end to segregation and discrimination in federal government jobs, an end to segregation of the armed forces and government support for an end to discrimination and segregation in all jobs in the USA.</li> </ul>

- As the USA was fighting against Hitler's racist policies in Europe and unwilling to highlight the US's own racism, Roosevelt gave in to some of Randolph's demands and issued Executive Order 8802 which stated that there would be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defence industries and in government on the basis of race, colour or religious beliefs.
- Roosevelt also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination
- Not all Randolph's demands were met. Segregation in the armed forces and in jobs in the USA continued.
- A positive outcome of the Double-V campaign was the creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942 which was the beginning of a mass movement for civil rights. CORE was to play a large part in the civil rights protests of the 1950s and 1960s.

#### **The role of Martin Luther King**

- Martin Luther King was an inspirational speaker and leader who was prepared to be arrested, criticised and even put his own life at risk for the cause of civil rights.
- Martin Luther King believed that non-violent, peaceful civil disobedience was the best weapon in the fight for civil rights. King felt that if a law was wrong then the citizens of a country had both the right and responsibility to protest about it. He believed in endless protests to wear down the resistance of white racists.
- Martin Luther King presented a non-threatening image of black protest to the US television audience.
- In 1960 King became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) formed in 1957 to coordinate the work of the Civil Rights groups. King became more involved and well known for his use of non-violent civil disobedience in the campaign for civil rights.
- King led many demonstrations in the South which encouraged the development of the civil rights movement. During the Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955, King's leadership inspired the black population of Montgomery to keep up the pressure for Civil Rights.
- Through the effective use of the media, King became famous and publicised the civil rights movement throughout the world in 1964 with the hugely influential 'I Have a Dream' speech.
- King urged African Americans to use peaceful methods in the campaign for civil rights. King won international recognition for the Civil Rights campaign when he won the Nobel Peace Prize, also in 1964.

#### **The emergence of effective black leaders**

- The Civil Rights campaign was also inspired by the ideas of the black activist, Malcolm X. Malcolm X was an articulate although confrontational speaker who became a preacher for the Nation of Islam and spoke against King's belief in non-violence. Malcolm X believed non-violence meant being defenceless and stated that black people had to work out their own futures without relying on white help. Malcolm X was one of the first black Civil Rights activists to draw attention to the problems of crime, and unemployment in the ghettos of American cities.
- Many young black Americans living in the ghettos were attracted to the more extreme ideas of Stokely Carmichael and 'Black Power'. A direct ideas descendant of Marcus Garvey and his 'Back to Africa' movement. Many black Americans no longer believed that non-violence was the way forward.



- The Black Panthers attracted attention and headline news contributing to the Civil Rights campaign. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defence was founded in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The Black Panthers represented the opposite of Martin Luther King's ideas and supported the anti-white, black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The Black Panthers became very popular among young black Americans in the big cities and gained a lot of publicity. On the other hand, even at the height of their popularity, membership was relatively low and they lost support due to their confrontational tactics.
- The Civil Rights leaders were all effective in attracting media coverage and large followings although other leaders and organisations were eclipsed by media focus on the main personalities.
- The black radicals attracted support for the Civil Rights campaign but also divided opinion across the USA.

#### **The formation of effective black organisations**

- In 1960 a group of black and white college students created the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help coordinate, support and publicise the sit-in campaign. Their first target was segregated lunch counters and their use of non-violent protest in the face of provocation gained the Civil Rights movement support across the country.
- The SNCC joined with young people from the SCLC, CORE and NAACP in boycotts, marches and freedom rides. TV news coverage of attacks on the Freedom Riders, for example, shocked the American public.
- The combined actions of these organisations breathed new life into the Civil Rights movement and ended discrimination in many public places including restaurants, hotels, and theatres. These successes furthered encouraged the development of the Civil Rights campaign to demand more.

#### **Any other relevant factors.**

**52. Context**

Fascist belief was founded on the idea of national unity. It totally opposed the idea of internal class division. In the cases of Italy and Germany it was also expansionist in outlook. Mussolini looked to create a new Roman Empire while Hitler sought living space for the 'excess' German population. A number of factors led to this.

