National
Qualifications
2015

2015 History

New 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 <u>always</u> be assigned in line with these General Marking Principles and the Detailed Marking Instructions for this assessment.

(b) Marking should always be positive. This means that, for each candidate response, marks are accumulated for the demonstration of relevant skills, knowledge and understanding: they are not deducted from a maximum on the basis of errors or omissions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Evaluate the usefulness of Source . . .
B. Compare the views of Sources . . .
C. How fully does Source . . .
D. Extended response questions using a range of stems, including 'how important', 'how successful', 'how valid', 'to what extent'. These require candidates to demonstrate knowledge and understanding and to apply their skills of analysis and evaluation in order to answer the question asked.

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

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

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

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

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

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of source, purpose and timing

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

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

B Questions that ask candidates to *Compare the views of two sources* (5 marks)

Candidates must interpret evidence and make direct comparisons between sources. Candidates are expected to compare content directly on a point-by-point basis. They should also make an overall comparison of the viewpoints of the sources.

Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 5 marks:

Each point of comparison will be supported by specific references to each source and should be awarded **1 mark**.

An overall comparison which is supported by specific references to the viewpoint of each source should be awarded **1 mark**. **A second mark** should be awarded for a development of the overall comparison.

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

C Questions that ask *How fully does a given source explain/describe* . . . (9 marks)

Candidates must make a judgement about the extent to which the source provides a full description/explanation of a given event or development.

Up to the total mark allocation for this question of 9 marks:

- candidates should be given **up to 3 marks** for their identification of points from the source that support their judgement; each point from the source needs to be interpreted rather than simply copied from the source
- candidates should be given **up to 7 marks** for their identification of points of significant omission, based on their own knowledge, that support their judgement
- a maximum of **2 marks** may be given for answers in which no judgement has been made

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

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

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

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

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

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Examples of relationships between identified factors could include:

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

Evaluation

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

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

OR

However, more recent research tends to show that …

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

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

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

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Detailed Marking Instructions for each question

Section 1 - Scottish

PART A – The Wars of Independence, 1249 - 1328

1.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 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:** • Alexander III's sudden death had brought the male line of the royal dynasty to an end. • A measure of the problems now facing the Scottish leaders was the desire for 'advice and protection' from Edward I which would later lead to demands for recognition of his authority over the Scottish realm. • Six Guardians were appointed in response to the vital need to carry on the day to day running of the government in the absence of a royal leader. • The young child Margaret of Norway was now the only descendant of King Alexander. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** • Scotland faced potential difficulties with the succession of a young female, Alexander's three year old granddaughter. • The seriousness of the situation after the death of Alexander III required the Scottish nobles to carry on the government of the country. • Alexander's death presented a problem over the succession as there was no male heir. • The Scottish leaders compromised the independence of Scotland by asking Edward for help and advice. • Alexander's children had all died before him; Alexander (1284), David (1281) & Margaret (1283). • There was fear of civil war. Bishop Fraser of St Andrews was afraid of violent disorder 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. • A potential problem was the prospect of war amongst the nobility. In order to avoid civil war, Bishop Fraser asked Edward to help chose the next ruler of Scotland. • Six Guardians were elected (two bishops, two earls, two barons) in a parliament in Scone. • There was uncertainty during the winter of 1286 - 1287 after a rebellion in the South West by the Bruce faction. Robert Bruce seized the Balliol castle of Buittle and the royal castles of Wigtown and Dumfries. Although order was restored by the Guardians, the threat from the Bruce faction created the need to settle securely the question of the succession. • 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. • Although Edward made concessions to the separate identity of Scotland in the Treaty of Birgham, Edward's actions, such as his seizure of the Isle of Man and the appointment of the Bishop of Durham, suggested that Edward wanted to increase his influence over the kingdom of Scotland. • 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.

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	• There was a renewed threat to stability after the death of the Maid of Norway. Tension grew between the two factions ie Bruce V Balliol/Comyn. Bishop Fraser's letter to Edward favoured Balliol's claim to the throne while Bruce's claim was put forward in the Letter of the Seven Earls. • 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 took advantage of Scotland's weakness. When the Scots leaders travelled to Norham, Roger Brabazon gave a speech on behalf of Edward requiring the Scots to recognise Edward as overlord. Pressure was also brought to bear on the competitors at Norham to recognise Edward's overlordship of Scotland in order for him to make a judgement. • 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 presented themselves although only three, John Balliol, Robert Bruce and John Hastings, had a strong legal claim. • Problems arose at the Great Cause at Berwick due to the self-interest of the nobles. For example, John of Hastings' argument that Scotland should be divided showed little regard for the kingdom. • 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 descendant of the eldest daughter of Earl David. Balliol however 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 of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question**

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2. 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**
Overall: Both sources agree that as overlord of Scotland, Edward intended to interfere fully in Scottish affairs. Both sources agree that Edward used the issue of appeals to test his relationship with John Balliol and to demonstrate that John, although Scotland's ruler, possessed only the shadow of real power.	
Source B	**Source C**
King John had sworn homage for the kingdom of Scotland for a second time.	King John did homage to the King of England which clearly recognised Edward I's overlordship of the realm of Scotland.
John's reign was overshadowed by Edward I's determination, right from the start, to enforce the widest possible interpretation of his rights as overlord of Scotland.	Edward was not however content with a mere recognition of his overlordship: he was determined to exercise his authority to the full.
King John was left in no doubt that he personally could, and would, be called to answer for the actions of the Scottish courts in the presence of Edward I and the English parliament.	Edward I would even summon King John to appear before him in England to answer legal claims and complaints in person.
Only one week after King John's enthronement, Edward I had heard a court appeal on behalf of a Scottish merchant, Roger Bartholomew who complained against a decision taken by the Scottish courts.	Edward I made it clear that he intended to hear any appeal cases brought to him as overlord of Scotland, when and where he chose.

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: A chronicler of Lanercost Priory in northern England. An English source.	• The source is useful as the author is a monk, educated and well informed as Lanercost Priory was a favourite stopping place for both King Edward I and King Edward II. The source is less useful as it is biased against the Scots.
Type of source: A Chronicle	• Useful as the chronicle records the key events of the Scottish Wars.
Purpose: To keep a record of local, national and international affairs	• It is useful as it describes the effects of the Scottish invasions of northern England after the Battle of Bannockburn.
Timing: August 1314	• The source is more useful as it dates from the time of the Scottish attacks on the north of England and reflects the viewpoint of the English at the time of the raids and the Priory was attacked during Bruce's campaigns in Northern England.

Content	Possible comment
• In August 1314, Edward Bruce, James Douglas, John Soules and other nobles of Scotland, under the authority of Robert Bruce, invaded England by way of Berwick with cavalry and a large army.	• Useful as it tells us that raids into northern England were part of Bruce's royal policy in maintaining Scotland's independence. Despite victory at Bannockburn, the war between Scotland and England was not over. Bannockburn won Bruce support in Scotland but not recognition from Edward.
• They devastated almost all Northumberland with fire.	• Useful as it provides a detailed insight into the nature of the warfare Robert Bruce unleashed upon the north of England. Bruce's forces burned and devastated villages. Bruce hoped that such destruction would spread terror and force Edward II to negotiate and recognise Bruce's right to the kingship of Scotland.

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• The people of Coupland, fearing their return and invasion, sent messengers and paid money to the Scottish king to escape being burned by them in the same way as they had destroyed other towns.	• Useful as it provides a detailed insight into a short term aim of the raids which was economic. That English shires were prepared to pay tribute tells us that Bruce was prepared to be bought off. Deals were struck with terrified inhabitants. Bruce's forces were willing to grant truces which ensured that his war effort became self-financing. If ransoms were not paid however, Bruce's troops returned to burn and loot.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- Other common features of the raids into northern England were plundering, the stealing of cattle and the taking of prisoners as hostages.
- For Bruce, a short term aim of the raids was to supplement revenue and to reward and enrich loyal and successful lieutenants.
- The source describes one raid shortly after the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. 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. The centre of government and the wealth of England lay in the south and were largely unaffected. The raids into England only seriously affected the nobles and inhabitants of the northern counties. An example being the Earl of Carlisle who rebelled against Edward II and entered into a local truce with Bruce in 1323 to prevent his lands being destroyed.
- The raids into northern England 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 and Bruce inflicted a major defeat on the English at Old Byland in 1322 which almost resulted in the capture of Edward II.
- In addition to the wars in the north of England, other reasons for the triumph of Bruce in maintaining Scotland's independence include
- Bruce recovered his power in Scotland by fighting a highly successful campaign of guerrilla warfare between 1307 and 1309 aimed at harassing English occupation forces and defeating his Scottish enemies led by the Comyns.
- 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. King Edward II did not lead a major campaign into Scotland for several years which allowed Bruce to concentrate on fighting his Scottish enemies. Edward's failure to commit to a major campaign in Scotland was also crucial in leaving the major English held Scottish castles vulnerable to attack.
- Bruce defeated his enemies in Scotland. Bruce's campaign in the north east of Scotland, the centre of Comyn power, his 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. In addition, Bruce's control of the north not only provided a refuge from English attacks but provided manpower and essential supplies from the Continent via Aberdeen.