**Fascist ideology**

- Fascism was nationalistic in nature; emphasising the importance of loyalty to country [and superiority over others].
- Fascism is often defined by what it dislikes. One fundamental belief was a pathological hatred of communism which led to an anti-Soviet crusade as well as contempt for the 'weak' democracies.
- Fascism as seen through Nazism was racist. This belief in the superiority of the 'German/Aryan' people [through a crude Social Darwinism] allowed Nazis to perpetuate the idea of a racial mission to conquer the world and cleanse it of 'weaker' races.
- Fascism was Militaristic in nature - fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions/harking back to the glories of the Roman Empire in Italy.
- Fascist foreign policies were driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own belief, but also their personalities and charismatic leadership.
- Irredentism or the intention to reclaim and reoccupy lost territory, eg Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within 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.

**Other factors**

**Economic difficulties after 1929**

- In 1929 the US economy crashed leading the world into economic recession. This had a particularly dramatic effect on Germany as unemployment soared to 6 million.
- By 1929 Italy's fascist economic policy was failing; an aggressive foreign policy was useful in distracting the people at home.
- An aggressive foreign policy was also useful in gaining resources for the fascist powers eg Italian invasion of Abyssinia and Hitler's obsession with lebensraum.
- Germany also developed policies to use their economic and political power to make the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans dependent on Germany. Germany would exploit their raw materials and export manufactured goods to them. It was not a big step to invasion.

**The 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 £6,600,000,000, disarmament clauses were also a cause of resentment as the German army was reduced to 100,000 men and was not allowed heavy weaponry, lost territory, in particular in the east to Poland was bitterly resented.
- German desire to get revenge for defeat in WW1. Hitler called the treaty a Diktat; a dictated treaty forced on a helpless Germany.
- Italy came into the war on the side of the Allies in 1915. She suffered during the war, but hoped to gain land at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in particular the Dalmatian coast. In fact Italian territorial gains were small scale. It was felt that the Italians had suffered and gained little.
- Mussolini in Italy promised to make Italy great again and wipe out the embarrassment of the peace treaties when he gained power in 1922.

### **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
- French political divisions between the left and right
- the USA retreated into isolationism
- there was suspicion of Communist Soviet Russia from the democracies
- The Peace treaties created many small states in Eastern Europe which were difficult to defend.
- Determined aggression worked as the League failed to stop the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Even when the League did act, by putting mild sanctions on Italy they were too little, too late.

### **The British policy of appeasement.**

- Appeasement was intended to solve genuine foreign policy grievances that had arisen from the 1919 peace treaties, through negotiation.
- British public opinion broadly supported the policy of Appeasement, though there were voices raised in dissent. Many felt that Germany had genuine grievances which deserved to be settled.
- British appeasement to an extent encouraged both Germany and Italy to increase their demands and do so increasingly forcefully. They certainly reinforced fascist belief in the weakness of democracies.
- British attempts to keep Mussolini away from Hitler's influence during the Abyssinian crisis resulted in the Hoare-Laval Pact, which produced a popular outcry when the terms were leaked. Mussolini saw that Britain and France were not opposed in principle to gains for Italy in East Africa and he was able to defy sanctions and keep Abyssinia.
- Hitler knew of British reservations about some terms of the Versailles Treaty and was able to play on these, increasingly realising that he would not be stopped eg rearmament, the reoccupation of the Rhineland and then the Anschluss.