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		Bruce reconquered Scotland from 1310 – 14 by conducting a successful campaign against English held castles in Scotland. Lacking siege equipment, castles were taken by stealth and their defences dismantled or razed to prevent them being recaptured and used against Bruce in the future. By 1314, most of Scotland's major castles had been recovered including Dundee, Perth, Dumfries, Linlithgow, Roxburgh and Edinburgh. • The support of the Scottish Church was also significant in Bruce's maintaining Scottish independence. Not only did the Church avoid excommunicating Bruce for the sacrilegious murder of John Comyn in a church in 1306 but Bruce had the active support of the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. 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) completed 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. The opening of a second front in Ireland also stopped the English use of Irish troops and resources against Scotland. • Diplomacy also contributed to Bruce maintaining Scottish independence. 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. • 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. 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 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 that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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

4.	*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 Reformation of 1560 was sparked off by a riot in Perth in which the town's Catholic religious houses were sacked.
- Knox was installed as its first Protestant minister on the seventh of the month in the capital.
- The change of Regent pleased Knox and his followers as they were unhappy with Mary of Guise's heavy taxation and her pro-French policies.
- Support of England and the arrival of an English army in March 1560 which proved to be a decisive factor.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- Increase in popular support of Protestant sentiment between 1547 and 1559 despite the absence of the figurehead Knox. Displayed in Perth riot 11th May 1559 and stealing of the image of St Giles on the day of the saints celebration (1st September) 1558 in Edinburgh.
- Return of Knox as a figurehead. Hugely influential in gathering support for the movement through his preaching.
- Unhappiness under Mary of Guise due to heavy taxation. Attempts at engineering a war with England and suspicions of her pro-French policies.
- Increase in support of the poor. Shown by Beggars' Summons copies of which were nailed to the doors of many friaries in Scotland on 1st Jan 1559 declaring that the needs of the poor were greater than that of the friars who were rich and ungodly.
- Evolution of the Protestant Congregation.
- Increase of Protestant literature.
- Presence of Protestant martyrs such as George Wishart (1546) and Walter Myln (1558) helped garner popular support.
- Socio-economic reasons relating to standards of living and over taxation.
- Wish for Scots to create their own national cultural identity. Wish for no interference from England or France.
- Lack of strong leadership from the Catholic Church in Scotland. Particularly following the murder of Cardinal Beaton.
- Scotland disliked being ruled by a woman, Mary of Guise, because she was French and a Catholic.
- Protestant religious commitment. Hard-line and unwavering commitment to the cause.
- The Lords of the Congregation were encouraged by the prospect of support from the English after Elizabeth, a fellow Protestant, became Queen in 1558.
- Protestant ideas had been coming into Scotland for some time.
- English Bibles and books critical of the Catholic Church were distributed in Scotland following the Reformation in England.
- The Catholic Church failed to make sufficient reform to satisfy its critics.
- Increased numbers of the nobility opted for the new faith.
- The Lords of the Congregation had increasing support and took up arms against Mary of Guise.
- The weaknesses of the Catholic Church – decline and corruption; pluralism had not been addressed. Minors being given top positions in church – crown and nobility taking much of churches' revenues; Monarchs placed their offspring in important positions in the Church.

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	• Mary of Guise's religious attitude and pro-French stance meant she asked the French for help. It pushed many Scots into supporting the Lords of the Congregation. • Mary of Guise's prosecution of reformers was unpopular. **Any other valid point of explanation that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question**

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5. *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**
Overall: Sources B and **C** agree Mary continued to practise her Catholic faith causing concern. They also agree that Mary having French servants caused problems as the Scots did not like this. **Source B** mentions Mary's marriage to Bothwell and how he was suspected of murdering Darnley. **Source C** places greater emphasis on the problem of marrying Bothwell.	
Source B	**Source C**
Went back on her word upon arrival attending mass at Holyrood Chapel.	She ignored advice and attended mass at Holyrood on her arrival, to many Protestants' disgust.
Also upset many of the Scots nobility by surrounding herself with French servants.	Mary surrounding herself with French servants did not go down well with the Scottish nobility.
Most notable was her secret marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, who was suspected of murdering her previous husband Lord Darnley.	Choice of husbands also caused shock waves, particularly her marriage to Bothwell.
Knox had five meetings with Mary Queen of Scots, criticising her marriages.	Knox who held five meetings with the queen to show his disapproval of the goings on in her personal and public life.

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: The text was produced by a committee of over 30 members.	Useful as the source, articles from the *Second Book of Discipline* was central to the development of Presbyteries through which the Kirk would be virtually independent of secular government.
Type of source: Book on the role of the church in Scottish society.	Useful as it gives a clear explanation of the position of the church in society.
Purpose: To set out views of Presbyterian Kirk.	Useful in helping to establish the relationship between the church and state.
Timing: 1578	Useful as written at a time when the role of the Monarch in the Kirk was being discussed.

Content	Possible comment
• The Kirk belongs to the poor as much as it does everyone else and our duty is to help them.	• Useful as it tells us that the Kirk had a duty to help the poor. Although the reformed church had great intentions to help the poor it faced difficulties.
• We also call for the liberty of the election of persons called to the ministry to be in the hands of the congregation.	• Useful as it tells us that the congregation was given the freedom to pick their own minister.
• Doctors will be appointed in universities, colleges, and schools to open up the meaning of the scriptures in every parish, and teach the basics of religion.	• This is useful as the reformed church believed in education. However, the aim of a school in every parish was not achieved but there was some advancement in central Scotland.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- Emphasis was placed upon attendance at daily and Sunday services.
- The *Second Book of Discipline* led indirectly to a regular meeting of ministers from 10 to 20 parishes for discussion of doctrine, which became the presbytery.
- The Kirk removed all organs from places of worship.
- It proved impractical to dispossess the Catholic clergy of their benefices so they were allowed to retain two-thirds of their revenues for life.
- Concessions made to Catholic clergy, on the grounds of old age or ill-health.

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	• 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. • 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. • The new church still had the problem of not having enough revenue for the parishes. • James VI was reluctant to enforce anti-Catholic laws. • Kirk sessions were instruments of moral and religious control. • The elaborate interiors of Catholic churches were replaced with plain, whitewashed parish kirks. • Observance of Catholic festivals and saints' days and festivals were discouraged. • Literary works and Kirk sermons were conducted in English rather than Latin. (The only Protestant Bibles available to lowland Scots were in English). • Assistance given to the poor from the friaries ended. New plans to help the poor by literacy rates improved during this period. • 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. • Scots merchants continued to trade with England and trading ports across the North Sea. • Scots focused on trade with the Protestant Dutch. • Trade with France continued despite the change in religion – although pro-French foreign policy was replaced with pro-English under James. • The Presbyterian church faced difficulty. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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PART C – The Treaty of Union, 1689 - 1740

7. *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:

- There was English political opposition because of threat to the English-owned East India Company.
- English sabotage was blamed for underfunding and mismanagement of the scheme.
- King William was held responsible for encouraging Spanish opposition in Central America.
- Anglo-Scottish relations were strained and this was shown by anti-English riots in Edinburgh.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- The "Ill" Years, famine, poor harvests.
- Favour shown by King William to England.
- Navigation Acts protecting English trade.
- Lack of an empire for Scotland to trade with.
- Effect of English wars on Scottish trade.
- English military intervention in Scots trade with mainland Europe.
- Dutch withdrawal from Darien scheme.
- The cost of Darien, c. £400,000.
- Act of Settlement, Scots did not want Hanoverian Succession imposed on Scotland.
- Act of Security asserting Scots' independence.
- Anne's delay in assenting to the Act of Security.
- Act Anent Peace and War.
- Wool Act defying English military strategy.
- Wine Act defying English military strategy.
- Alien Act threatening sanctions against Scots.
- Jacobite opposition to William.
- Scottish parliamentary opposition to the perceived threat of the Anglican church.
- Revolution of 1688-9.
- Failure to unite in the 1690s.
- Scottish parliament acting independently of William and Mary.
- English Bill of Rights asserting monarchical authority.
- Claim of Right in Scotland proclaiming parliamentary authority.
- Opposition to William in the Highlands.
- Glencoe Massacre.
- Jacobite plot to assassinate William.
- William and the Darien scheme.
- Covenanters' objections to monarchical interference in church affairs.
- The Worcester Affair.
- Scottish disaffection with William's governmental advisors.

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

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

Source B	Source C
Overall: the sources are in total disagreement in their attitude to union, in particular in relation to the potential military, manufacturing, and land benefits. **Source C** lays greater emphasis upon the emotional argument.	

Source B	Source C
Our brave and courageous Scotsmen will join a British fleet and army and we will be secured by their protection.	Our valiant and brave Scottish soldiers at home asking for a small pension, or left to beg, once their old regiments are broken.
Our burgh merchants will take our manufactures to England and return with profits.	The royal burghs losing all the branches of their old commerce and trades in the face of English competition.
We will see our craftsmen's lives improve as a result of union.	I see the honest industrious craftsman loaded with new taxes, drinking water instead of ale.
Our land will be better cultivated and manured.	The backbroken farmer, with his corn wasted upon his hands, because his land is worthless.

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Jacobite	Useful as the Jacobites were leaders of national sentiment after union, and were known to support repeal. Could argue less useful as author could be biased.
Type of source: Leaflet	This is less useful as this is propaganda so the Jacobites would be justifying their views at the time.
Purpose: To explain the reasons for bringing back the Scottish parliament.	Useful as it expresses an opinion to a reverse union.
Timing: 1723	Useful as it is written 16 years after union when its effects, both positive and negative would be felt across Scotland.