**Any other relevant factors.**

53.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Appeasement is the policy of making concessions to another power in order to avoid conflict. Historically, the term is frequently associated with the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The context to the policy is more long term, but the failure of the League of Nations and collective security in the aftermath of the First World War, known at the time as the war to end all wars, forms the backdrop to the policy.</p> <p><b>Military weakness</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Run-down state of armed forces following WW1 as Britain disarmed.</li> <li>• Army: conscription ended post-WW1, scaled right down in size. This plus the demands of Empire meant that the British army was stretched. There was also a lack of investment in developing military technology.</li> <li>• Navy: not so run-down as other military arms due to the Empire, but not fully maintained. There were many obsolete ships, plus a disturbing lack of awareness of the power of aerial attack.</li> <li>• Air Force: lack of adequate air defences and fear of aerial bombing. However, there were technological innovations that would save Britain in 1940 such as the development of Radar and effective fighter aircraft, but time was needed to develop military strength. Some believe that Appeasement gave Britain that time.</li> <li>• Exaggerated assessments of German military strength.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Economic difficulties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In common with other world economies Britain was affected by the 1929-32 economic crisis. Unemployment rose as businesses struggled. This led to the belief that Britain could not sustain a war against the European dictators and maybe Japan in the Far East.</li> <li>• There was an understandable reluctance to further damage international trade and commerce by threatening war. Commerce thrived on stability and peace.</li> <li>• Difficulty of financing any large scale rearmament in the face of other economic commitments. At a time when many people were anti-war it was difficult to justify increased military spending.</li> </ul> <p><b>Attitudes to the Paris Peace Settlement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even though Britain was a signatory to the 1919 Peace Settlement, it was seen as too harsh on Germany by many and there was sympathy for what were seen by many as genuine grievances. Reasonable discussion and careful concession would ensure that such grievances would be addressed.</li> <li>• This led to beliefs such as, 'they are only going into their own backgarden' [Lord Lothian] when remilitarising the Rhineland and even sympathy for the Anschluss between Austria and Germany from people like John Buchan who was Governor-General of Canada who states that, 'I do not quite see what the fuss is about'.</li> </ul> <p><b>Public opinion</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The fear of another World War had an impact on public opinion. Even though the war had been fought on mainland Europe casualties meant that everyone knew someone who had died and there were visible reminders of the effects of war with injured veterans.</li> <li>• The memories of losses/horrors of WW1 were vivid and had a real impact on many politicians, especially Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister from 1937.</li> <li>• Isolationist feelings, summed up in Chamberlain's pre-Munich speech where he made the famous statement about, 'how horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing.'</li> </ul>
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**Pacifism**

- Public anti-war feeling - Peace Ballot, Oxford 'King and Country' debate where the students carried the motion that, 'This House would not fight for King and Country' by 275 votes to 153. There was a huge reaction to this in Britain and beyond. Fascists saw it as evidence of Britain's weakness.
- East Fulham by-election in 1933 showed strength of anti-war feeling. A Conservative candidate who supported military rearmament saw a majority of 3,000 overturned into a majority of 7,000 for his pacifist Labour opponent. In a democracy such things mattered and the government saw this as evidence of pacifist attitudes.

**Concern over the Empire**

- The British Empire was huge and its defence was a concern for the government.
- The Empire was thought to be crucial to British economic well-being and to her status as a Great Power.
- Fears that Britain could not defend the Empire against simultaneous threats in Northern Europe, the Mediterranean and the Far East. In 1934 the Committee for Imperial Defence warned that Britain was not strong enough to fight Japan, Germany and Italy together.
- Some accommodation with at least one of the unsated powers was thought essential.
- There was also concern about whether the Empire would answer the call to help Britain in the event of war. At the 1937 Imperial Prime Ministers' Conference, the leaders of the Empire Dominions were unwilling to give a firm commitment to resist Hitler. All had their own memories of sacrifice during World War One.

**Lack of reliable allies**

- Failure of the League of Nations to police world conflict through Disarmament and Collective Security as well their lack of action in Abyssinia.
- France was considered to be unreliable. She had severe political divisions between the political left and right.
- US isolationism after World War One meant a previous powerful ally could not be relied upon to help in the event of war.
- Suspicion of Soviet Russia and their reliability due to the fact it was Communist.
- The relative weakness of successor states in Eastern Europe. Many were small, militarily weak and susceptible to German economic influence.
- Italy was also appeased in vain attempt to prevent alliance with Germany, but after Abyssinia closely allied itself with the Nazi regime.