Content	Possible comment
Before union taxes raised by the Scots parliament were not high.	Useful as it informs of the Jacobites desire to return to pre-union government.
Taxes on land, salt, malt, windows, leather, candles, soap, starch, and paper.	Useful as it explains why some Scots would be financially worse off under union.
Custom duties now set at English rates, three times what was paid before union.	Useful as it suggests English influence has been negative for Scots merchants and importers.

Possible points of significant omission may include:
Either economic effects of union:

- Textile and paper industries suffered.
- Smuggling increased.
- Scottish linen lost out to English wool.
- Poverty in some parts of Scotland.
- Opposition from poor farmers to enclosures.
- Merchant shipping increased.
- Caribbean trade increased.
- Scots promotions in East India Company.
- Black cattle trade prospered.
- Improvements in agriculture were made.
- Enclosures benefitted wealthier farmers.
- Development of towns on market routes.
- Government investment in Scotland.
- Royal Bank of Scotland founded.

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	• Improved industrial practice. • Growing professional classes. • Scottish tobacco merchants prospered. Or political effects of union: • Opposition to union in the Highlands. • Some Scottish and English politicians quickly adopted an anti-union stance. • Motion to repeal union failed in 1713. • British government wary of Scottish feelings so adopted cautious approach. • Dominance of Whig party in Scotland. • Abolition of office of Secretary of State. Or causes of Jacobite rising of 1715: • Desire for restoration of Stuart dynasty. • Desire for return of Episcopalianism. • Failure of French-sponsored 1708 rebellion. • Resentment towards George I after 1714. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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PART D – Migration and Empire, 1830 - 1939

10.	*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:

- Following the collapse of the kelp trade landlords were looking for change.
- Many landlords were of the view, by the 1840s, that it could only be of benefit to them to rid their land and properties of people.
- They attempted to do this following the hardship of the famine period.
- Gordon chartered a fleet of five ships in order to transport 1,700/landlords contributed to the cost of fares to encourage families to emigrate.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- In the Lowlands farm consolidation (Enclosures) meant that there was less chance of land ownership.
- Agricultural Revolution – changes in farming methods and new technology (eg mechanical reapers/binders and later tractors) meant there were fewer jobs available.
- In the Highlands the population was growing. Sub-division of land into crofts. Precarious nature of subsistence farming.
- Forced evictions during the Highland Clearances.
- There was poor quality housing in the countryside. Young farm labourers may have lived in bothies – shared accommodation.
- Farm work – long hours, low pay, out in all weathers, few days off.
- Highlanders migrated to the Lowlands to earn money to pay their rents/Rents were increasing.
- Decline of herring fishing industries (especially after Russian Revolution of 1917 brought an end to the Eastern European export trade – trawlermen/gutters lost their jobs).
- Attractions of "big city" employment – easier working life (factory work = indoors, set hours, possibly higher wages). Other jobs attractive eg railway porter/ticket clerk = steady job, steady wage, possibly a uniform. For females – domestic service often better conditions than farmwork. Shop work offered a half day holiday.
- Social attractions of the towns eg cinemas, theatres, football matches, pubs and dance halls.
- Emigration –Assisted passage schemes, Emigration agents, posters and advertisements.
- Opportunities to own land overseas, better climate, availability of jobs, possibly better wages.
- Friends and family already overseas encouraged emigration with letters home.
- Economic slump at end of WW1, decline in heavy industries.

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

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11. *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
Overall: Sources B and **C** agree that Scots miners were concerned because of the lack of experience of coal mining which the Lithuanians had. The Scots workers also worried that the foreign miners presented a safety risk. The sources also both mention that sometimes the Lithuanians spoke little English and finally the sources also agree that the foreign workers were accused of lowering wages. There was a point of disagreement over the translation of mining regulations.	

Source B	Source C
Some of these aliens may never have seen a coal mine before their arrival in Scotland.	They were the focus of considerable concern largely because of their ignorance of coal mining.
Complained about the employment of aliens in the mines on the grounds of safety.	The employers were adamant that the foreigners did not present additional dangers to safety.
Their lack of English language is a hazard to themselves and fellow workers.	There is adequate provision to instruct them in their duties, including translations of mining regulations into their own language.
There is widespread belief that the foreigners are being used to bring wages down.	Until the early 1900s at least there is evidence that Lithuanian labour was used to cut wages.

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Scottish politician	Useful as he was a contemporary commentator/eyewitness. As a politician he would have expertise on local and Scottish issues.
Type of source: Letter to newspaper	Useful as a letter to the public articulating a political viewpoint
Purpose: To comment on emigration to the newspaper's readership.	Less useful as it might be biased. He believes further emigration to the Empire will have a negative impact on Scotland.
Timing: 1938	Useful as from a time when Scotland's links with the Empire were of great importance to Scotland's economy.

Content	Possible comment
• to showcase the industrial might of Glasgow and the west of Scotland created by the Empire.	• Useful as Glasgow's industry supplied markets all over the Empire.
• It is more than time that a firm check was put on the drain from Scotland of her best types.	• Useful as it was felt that there was a "brain drain".
• Scotland's best have been drawn away by the opportunities that the Empire has presented.	• Useful as Scots were attracted to jobs and careers in the Empire.

Possible points of significant omission may include:

- The Empire enabled some firms and individuals to make great commercial fortunes eg Clyde shipbuilders, Napiers, John Browns and Beardmores.
- Scotland exported to the Empire in great quantities eg Springburn produced ¼ of the world's locomotives.
- Empire provides raw materials eg Jute from Indian province of Bengal. The textile manufactures in Dundee from this resource was subsequently exported all over the world.
- Heavy industry in Scotland exported a high proportion of products eg American grain might be bagged into sacks made in Dundee, carried in locomotives manufactured in Springburn and then loaded onto ships built on the Clyde.
- Glasgow becomes known as the "workshop of the world". Glasgow's businesses grow which creates jobs.
- People from the countryside/Highlands move to Glasgow in search of employment.
- Employment opportunities offered by the Empire eg Scottish middle-class boys had successful careers, especially in India, as civil servants, doctors and as soldiers.
- Scots who made their money in the Empire often returned to Scotland and built large mansions near the cities eg Broughty Ferry.

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	• Scottish investors pioneer the use of "investment trusts". Cities like Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen hold substantial investments abroad. • Scottish capital was being used to finance projects abroad and not at home in Scotland. • Scottish reliance on trade and commerce with the Empire left her vulnerable to trade slumps eg the economic slump following World War 1. • The low-wage economy in Scotland led to considerable poverty amongst many of the working people. • Glasgow 2nd city of Empire. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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

13.	*Candidates can be credited in a number of ways* ***up to a maximum of 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:** • We had given the Germans gas but it came back on us. • German shells were falling amongst us and time and time again I was knocked off my feet. • A pal of mine, a fellow Cameron Highlander from Paisley was alongside me. • A bullet had got him on the arm and blood gulped out/I got out my field dressing to help him. **Possible points of significant omission may include:** **Gas:** • First used by the British (Scots) at Loos 1915. • Gas cylinders were replaced by gas-filled shells – wind could change direction. • Different types of gas, chlorine, phosgene, mustard and their effects. **Shelling:** • Dangers of trench warfare eg soldiers suffered from shell shock. • Many Scots soldiers killed on the Western Front by artillery fire. **Wounded:** • 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. **Western Front:** • Experience of trench warfare eg rats, lice, trench foot, snipers, boredom, fear of death, lack of sanitation, food rations and shell shock. • By the end of the first week in September 1914, Glasgow was able to boast that it had recruited more than 22,000 men. • 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 the Royal Scots. McCrae's Battalion was the most famous because of its connection with Hearts football club. • 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.

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	• 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 of Loos 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 Battle of 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 VC 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 were 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 instructions for this kind of question.**

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14. *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**
Overall: Sources B and **C** broadly agree about the events of the Rent Strikes. The sources agree about the carrying of placards and the summoning of tenants to court. Sources also note the involvement of men and the introduction of the Rent Restriction Act. **Source B** highlights the actions as a victory of people power whereas **Source C** highlights the role of the Glasgow Labour Party Housing Committee.	

Source B	**Source C**
In the streets women carried placards.	Our committee organised demonstrations with banners.
Prosecution of 18 tenants due to appear in court for refusing to pay rent increases.	With the summoning of a number of munitions workers to attend court the most dramatic incident of the struggle happened.
By then the rent strikes had escalated, with men taking their own wildcat strike action at Fairfield's and Beardmore's.	Men engaged in work on the Clyde stopped working and marched in their thousands with those summoned to the court.
The government rushed through the Rent Restriction Act.	A few days after this an Act to limit rent increases was introduced by the Government.

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

Examples of aspects of the source and relevant comments:

Aspect of the source	Possible comment
Author: Editor, Glasgow Herald newspaper	Useful as it is an informed view of the events. Sensationalist language highlighted a genuine fear, although brief, of a potential revolution.
Type of source: Newspaper	Useful as it explains some of the events of the 40 hours a week strike. It is less useful as it is limited to events of the 40 hours a week strike and not the wider impact of the war on Scottish politics.
Purpose: To express shock at the political events of 'Red Clydeside'	Useful as it highlights the view that the ILP and strikers had a negative impact on Glasgow.
Timing: 1st February 1919	Useful as it is a contemporary source written at the time of the 40 hour a week strike.