**Fear of the spread of Communism**

- Too many in Britain, Communism was the greater political threat to Britain: there was suspicion of Soviet Russia as a result.
- Nazi Germany was also seen as a buffer against Communism by some and destabilising the Nazi regime might lead to questions over communist revolution in Germany.
- Fear of spreading Communism into Western Europe; distrust of French popular Front government; alarm at actions of the Left (more than of the Right) in Spain.

**Beliefs of Chamberlain**

- Chamberlain's personal control of foreign policy after 1937.
- Chamberlain believed that problems could be solved rationally, by negotiation.

**Any other relevant factors**

54.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Czechoslovakia was created after World War One. It contained 3 million German speakers in the Sudetenland. It had a good army and native arms industry. The Czechs had created strong defences along their border with Germany. These Sudeten Germans had not fitted into the successful Czech democracy and were fired up the Sudeten German Party which was financed and controlled by the German Nazi Party. The ensuing crisis was managed by the British Prime Minister through a series of meetings with Hitler. This culminated in the Munich Agreement which gave the Sudetenland to Germany. The Czechs were not consulted on this agreement.</p> <p><b>Munich reasonable under circumstances</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Czechoslovakian defences were effectively outflanked anyway following the Anschluss.</li> <li>• Britain and France were not in a position to prevent German attack on Czechoslovakia in terms of difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia.</li> <li>• British public opinion was reluctant to risk war over mainly German-speaking Sudetenland. This seemed to be true from public reaction to the agreement. Chamberlain was mobbed on his return and spoke to cheering crowds outside 10 Downing Street. He received gifts and thousands of letters of support.</li> <li>• Britain was militarily unprepared for a wider war. Her Navy was large and airforce growing, but her army was small and poorly equipped. Britain could not practically intervene on mainland Europe even if she wanted to.</li> <li>• Lack of alternative, unified international response to Hitler's threats, Britain could not go it alone in the circumstances.</li> <li>• Failure of League of Nations In earlier crises so there was no alternative to discussion.</li> <li>• French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia. To his surprise, the French Premier was mobbed by enthusiastic supporters of the Agreement on his return.</li> <li>• US isolationism meant that no help could be expected from the Americans if conflict broke out.</li> <li>• British suspicion of Soviet Russia in terms of Communism and possible actions in the event of conflict.</li> <li>• Strong reservations of rest of British Empire and Dominions concerning support for Britain in event of war.</li> <li>• Attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.</li> <li>• Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use.</li> <li>• Much of the British media was supportive of Chamberlain's actions. There was support from abroad as well with some foreign commentators saying Chamberlain should receive the Nobel Prize for Peace.</li> </ul> <p><b>Munich not reasonable</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Munich was a humiliating surrender to Hitler's threats.</li> <li>• Another breach in the post-WW1 settlement. Duff Cooper was the only Government minister to resign over Munich and he commented on the way Hitler had continually broken the Treaty of Versailles over the years.</li> <li>• A betrayal of Czechoslovakia and democracy. The Czechs had not been consulted and were forced to give up significant resources and their border defences.</li> <li>• Czechoslovakia wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939.</li> <li>• Further augmentation of German manpower and resources. Germany now controlled the important Skoda works as well as significant coal deposits and other industries.</li> <li>• Furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in Eastern Europe.</li> </ul>

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|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Further alienation of Soviet Union from the Allies. The Soviets were very suspicious of British and French motives and saw Appeasement as giving into Germany. They could not be trusted. This would have repercussions in 1939.</li> <li>• A British, French, Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative.</li> <li>• Public opposition was greater than was reported at the time. For example; 15,000 demonstrated in Trafalgar Square against the Agreement.</li> <li>• Significant political opposition to the Agreement from Labour leader Attlee, Liberal leader Archibald Sinclair and Conservatives like Winston Churchill.</li> <li>• Cartoonists such as David Low made pointed comments about Chamberlain and the Munich Agreement.</li> </ul> |

**Any other relevant factors**

55.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>The wartime alliance had always been one of convenience owing to the common enemy of Nazism. America had not recognised the Soviet Communist government's legitimacy until 1933. As the Second World War came to an end the inherent tensions between a Capitalist America and her allies and Communist Russia became all too clear.</p> <p><b>Tensions within the wartime alliance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• WW2: suspicion of USSR by allies because of Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Tensions within the wartime alliance as the defeat of Nazism became clear. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR.</li><li>• USSR suspicions of the USA and Britain over failure to open a second front before 1944.</li><li>• 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 in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, etc. in creating pro-Communist regimes and Allied actions in Western Europe, Greece further increased tensions.</li></ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>The US decision to use the atom bomb</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• One aim of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to impress the USSR and make them ready to make concessions in Eastern Europe.</li><li>• Stalin knew about the Manhattan Project and refused to be intimidated and in fact it made him even more suspicious of the USA.</li></ul> <p><b>The arms race</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Stalin was determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible; the development of the arms race.</li><li>• British and French were also developing their independent nuclear deterrents - which, realistically, were only aimed at the USSR.</li><li>• Development of technologies to deliver nuclear weapons.</li></ul> <p><b>Ideological differences</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the western powers: Soviet withdrawal from WW1, involvement of West with anti-Bolshevik Whites: ideological differences between Communist and Capitalism.</li><li>• Fears in the West that Communism was on the march led President Truman to the policy of containment: British power was in retreat: WW2 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.</li><li>• Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to support free peoples and proposals to oppose totalitarian regimes - exemplified by the Marshall Plan. Fulton speech by Churchill. 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.s</li></ul>



**Disagreements over the future of Germany**

- The Potsdam Conference and policy over Germany whereby the allied sectors remained free as compared to Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations. The economic status of Germany: creation of Bizonia in West. Contrast between the developing capitalist west and centrally controlled east: introduction of Deutsche mark in West led to the Berlin Blockade in 1949.

**The crisis over Korea.**

- Stalin encouraged Communist North Korea to invade Capitalist South. This led to American-led UN intervention on behalf of the South, and resultant Chinese intervention. Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. Stalemate along 38th parallel. The Cold War had been sealed with a Hot War.

**Any other relevant factors.**

56.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>In the years before 1959, Cuba was ruled by a military dictatorship led by General Batista. Batista's government was corrupt and inefficient. A revolution led by Fidel Castro successfully overthrew Batista. Castro eventually moved into the Communist sphere of influence.</p> <p><b>US foreign policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The presence of a Communist country so close the US mainland was objectionable to the US governments who feared the spread of Communism.</li> <li>• The United States had placed their Jupiter missiles in Turkey and now the USSR felt very threatened. Kennedy had originally placed the Jupiter missiles in Turkey in 1961 because the United States had feared the possible nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union. These missiles became a major threat to the Soviets because they were capable of striking anywhere in the USSR.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Kennedy's domestic context</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• US interests and investments in Cuba had been lost in the revolution.</li> <li>• Cuban exiles in Florida were vocal in their demands for US action against Castro.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• American aggression seemed to be confirmed by the United States practising the invasion of a Caribbean island with a dictator named Orsac: Operation Mongoose overseen by Robert Kennedy.</li> </ul> <p><b>Castro's victory in Cuba</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Castro had come to power in 1959-60 after overthrowing the corrupt, American-backed Batista regime in a Communist revolution.</li> <li>• Castro was not liked by the US who objected to his policies which redistributed wealth and took over large sugar plantations controlled by US business interests. Castro increasingly pushed towards the USSR, who, for example, bought Cuba's sugar crop when the USA did not.</li> <li>• Khrushchev was sympathetic to Castro. Some historians argue that he wanted to use Cuba as a launch pad for revolution in Central America. Missile deployment would provide protection for the revolution.</li> <li>• Argument that Bay of Pigs incident forced Castro to start preparing to defend himself against another attack and drew him closer to Khrushchev and the Soviet Union. Castro asked for significant conventional military aid.</li> </ul> <p><b>Khrushchev's domestic position</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Foreign policy criticisms: ongoing deadlock over Berlin; shadow of events in Hungary 1956, etc.</li> <li>• Rise of China as a rival for leadership of the Communist world; pressure on Khrushchev from influential circles within USSR to assert Soviet leadership.</li> </ul>

**Khrushchev's view of Kennedy**

- Khrushchev felt that Kennedy was a weak president after the Bay of Pigs, June 1961 summit in Vienna to discuss Berlin; East Germany's unopposed construction of Berlin Wall. He felt that Kennedy was weak and inexperienced and would make concessions during the Cold War.