Content	Possible comment
• David Kirkwood, one of the strike leaders, and a member of the ILP.	Useful as it shows the involvement of the important leaders such as Kirkwood.
• It has been known from the first that the strike movement is controlled by a small section of the Clyde Workers Committee who are pressing for a 40 hour week.	Useful as it shows the involvement of the ILP in orchestrating and organising the strike.
• The revolutionary activities of these Bolshevists has damaged Glasgow's reputation.	Useful as it highlights the fear of a Bolshevist led revolution in Glasgow.

Points from recall which support and develop those from the source:

- ILP members' activities – involved in resisting the Munitions Act of 1915; in opposing the introduction of the dilution of labour; anti-conscription…
- In Scotland the ILP was to the fore, campaigning on major issues. ILP supported workers' grievances over prices and rents.
- Both the ILP and the Labour party campaigned for reforms in housing and health after the war and their focus on local issues was a big reason for Labour's success in the 1920s.
- Clydeside ILP MPs confronted Conservatives and Liberals, even leadership of PLP MPs on issues of poverty and unemployment.

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	• ILP in Scotland had many women prominent in the party such as Mary Barbour, Agnes Dollan and Helen Crawfurd. • The Clyde Workers' Committee (CWC) was formed to control and organise action for an extension of workers' control over industry. • 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.' • After the war the Labour Party emerged as an important political force with seven seats in Scotland, winning as many votes as the Conservatives. • In the 1922 election Labour made the breakthrough as the second political party. • In 1922 Labour won 29 seats in Scotland (10 in Glasgow) and then in 1924 they won 34 seats but saw this fall to 26 seats in the second election in 1924. • The role of Manny Shinwell, Willie Gallacher, John MacLean. • Labour sought gradual reform as the leadership of people like Tom Johnstone, Maxton and Kirkwood took precedence over the more radical leaders like John McLean. • The Conservative Party was strengthened as they worked hard to gain middle class support, helped by Presbyterian churches. Scottish legal system also had strong links with the Conservatives. • Events in Ireland – growing fears in Scotland of extremism. • They won 30% of the vote in 1918, increasingly associated with the growing middle-class. • Conservatives also benefited from being seen as the party of law and order, especially in the aftermath of the George Square riots. • In the second election of 1924 the Conservatives won 38 seats in Scotland compared to Labour's 26. • Changes in newspaper ownership led to pro-Union press which was supported by institutions like the universities and legal profession. • The rise of 'Red Clydeside' prompted a reaction amongst the Scottish elite (industrialists, bankers and politicians like James Lithgow, Eric Geddes and Andrew Bonar Law) to both restore Scotland's industrial and trading pre-eminence and break the power of the shop stewards' movement; this was done by a (near) doubling of the Treasury bill rate, which raised unemployment and led to cuts in public spending. • Class conflict – breaking of shop stewards, engineers and miners by 1926. • 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. • Old Liberal causes died in the aftermath of the war. • 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. • In the second 1924 election the Liberals won only 9 seats in Scotland. • Growth of the Labour Party, in alliance with the Catholic Church, made the middle class feel isolated, but attempts to court the working class 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. • The transformation of the Labour Party reflected a crisis in confidence; at the end of the war the party in Scotland was dominated by the ILP and appeared strong enough to impose its own radical solutions on society, but the defeats of the early 1920s led to the expulsion of the Communists (1925–27) and the defection of the Home Rule wing of the ILP in 1928.

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	• It was difficult for Home Rule to make progress in Westminster parliament • Private Members' Home Rule bills failed • Support for Home Rule waned within the Labour Party • Glasgow University Scottish National Association formed 1926 • 1927 John MacCormack and Roland Muirhead, formed the National Party of Scotland. • It distanced itself from the Labour Party. Drew support from intellectuals like Hugh McDiarmid. • 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. • The latter formed the National Party of Scotland but it had little electoral impact. (MacCormack and Muirhead each got less than 3,000 votes in the 1929 election.) • '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. • Beginnings of change in Scottish attitudes to the Empire – linked with the 'profound crisis which overwhelmed the nation between the wars' (Devine). • Scots' faith in their role as the economic power-house of the Empire had been shattered. • 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 Crawfurd became role models for women keen to make their voice heard politically for the first time. **Any other valid point that meets the criteria described in the general marking instructions for this kind of question.**

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Section 2 - British

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

16. The Roman Catholic Church emerged after the fall of Rome to play a central role in daily life in medieval Scotland and England. Although the Church was there to ensure people's salvation it served a broader role as well. Through its religious sacraments it marked the important stages of life. It fulfilled a social, economic and even a political role.

Arguments that the Church's role was religious

Belief in Christianity

- This was dominant within society; it provided people with an understanding of the world and how it worked. People were concerned about the fate of their souls after death. The Church taught that salvation, or the saving of one's soul, would come to those who followed the Church's teachings.
- Those who failed were damned to a life of torment in hell. To many believers hell was a real place. It was depicted in lurid detail by many medieval painters.

Church services and rituals

- The importance of marriage, funerals and christenings brought people closer to attaining their passage to heaven.
- People were taught that the sacred acts of worship, or sacraments, brought special blessing from God.
- Therefore the ceremonies that marked the passage of life had power and importance to people.
- These could include baptism, confirmation, marriage and penance.

Relics and saints

- Significance of relics and saints as a means to communicate with God and beg divine favour or protection.

Importance of the pilgrimage

- Pilgrimage to holy centres was an important part of medieval life.
- People would travel long distances to places of religious importance, such as Jerusalem and Rome as well as places that had important religious relics like Canterbury.
- Pilgrimages would show devotion to God with such acts as travel was dangerous.
- Crusade was also part of this. The motivation of recovery of the Holy Land from Muslim rule for religious reasons was a powerful one for many Crusaders.

The role of the Regular Church

- Monasteries were seen as 'Prayer Factories' and used to intercede with God for the ordinary lay population.
- Monastic life of dedication to God and a simple life following the rule of St Benedict: poverty, chastity and obedience, was considered important.
- Many rulers clearly thought they were important and spent time and money resourcing the founding of monasteries. David I of Scotland is one example. His dedication to supporting different orders, such as the Cistercians, was undoubtedly pious as well as practical.

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Arguments that the church's role was not religious

Economic

- Education provided wealth for the Church. The rich would pay to have their eldest son educated.
- Economic wealth was created through wool gathering eg Melrose Abbey. Additionally, wealth was created through iron foundry, wine making etc.
- The Church as landowners provided significant employment within the community.

Political

Investiture contest

- Political argument between the Church and State as to who had the right to appoint senior clergy members. Such offices came with large grants of land in England and often held considerable political and military significance.
- Monarchs did not wish the papacy to choose political undesirables for such an important position eg William the Lion and the argument over the Bishop of St Andrews in 1180.

Position within Feudal Structure

- Within the feudal system bishops and abbots were seen as other large landowners with the rights to raise troops in time of need eg Bishop of Durham led the English forces that defeated David I at the Battle of the Standard in 1138.

Administrative role

- The Church provided the majority of clerks for the state government. They were needed to keep records, write charters, laws, keep accounts etc.

Divine authority

- The development of canon law during this period was a direct threat to the growth of the monarchies. The papacy argued that all power of kings was invested through them during their coronation by God through the church.
- Monarchs argued that the power was given directly to them by God. As such, the papal position was that kings were subservient to monarchs. The papacy continued to argue their position and used papal sanctions such as excommunication and the interdict to bring monarchs to heel.

Social

- Gathering for religious festivals and services provided social function.
- The Church provided leprosy hospitals and inns for travellers.

Any other relevant factors.

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17.	King John was the youngest son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. On the death of his elder brother Richard, he became King of England despite the claims of his nephew Arthur. He struggled to hold the widespread Angevin Empire together in the face of the challenges of the Capetian monarch of France and his own barons. **Impact of the loss of Normandy** • Had an impact on the royal finances as it reduced John's income. • The recovery of the royal lands north of the Loire became the focus of John's foreign policy and led to policies which eventually led to challenges to his authority. • The need to fund warfare to recover Normandy led to the frequent use of Scutage to raise cash. It was used much more frequently than under Henry II and Richard, (levied 11 times in 17 years). **Royal Finances** • John was more efficient in collecting taxes. • Used wardships to raise cash. • Introduced new taxes: eg 1207 tax on income and moveable goods. • Improved quality of silver coinage. **Administration of government** • John filled many of the roles in the royal household with new men; especially from Poitou. This was not popular with the English barons. **Military Power** • Established the Royal Navy. • Extensive use of mercenaries rather than feudal service. • Able to exert his military strength against the nobility and the French. • John an able military commander ie when conflict started with France and his nephew Arthur, he defeated them and captured Arthur. • His forces and his allies were decisively beaten at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214. **Law and justice** • Increasingly partial judgements were resented. • John increased professionalism of local sergeants and bailiffs. • Extended the system of coroners. **Relations with the Church** • John fell out with Pope Innocent III over the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent insisted on the appointment of Langton which John opposed. • Papel interdict laid on England and Wales for 6 years. • In 1213 John made England a fief of the papacy. • Noble uprising led by Archbishop of Canterbury. **Relations with the Nobility** • Nobles refused to fight in France. This was especially true of the northern Barons who had little stake in France. • Nobles felt their status was reduced by use of mercenaries. • John became increasingly suspicious of the nobles. • High cost of titles led to nobles becoming overly indebted. • John took hostages to ensure nobles behaved. He showed he was prepared to execute children if the father opposed him. • Relations worsened over the course of the reign, ending with Magna Carta and rebellion of many Barons.