**Ideological differences**

- America was very sensitive about the presence of Communism so close to Florida. It might be used as a launch-pad for further Communist risings in Latin America, which the US regarded as its own domain (Monroe Doctrine). The huge inequalities in many Latin American countries made such risings seem possible.
- Cuba was one of a series of flash-points between Communism and Capitalism around the world, as part of the wider Cold War. This was played out at a number of levels, such as espionage and the arms race, all of which increased international tension.

**Mistakes by the leaders**

- The Soviets wanted to place nuclear missiles in Cuba because they were trying to balance out the number of nuclear arms between themselves and the United States. Khrushchev underestimated the US reaction.
- Kennedy's use of the media played well in the US, and to an extent in the wider world, but it meant that international diplomacy was being conducted in the full glare of the world. It made it much more difficult for either leader to back down without a major loss of face.

**Any other relevant factors.**

57.	<p><b>Context</b></p> <p>Events during the Cuban Missile crisis had concentrated the minds of the superpowers leaders and led to a more conciliatory relationship between the USSR and USA. However, each side also had its own reasons for engagement.</p> <p><b>Mutually Assured Destruction</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The development of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons from 1945 by both superpowers as a deterrent to the other side; a military attack would result in horrific retaliation.</li> <li>• So many nuclear weapons were built to ensure that not all were destroyed even after a first-strike, and this led to a stalemate known as MAD. Arms race built on fear.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other factors</b></p> <p><b>Economic cost of arms race</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developments in technology raised the costs of the Arms Race.</li> <li>• The development of Anti-Ballistic Missile technology and costs of war led to SALT 1, and the ABM treaty.</li> <li>• Limiting MIRV and intermediate missile technology led to SALT 2.</li> <li>• The cost of ‘Star Wars’ technology also encouraged the Soviet Union to seek better relations.</li> <li>• Khrushchev’s desire for better relations between the superpowers in the 50s and 60s was, in part, about freeing up resources for economic development in the USSR. He hoped this would show the superiority of the Soviet system.</li> <li>• Gorbachev wanted to improve the lives of ordinary Russians and part of this was by reducing the huge defence budget eg Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987.</li> </ul> <p><b>Dangers of military conflict as seen through the Cuban Missile Crisis</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In this it worked as the threat of nuclear war seemed very close on the discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles on Cuba in 1962. Before Khrushchev backed down nuclear war was threatened. It also illustrated the lack of formal contact between the superpowers to defuse potential conflicts.</li> <li>• Introduction of a ‘hot-line’ between the Kremlin and White House in order to improve communication between the superpowers. Khrushchev and Kennedy also signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the first international agreement on nuclear weapons.</li> </ul> <p><b>The development of surveillance technology</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American development of surveillance technology (U2 and satellites) meant that nuclear weapons could be identified and agreements verified.</li> <li>• Example of U2 flight over Cuba where Anderson photographed nuclear sites.</li> <li>• Also U2 and satellite verification to make sure the Soviets were doing as promised at the negotiating table.</li> <li>• Some historians think Arms Control would never have taken root, but for the ability of the sides to verify what the other was doing.</li> </ul> <p><b>Softening of the ideological conflict through policies of co-existence and détente</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies of co-existence and détente developed to defuse tensions and even encourage trade.</li> <li>• Role of others like Brandt in West Germany in defusing tension through their policies of Ostpolitik, etc.</li> </ul> <p><b>Any other relevant factors</b></p>
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[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]