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	John's personality • He could be generous, had a coarse sense of humour and was intelligent. • However, could also be suspicious and cruel: vicious in his treatment of prisoners and nobles. • Arthur, his nephew, died in mysterious circumstances. • Powerful lords like William de Braose fell from favour and were persecuted. William's wife and son were imprisoned and died. He died in exile in France. **Any other relevant factors**

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

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PART B - The Century of Revolutions, 1603 - 1702

19. Charles I succeeded his father James I in 1625 and ruled over both England and Scotland until 1642. He continued to reign in Scotland until his death in 1649 at the hands of the English Parliament. During this time there were considerable challenges facing the king in his attempts to enforce his policies in Scotland.

Religious policy

- 1629 the king issued a Royal Demand that Scottish religious practice should conform to English models, and in 1633 the king's coronation at St. Giles in Edinburgh included many Anglican rituals such as candles and crucifixes. In the same year, Charles I introduced William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Scotland, and he proceeded to oversee Anglican practice in Scottish churches. This meant that many Presbyterians resented the influence of Laud, whose position as the king's representative on spiritual matters led to resentment of royal authority.
- Acting on advice from Laud, Charles I agreed to the unification of the Churches of Scotland and England in 1625 without consulting the Privy Council. Despite Presbyterians' refusals to ratify this decision, in 1635 Laud issued the Book of Canons, which declared that the monarch had authority over the Church of Scotland, and he subsequently approved a new Service Book, a variation of the English Prayer Book, drawn up by the Scottish bishops. Scottish Presbyterian opposition grew in response to these developments.
- On 23 July 1637, a Prayer Book for Scotland modelled on the English Prayer Book was read at St. Giles Cathedral by the Bishop of Brechin who had two loaded pistols sitting in front of him in case of unrest. The Dean, John Hanna, subsequently had a stool thrown at him by a serving woman, Jenny Geddes, and in the chaos that ensued, the Bishop of Edinburgh was shouted down by the crowd in support of Geddes. This incident demonstrates the violent opposition to Charles I's policies in Scotland.
- Across Scotland people declared opposition to the new Prayer Book, placing the king's Scottish Privy Council in a difficult position, caught between Charles I and his rivals. A committee called the Tables was formed in Edinburgh in late 1637 by nobles, middle-class lawyers, Privy Councillors and ministers, all pledged to oppose the king's religious tyranny. This development represented a strengthening of the organised opposition to Charles I.

The Covenanters

- The Tables drew up the National Covenant and publically unveiled it at Greyfriars Kirk on 28 February 1638, and in the 3 days which followed many flocked to Edinburgh to sign it. Amongst its many undertakings, the Covenant pledged to preserve Presbyterianism in Scotland and promote a church free from monarchical meddling. The ensuing months when copies of the Covenant were carried by messengers around the country to be signed by thousands of new Covenanters symbolised the rejection in Scotland of the Divine Right of Kings, a significant political as well as religious development.
- In November 1638 the General Assembly met and deposed all bishops and excommunicated some, thereby abolishing Episcopalianism. These proceedings were, however, dismissed as invalid by Charles I because his representative, the Duke of Hamilton, had not been present. This highlights the open breach that was widening between the Kirk and the king.

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- The Covenanting movement was growing, with the Campbells of Argyll prominent in promoting committed opposition to the king's influence in the west. Throughout Scotland, Covenanters were being equipped with arms coming into the country from overseas, and General Leslie assumed command of their army. This placed the movement at an advantage over Charles I who had no standing army and a floundering government in Edinburgh
- Charles I failed to suppress Covenanters, and this failure contributed to outbreak of the "Wars of the Three Kingdoms" which lasted from 1639 to 1651, were spread across Scotland, England and Ireland, and included the English Civil War. During this war, the English Parliament's treaty of alliance with Scottish Covenanters - called the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 - was a key feature of positive change in fortunes of king's enemies. Therefore the Covenanters proved to be a major issue in a British context for the king.

First Bishops' War

- Charles I could not raise enough money to fight effectively as the English Parliament had not been called since 1629, so he could only put together a poorly trained force of 20,000 men at Berwick-on-Tweed, 12 miles from General Leslie's 12,000-strong force camped at Duns. Meanwhile there were several minor engagements in the north east of Scotland between Covenanters and Scottish Royalists, but as the king was unwilling to send his troops into open battle he was forced to agree to a truce in June. This demonstrates Charles I's inability to impose his authority on Scotland with military force.
- The king signed the Pacification of Berwick on 18 June 1639, agreeing to the General Assembly being the highest religious authority in Scotland. The treaty also acknowledged the freedom of the Scottish Parliament in legislative matters. It is clear that the Covenanters were, for the moment, succeeding in their action against Anglicanism.
- Charles I's inability to put down the Scots brought an end to his "Eleven Years' Tyranny" in England, as he recalled Parliament in 1640 to request revenue to continue war with Scotland. This "Short Parliament" lasted one month as the king dissolved it again rather than concede powers to Parliament as a condition of their granting him funds. Scotland, therefore, was proving a constant frustration to Charles I.

Second Bishops' War

- General Leslie crossed the English border with his troops and they successfully captured Newcastle and Durham. Charles I, having dismissed the Short Parliament before obtaining funds, was once more unable to wage war. This put the king in the weak position of having to negotiate a peace with Scotland in order to avoid defeat by the Covenanters.
- Charles I was forced to sign the Treaty of Ripon on 26 October 1640, the terms of which were dictated by the Scots. Aside from the Covenanters maintaining a military presence in Northumberland, the treaty cost England the price that the Scottish Parliament had to pay for its forces, which amounted to roughly £850 per day. The Treaty of Ripon meant that the Second Bishops' War ended in humiliation for the king at the hands of the Covenanters.

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

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20. 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.

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. Parliament opposed absolutism as well as any monarch's control of a standing army.
- James II imposed his will on the judicial system, re-establishing Prerogative Courts in 1686. In 1687, he 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. For Parliament, this demonstrated the old Stuart interventionist attitude towards legislation.
- 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. Parliament resented these abuses of his power.
- 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. This actually harmed James II's cause more as Parliament had always disapproved of any monarch's attempt to promote an Anglo-French alliance.

Legacy of Charles II

- The king, exiled in France for the Interregnum, had accepted limitations on his power when the monarchy was restored in 1660. However, loopholes in the Restoration Settlement allowed him to make policy without Parliament. This caused indignation among MPs who had felt that one of the results of the Civil War would be monarchical recognition of the rights of the House of Commons.
- 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. This was an indication that greater formalisation of the relationship between Crown and Parliament had to take place.
- 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, which reflected the fear of many in the country.
- 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. The loss of power experienced by the House of Commons made MPs fear that the old Stuart combative approach to rule was re-asserting itself.

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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. Therefore, throughout his short reign, James II provoked political controversy.
- 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. These actions meant that the status of monarchy was questioned by a resentful Parliament.
- 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. This demonstrates differences between monarchical and parliamentary power which spanned both Charles II's and James II's reigns.
- 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. This suggests that James II was aware of the unpopularity of his political approach up until that point.

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. MPs, unable to meet in Parliament, expressed discontent at this and especially at the imprisonment of seven bishops for refusing to comply with the Declaration.
- 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 deathbed. Parliament reacted to the king's pro-French stance by passing the Test Act the same year.
- 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 thus 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. Many MPs, therefore, continued to be fearful of continued Stuart dominance of Anglican Church policy

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The role of Parliament

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

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 factor

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21. After the reign of Charles II, James II ruled between 1685 and 1688. His attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688-9. Parliament invited the king's daughter Mary and her husband William to become joint monarchs. A series of agreements made between 1689 and 1701, legalising the division of power between Parliament and the Crown, became known as the Revolution Settlement. This included the Bill of Rights, limiting the power of the monarch.

Finance

- Parliament granted William III and Mary II £1,200,000 for court expenses in 1689, including £700,000 to pay civilians working for the state, and these annual awards became fixed amount in the Civil List Act of 1697. A strict Procedure of Audit was established for MPs to check royal expenditure. This meant that financial independence of the crown was no longer possible.
- The 1689 Bill of Rights stated that the monarch could no longer levy taxes without Parliamentary consent. The House of Commons would now agree an annual Budget as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who between 1690 and 1695 was Richard Hampden, son of John Hampden. Fiscal power now lay in the hands of Parliament rather than the Crown.
- It could be argued that the monarch benefited from no longer having to resort to unpopular or anachronistic methods of raising revenue, and from now on it would be Parliament that incurred the wrath of ordinary citizens for increasing taxation. However, financial authority had passed to the House of Commons in 1689, and future kings and queens would not be able to reverse this.

Religion

- Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689, which provided for toleration of all Protestants except Unitarians, those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity. Roman Catholics were also excluded from toleration in the legislation. This meant that Parliament was ensuring that Roman Catholicism could no longer be accepted as it had been under the Stuart dynasty.
- Although Non-Conformist Protestants could now worship freely, the new law maintained an Exclusion from Public Office clause, so they could not obtain teaching positions at universities or elected posts in towns or the House of Commons. The Toleration Act also insisted that Non-Conformists take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of their religious freedom. It appeared that MPs were having a greater influence on the issue of toleration than they had been allowed during the rest of the 1600s.
- The Toleration Act stated that William III was the supreme head of the Church of England. In opposition to this, there were over 400 Non-Jurors, who were High Anglican priests and bishops refusing to acknowledge William III, and who maintained loyalty to James II, and who were expelled from their posts by Parliament. Parliament, it seemed, could now use its political power to interfere in religious affairs.
- One compromise in the Religious Settlement for the Crown, however, was that the king, as head of the church, now had the power to appoint bishops and archbishops. Nevertheless, the Revolution of 1688-9 established religion firmly within Parliamentary authority.

Legislation

- The 1689 Bill of Rights stated that monarchs could no longer require excessive bail to be demanded from defendants, nor ask judges to impose cruel and unusual punishments on anyone convicted of crimes against the Crown. In addition, ministers impeached by the House of Commons could not be pardoned by the Crown. William III, therefore, could not have the same sway over the justice system as the Stuart kings had.

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- In 1695, the Treason Act was altered to give defendants the rights to be given copy of the indictment against them, to be defended by Counsel, to call witnesses in their defence, and to demand that there be two witnesses against them to prove a case instead of the previous one. The Legal Settlement was, therefore, making it harder for a monarch to use the law to enforce policy.
- Later, the Act of Settlement of 1701 stated that judges could only be removed from their positions if Parliament demanded this. The House of Commons alone would approve of judges' commissions being "quamdiu se bene gesserint" - during good behaviour. For judges now, Parliament was ensuring full judicial independence from the Crown, something which had never existed before in England.
- However, by way a compromise, monarchs could still appoint judges, and could be careful to select those who might be favourable to them, which could be a considerable advantage. Overall though, Parliament now enforced its own control over judicial procedure in England.

Parliament

- William and Mary had to agree to the Bill of Rights in December 1689, which legalised the new relationship between Crown and Parliament, before they were given the throne. The Bill of Rights made it clear that monarchs could no longer use royal prerogative to suspend or dispense with laws passed by Parliament, and also could not interfere in Parliamentary elections. This meant that Parliament could exercise independence in its normal business.
- The Bill of Rights also stated that, from now on, MPs and peers could not be punished for exercising Parliamentary freedom of speech during debates in the House of Commons or House of Lords. In addition, the Licensing Act was later repealed in 1695, which removed restrictions on the freedom of the press to report Parliamentary criticism of Crown. It would, therefore, now be impossible for William and Mary to curtail Parliamentary freedom of speech in the manner of Stuart kings earlier in the century.
- The Revolution Settlement provided for another Triennial Act which was passed in 1694. This was intended to keep MPs more closely in touch with public opinion. Parliament was now more relevant to voters than ever before, although voters were still the landed classes.
- It could be argued that the Revolution Settlement still allowed monarchs executive power, so they could dismiss Parliament at will and also rule alone for up to three years, leaving future kings and queens with a significant amount of constitutional power, and as well as this the monarch could still appoint peers and, therefore, wield considerable influence in the House of Lords. Despite this, Parliament was now in a better position in relation to its own rights than it had been at any time since the reigns of Elizabeth I or Henry VIII.

The succession

- The Bill of Rights of December 1689 had declared that no Roman Catholic could become king or queen in the future. More specifically, it stated that all future monarchs should be members of Church of England. Parliament was, therefore, permanently linking the monarchy with the Religious Settlement.
- Furthermore, the eventual Act of Settlement of 1701 stated that, if William and Mary had no heirs, the throne would pass to Sophia of Hanover, Protestant daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, sister of Charles I. MPs wanted to prevent the crown falling back into the hands of the Stuart dynasty. It was now clear that Parliament now held the upper hand in relation to the question of the succession.
- Some historians would argue that the Hanoverian Succession was desired by William anyway, and so the Crown was getting its own way. It cannot be denied, however, that Parliament now governed the subject of who ascended the throne.

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Scotland

- In April 1689, the Scottish Parliament, known as the Convention of the Scottish Estate, passed the Claim of Right which was accepted by William and Mary in May. This involved a vote to remove James VII (James II of England) from the throne and approve of William II (William III of England) and Mary II as his successors. The new monarchs' acceptance of the Claim of Right suggests that in Scotland there was now a contractual agreement between the Crown and the people.
- Under the Settlement as it related to Scotland, Scotland was to be allowed to have its own church, the Presbyterian Kirk. In addition, the Scottish Parliament would have a greater share in the government of Scotland and more say in the passing and enforcement of Scots law. These aspects of the Settlement indicate that the Crown had less power in Scotland after 1689 than before.
- There would be disputes in the late 1690s between the English and Scottish Parliaments as the English Parliament said that the monarchy had not approved of the Scots' declarations against Episcopalianism in the Claim of Right. Nevertheless, the Settlement had definitely established Parliamentary authority over the monarchy in Scotland.

Ireland

- The 1691 Treaty of Limerick brought an uprising led by James II's French and Irish volunteers to an end, and was signed by leading generals in James II's and William III's armies. The Treaty stated that, in Ireland, Roman Catholics would enjoy the same freedoms as they had done under Charles II, and the Irish Parliament could allow land confiscated from Roman Catholics by Oliver Cromwell to be given back to its original owners. This suggests that Roman Catholics would be treated with more toleration than they had been before the Revolution of 1688-9.
- The Treaty of Limerick also stated that, in the wake of James II's defeat by William III's troops at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, Jacobite soldiers were allowed to flee to France rather than face prosecution. 14,000 soldiers and their families left in a migration which became known as the Flight of the Wild Geese. Again, this freedom awarded by William's government represents an increase in rights for Irish Roman Catholics.
- It is debated by many, however, that promises to treat Roman Catholics better were broken by the Penal Laws of 1693-94, passed by Parliament and excluding Roman Catholics from the learned professions and elected public office. Overall, the Revolution Settlement was not as harsh on Roman Catholics in Ireland as many had feared during a time of cruel and violent persecution of religious minorities across Europe.

The status of the army

- The Bill of Rights in December of 1689 had stated that the monarch could not maintain a standing army during peacetime. The Mutiny Act of 1689 legalised the army, and this act had to be passed annually by Parliament, which forced the king to summon Parliament in order to do so. This meant that Parliament would be sitting on a more permanent basis than ever before.
- However, a significant compromise was the fact that the king still retained control over foreign policy, had the final say on the decision to send the army to war or to sign peace treaties, and used his patronage to appoint officers in both the army and navy. Nevertheless, the Revolution Settlement meant that Parliament had gained at least partial control of the military.

Any other relevant factor

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PART C – The Atlantic Slave Trade

22. The Atlantic slave trade was important in the development of the British economy in the eighteenth century. British manufacturing and industry was stimulated by the supply of factory made goods in exchange for Africans and profits from the slave trade provided the capital for investment in British industry and agriculture.

Evidence that the slave trade was important

The importance of tropical crops

- The climate and land in the West Indies were suited to the growing of luxury crops such as sugar, coffee and tobacco. Britain made large profits from the trade in fashionable products such as sugar and tobacco which became very popular with British people.

The role of the trade in terms of navigation

- The slave trade contributed to the growth of the Royal Navy. The slave trade was an important training ground for British seamen, providing experienced crews for the Merchant Marine and the Royal Navy.
- However, the high death rate, particularly from disease, meant that the slave trade could also be considered a graveyard for seamen.

The role of the trade in terms of manufacturing

- Goods manufactured in Britain were used to buy enslaved Africans. These goods included textiles, metals such as iron, copper and brass and metal goods such as pots, pans and cutlery.
- Cloth manufacturing grew. Manchester exported a large percentage of cotton goods to Africa.
- The slave trade was important to the economic prosperity and well-being of the colonies.

The procurement of raw materials and trading patterns

- The slave trade was important in providing British industries with raw materials which were turned into manufactured goods in Britain and then sold for large profits in Europe
- Liverpool grew wealthy from plantation grown cotton while Bristol's wealth was partly based on slave produced sugar.
- Plantation grown goods such as rum, tobacco, coffee, sugar, molasses and cotton was bought from the profits of selling African slaves to the plantation owners and sold for a profit in Britain and Europe.

Industrial development

- There was a growth in industries supplying the slave traders with goods such as guns, alcohol, pots and pans and textiles to exchange for captured Africans on the Outward Passage.
- Profits from the slave trade were invested in the development of British industries.
- Investment from the slave trade went into the Welsh Slate Industry. Canals and railways were also built as a result of investment of profits from the slave trade.
- The argument that the slave trade was the vital factor in Britain's industrialisation was put forward in Williams' Capitalism and Slavery thesis.
- Wealth generated by the slave trade meant that domestic taxes could be kept low which further stimulated investment.

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- There was an expansion of the service industries such as banks and insurance companies which offered financial services to slave merchants.
- By the end of the eighteenth century the slave trade had become less important in economic terms. It has been argued that only a small percentage of the profits from the slave trade were directly invested as capital in the Industrial Revolution.

Wealth of ports and merchants

- Ports such as London, Bristol and Liverpool prospered as a direct result of their involvement in the slave trade. In the early eighteenth century London and Bristol dominated the British end of the slave trade. Liverpool also grew into a powerful city, directly through the shipping of slaves. By the end of the eighteenth century Liverpool controlled over 60% of the entire British slave trade. Liverpool's cotton and linen mills and other subsidiary industries such as rope making created thousands of jobs supplying goods to slave traders. Other ports such as Glasgow profited from trade with the colonies.
- Liverpool became a major centre for shipbuilding largely as a result of the slave trade. By the 1780s Liverpool had become the largest slave ship building site in Britain.
- The emergence of financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions to support the activities of the slave traders also led to the development of the British economy. Huge fortunes were made by slave merchants who bought large country estates or built large town houses. Some merchants used their wealth from the slave trade to invest in banks and new businesses.

Evidence that other factors were important

- Changes in agriculture such as enclosure, mechanisation, four-field crop rotation and selective breeding helped create an agricultural surplus which fed an expanding population, produced a labour force in the towns for use in factories and created a financial surplus for investment in industry and infrastructure.
- The British economy also benefited from technological innovations. New machinery such as the Spinning Jenny in the textile industry played an important part in the growing industrialisation of Britain. Water and steam power were used to power machines for both spinning and weaving and led to the rapid spread of factories and transport changes in the form of the canals allowed heavy goods to be carried easily and cheaply.
- The British economy also benefited from the increased production of coal and iron.
- The relative political stability of the eighteenth century created the conditions through which trade and the British economy could flourish.
- Much of the profits of slavery was spent on individual acquisition and dissipated in conspicuous consumption, for example landed estates and large town houses built as status symbols.

Any other relevant factors.

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23. Despite a tireless abolitionist campaign inside and outside Parliament, it took many years before the slave trade was finally abolished in 1807. An important obstacle was the delaying tactics and opposition of well organised and powerful groups who had vested interests in the slave trade.

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.

Other factors

Slave rebellion in St Domingue

- Abolition was associated with this symbol of violence; it exaggerated the general fear of slave revolts. There was high loss of life, perhaps as high as 200,000. Slave violence played into the hands of the slave lobby, confirming their warnings of anarchy.
- 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.

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The events of the French Revolution

- These encouraged the belief among many MPs that the abolitionist cause was associated with revolutionary ideas eg Clarkson openly supported the French Revolution. Radicals used the same tactics as abolitionists to win public support – associations, petitions, cheap publications, public lectures, public meetings, pressure on Parliament. Some abolitionists were linked to radicals and therefore they had to be resisted because of fear that events in France may be repeated in Britain.

The importance of the slave 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.
- It was also argued that the slave trade was vital in Britain being able to sustain an expensive war effort against France.

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.

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.

The 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.

Any other relevant factors.

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24. By the late eighteenth century, the economic importance of the slave trade had begun to decline. The increased price of slaves and the unpredictability of the triangular slave trade meant that the slave trade was no longer as profitable as it once had been. This was a powerful argument in the case for abolition.

The decline in the economic importance of slavery

- Effects of wars with France – slave trade declined by two-thirds as it was seen as harming the national interest in time of war.
- The slave trade had become less important in economic terms – there was no longer a need for large numbers of slaves to be imported to the British colonies.
- There was a world over-supply of sugar and British merchants had difficulties re-exporting it.
- Sugar could be sourced at a lower cost and without the use of slavery from Britain's other colonies eg India.
- Industrial Revolution: technological advances and improvements in agriculture were benefiting the British economy.

Other factors

The religious revival

- Many of the first Christian opponents of the slave trade came from non-conformist congregations such as Quakers, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists.
- Many of the early leaders were Quakers (the Society of Friends), who opposed slavery on the grounds that Christianity taught that everyone was equal. When the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed in 1787, 9 of its 12 original members were Quakers.
- The main thrust of Christian abolitionism emerged from the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century based on its beliefs on morality and sin.
- The Methodist founder John Wesley questioned the morality of slavery which influenced many Christian abolitionists including the former slave trader turned clergyman, John Newton.
- Evangelical Christians included Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp, who fought for the freedom of a young African, Jonathan Strong.
- Clergymen such as James Ramsay who had worked in the Caribbean were influential in exposing the facts of plantation slavery and in pointing out that many Africans died without hearing the Gospel.
- However some Quakers continued to have links with the slave trade eg David and Alexander Barclay set up Barclays Bank, Francis Baring set up Barings Bank.
- The Church of England had links to the slave trade through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) missionary organisations which owned slave plantations in Barbados.
- Scottish churches were amongst the key drivers in the abolitionist movement, although the Church of Scotland did not petition Parliament to end the slave trade.

The effects of slave resistance

- Successful slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue led to an exaggerated, general fear of slave revolts. There was an argument that if conditions were not ameliorated by, for example, the abolition of the slave trade, further revolts would follow. It was argued that Britain began to plan for an exit from the slave trade as a result of this revolt which shook the whole system to its foundations. Already on Jamaica a substantial number of runaways lived outside the control of the authorities.

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	Military factors • Napoleon's efforts to restore slavery in the French islands meant that the abolitionist campaign would help to undermine Napoleon's plans for the Caribbean. The Act banning any slave trade between British merchants and foreign colonies in 1806 was intended to attack French interests. **Campaign of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade** • Thomas Clarkson obtained witnesses for the Parliamentary investigations of the slave trade which provided Wilberforce with convincing evidence for his speeches. • Books and pamphlets published eg eyewitness accounts from former slaves such as Olaudah Equiano. • Campaigns to boycott goods produced by slaves in the West Indies such as sugar and rum. • Petitions and subscription lists, public meetings and lecture tours involving those with experience of slave trade eg John Newton, churches and theatres used for abolitionist propaganda, artefacts and illustrations eg Wedgwood pottery. • Lobbying of Parliament by abolitionists to extract promises from MPs that they would oppose the slave trade. Effective moderate political and religious leadership among the abolitionists influenced major figures such as Pitt and Fox; abolitionists gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions. **The role of Wilberforce** • Wilberforce put forward the arguments of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Parliament for eighteen years. • Wilberforce's speeches in Parliament against the slave trade were graphic and appealing and were influential in persuading many others to support the abolitionist cause. • Wilberforce's Christian faith had led him to become interested in social reform and link the issues of factory reform in Britain and the need to abolish slavery and the slave trade within the British Empire. • Wilberforce was prepared to work with other abolitionists to achieve his aims, including the Quakers, Thomas Clarkson and Olaudah Equiano. • Despite campaigning inside Parliament over the course of two decades, his attempts to introduce bills against the slave trade were unsuccessful due to powerful opposition to abolition in Parliament. **Any other relevant factors.**

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PART D – Britain 1851 - 1951

25 Political change in Britain was an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, process. These slow changes tended to see people given access to the political system in the 19th century because they had proven themselves worthy of the vote. By the 20th century, developments tended to be about rights of citizens and their equality in the political system.

The widening of the franchise

- In 1867 most skilled working class men in towns got the vote. In 1884 many more men in the countryside were given the vote. In 1918 most men over 21 and some women over 30 gained the vote. It was not until 1928 that all men and women over 21 were given the vote.

Corruption and intimidation

- Secret Ballot 1872, Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act 1883

Distribution of seats

- The re-distribution of seats in 1867, 1885 and 1918 all helped created a fairer system of voting. The effectiveness of these varied; they were less effective in areas where the electorate was small, or where a landowner or employer was dominant in an area eg Norwich.

Choice

- Although the working class electorate increased by 1880s there was no national party to express their interests. The Liberals and Conservatives were perceived as promoting middle, and upper-class capitalist values. The spread of socialist ideas and trade unionism led to the creation of the prototype Labour Party – the LRC – by 1900 thereby offering a wider choice to the electorate.

National Party Organisation

- As the size of the electorate grew individual political parties had to make sure their 'message' got across to electorate eg development of National Liberal Federation, Conservative Central Office, Primrose League.

The role of the House of Lords

- From 1911 Lords could only delay bills from the House of Commons for two years rather than veto them. They had no control over money bills.

Widening opportunity to become an MP

- The property qualification to be an MP was abolished 1858. Payment for MPs began in 1911 enabling working class men to sit.
- However, by 1918 Parliament was more representative of the British people but points still to be resolved included:
  - undemocratic anomalies – plural votes and the university constituencies – were not abolished until 1948
  - in 1949 the two year delaying power of the House of Lords was reduced to only one year but the power of House of Lords (not reformed until 1990s) in law making still continues
  - voting system still first past the post in UK.

Any other relevant factors.

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26.	A number of reforms were introduced by the Liberal Government between 1906 and 1914 to help improve the lives of the British people. Although some people benefited, overall they had a limited impact. **The young** • The Provision of School Meals Act (1906) allowed local authorities to raise money to pay for school meals but the law did not force local authorities to provide school meals. • Medical inspections 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** • 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 benefits 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** • 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 only 4 pence – 'ninepence for fourpence'. • 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** • 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. • Some workers who were covered by the Act benefited, but only for a limited period of time. • Labour Exchanges were introduced to help people back into work but largely in urban areas. **Other reforms** • In 1906 a Workman's Compensation Act covered a further six million workers who could now claim compensation for injuries and diseases which were the result of working conditions. • In 1909, the Trade Boards Act tried to protect workers in the sweated trades like tailoring and lace making by setting up trade boards to fix minimum wages. • The Mines Act and the Shop Act improved conditions. **Any other relevant factors.**

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27. Between 1945 and 1951, the Labour Government introduced a number of social welfare reforms aiming to meet the needs of the British people 'from the cradle to the grave'. These reforms dealt with the 5 Giants of Poverty: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness as identified in the 1942 Beveridge Report. These reforms dealt successfully with the needs of many but not all of the people.

Want

- 1946 the first step was made: the National Insurance Act: consisted of comprehensive insurance sickness and unemployment benefits and cover for most eventualities.
- It was said to support people from the 'cradle to the grave' which was significant as it meant people had protection against falling into poverty throughout their lives.
- This was very effective as it meant that if the breadwinner of the family was injured then the family was less likely to fall further into the poverty trap, as was common before. However, this act can be criticised for its failure to go far enough.
- Benefits were only granted to those who made 156 weekly contributions.
- In 1948 the National Assistance Board was set up in order to cover those for whom insurance did not do enough.
- This was important as it acted as a safety net to protect these people.
- This was vital as the problem of people not being aided by the insurance benefits was becoming a severe issue as time passed. Yet, some criticised this as many citizens still remained below subsistence level showing the problem of want had not completely been addressed.

Disease:

- Establishment of the NHS in 1948 dealt effectively with the spread of disease.
- The NHS was the first comprehensive universal system of health in Britain.
- Offered vaccination and immunisation against disease, almost totally eradicating some of Britain's most deadly illnesses.
- It also offered helpful services to Britain's public, such as childcare, the introduction of prescriptions, health visiting and provision for the elderly, providing a safety net across the whole country: the fact that the public did not have to pay for their health meant that everyone, regardless of their financial situation, was entitled to equal opportunities of health care they had previously not experienced.
- NHS could be regarded as almost too successful. The demand from the public was overwhelming, as the estimated amount of patients treated by them almost doubled. Introduction of charges for prescriptions, etc.

Education

- Reform started by the wartime government: The 1944 Education Act was implemented by the Labour Government. This act raised the age at which people could leave school to 15 as part of a drive to create more skilled workers which Britain lacked at the time. Introduction of school milk, etc.
- Labour introduced a two-tiered secondary schooling whereby pupils were split at the age of 11 (12 in Scotland) depending on their ability. The smarter pupils who passed the "11+ exam" went to grammar and the rest to secondary moderns.
- Those who went to grammar schools were expected to stay on past the age of 15 and this created a group of people who would take senior jobs in the country thus solving the skills shortages. Whilst this separation of ability in theory meant that children of even poor background could get equal opportunities in life, in practice the system actually created a bigger division between the poor and the rich. In many cases, the already existing inequalities between the classes were exacerbated rather than narrowed.
- Labour expanded university education: introduction of grants so all could attend in theory.

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Housing

- After the war there was a great shortage of housing as the war had destroyed and damaged thousands of homes; and the slum cleaning programmes of the 1930's had done little to rectify the situation which was leading to a number of other problems for the government.
- Tackling the housing shortage and amending the disastrous results of the war fell upon Bevan's Ministry of Health.
- Labours' target for housing was to build 200,000 new homes a year. 157,000 pre-fabricated homes were built to a good standard, however this number would not suffice and the target was never met.
- Bevan encouraged the building of council houses rather than privately funded construction.
- The New Towns Act of 1946, aimed to target overcrowding in the increasingly built up older cities. By 1950, the government had designed 12 new communities.
- In an attempt to eradicate slums the Town and Country Planning Act provided local communities more power in regards to building developments and new housing.
- By the time Labour left government office in 1951 there was still a huge shortfall in British housing.

Idleness

- Unemployment was basically non-existent so the government had little to do to tackle idleness.
- The few changes they did make were effective in increasing the likelihood of being able to find work, because they increased direct government funding for the universities which led to a 60% increase in student numbers between 1945-46 and 1950-51, which helped to meet the manpower requirements of post-war society. This provided more skilled workers and allowed people from less advantaged backgrounds to pursue a higher education, aiming to keep unemployment rates down.
- Labour government also nationalised 20 percent of industry – the railways, mines, gas and electricity. This therefore meant that the government were directly involved with people employed in these huge industries which were increasing in size dramatically.
- This tackled idleness by the government having control which meant that employees were less likely to lose their job through industries going bankrupt and people were working directly to benefit society.

Any other relevant factors.

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PART E - Britain and Ireland, 1900 -1985

28. Initially the First World War brought prosperity to Ireland. The demands on manufacturing and farming brought low unemployment thus improving relations between Britain and Ireland. However, Sinn Fein, the Easter Rising and the Protestant reaction were to change this along increasingly sectarian lines.

Irish Attitudes to World War I

- Propaganda – powerful Germany invading helpless and small Catholic Belgium so Ireland supported Britain.
- Ulster very supportive of Britain to ensure favourable treatment at the end of the war.
- Nationalists and Redmond backed war to get Home Rule, urging Irish men to enlist.
- Press gave support to the war effort.
- Irish Volunteers gave support to help Home Rule be passed after the war.
- Recruitment was successful in the south as almost ¼ million men join up.

The Nationalist Movement

- Opposition to war very much a minority in 1914 but supported by Sinn Fein and Arthur Griffith (not powerful at this time), as well as Pearse, Connolly and their supporters and also a section of the Irish Volunteers. This damaged relations with Britain.

Easter Rising

- Rebels saw war as chance to rid Ireland of British by force.
- Felt it was opportunity to gain independence by force as Britain had their troops away fighting the Germans in World War I. This greatly strained relations between Britain and Ireland.
- Britain had to use force to suppress rebellion, such as using the Gunboat, 'Helga' to sail up the River Liffey and fire on the rebels in the GPO, thus distracting Britain's attention and resources away from War effort, thus straining relations.
- Strong criticism of Rising initially from the public, politicians, churchmen, as well as press for unnecessary death and destruction. 450 dead, 2500 wounded, cost £2½ million, showing that majority still sided with Britain therefore indicating that there was not too much damage to relations between the two countries.
- Initial hostility by majority of Irish people to Rising by small group of rebels, majority of people supported Redmond and the Nationalists Party.
- Strong hostility and criticism by Dubliners to rebels for destruction of city centre.

Changing Attitudes towards British Rule after 1916

- The secret court martial, execution of leaders over 10 days as well as imprisonment without trial and at least one execution without a trial saw the rebels gain a lot of sympathy from the Irish public, turning them against British rule.
- These political developments meant a growth of sympathy and compassion for rebels who were seen as martyrs and replaced the initial condemnation of the Rising.
- Sinn Fein initially blamed for the Rising saw a subsequent rise in support for them.
- Catholic Church and business community became more sympathetic to the cause of independence

Anti-Conscription Campaign

- Irish opposed conscription and pushed people in protest to Sinn Fein who openly opposed it.
- Caused the Nationalists to withdraw from Westminster
- Sinn Fein and Nationalists organised campaign eg general strike April 23rd
- Catholic Church, Mayor of Dublin drew up the National Pledge opposing conscription.
- Conscription was not extended to Ireland which Sinn Fein was given credit for.
- Conscription campaign drove Sinn Fein underground which improved their organization.

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Decline of Nationalist Party

- Irish Convention failed to reach agreement, which weakened position of Nationalists.
- Led to feeling British could not be trusted and Nationalists could not deliver.
- Three by-elections wins for Sinn Fein gave impression they spoke for people not Nationalists which increased tension between Ireland and Britain politically.
- March 1918 Redmond died which accelerated the decline of the Nationalists. Sinn Fein gained influence and popularity as a result.
- Many moved from the Nationalist Party as they felt Sinn Fein was doing more for Ireland.

Rise of Sinn Fein

- Release of rebel prisoners from Frongoch meant Sinn Fein's struggle against British Rule in Ireland gained momentum.
- Michael Collins was building up IRB and Irish Volunteers when in prison.
- Collins ready to encourage anti-British activity in Ireland on release.
- Collins and De Valera improved Sinn Fein's leadership.
- Opposition to Britain due to martial law, house searches, raids, control of press, arrest of "suspects" without trial, and vigorous implementation of the Defence of the Realm Act.
- Hunger striker Thomas Ashe died in 1917. His funeral became a propaganda tool for Sinn Fein.

Entrenchment of Unionism in the North

- Unionists' 'blood sacrifice' on the Western Front – expectation that this would be recognised in any post-war settlement. The rise of Sinn Fein was viewed with increasing alarm, as was the participation of the Catholic Church in wartime politics eg the National Pledge.

Any other relevant factors.

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29.	In 1964 a peaceful civil rights campaign started to end the discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland. This led to a Protestant reaction and the crisis that developed was in part caused by economic issues. **Economic issues** • 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 until early '60s, but government help in 1966. Largely Protestant workforce protected as a result. • Catholic areas received less government investment than their Protestant neighbours. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed or in low-paid jobs than Protestants in N. Ireland. Catholic applicants also routinely excluded from public service appointments. • The incomes of mainly Protestant landowners were supported by the British system of 'deficiency payments' which gave Northern Ireland farmers an advantage over farmers from the Irish Republic. • Brookeborough's failure to address the worsening economic situation saw him forced to resign as Prime Minister. His successor, Terence O'Neill set out to reform the economy. His social and economic policies saw growing discontent and divisions within his unionist party. **Other factors** **The Unionist ascendancy in Northern Ireland and challenges to it** • Population of Northern Ireland divided: two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic: it was the minority who were discriminated against in employment and housing. • In 1963, the Prime Minister of N.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. • 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. • Challenges as Prime Minister O'Neill expressed desire to improve community relations in Northern Ireland and create a better relationship with the government in Dublin, hoping that this would address the sense of alienation felt by Catholics towards the political system in Northern Ireland. • Post-war Britain's Labour government introduced the welfare state to Northern Ireland, and it was implemented with few concessions to traditional sectarian divisions. Catholic children in the 1950s and 1960s shared in the benefits of further and higher education for the first time. This exposed them to a world of new ideas and created a generation unwilling to tolerate the status quo. • 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.

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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

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30.	Nationalists and Unionists were polarised throughout the period. The two communities were increasingly divided along sectarian lines and economic differences were in part an obstacle to peace. The deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland and imposition of Direct Rule saw the conflict widen. **Economic differences** • From 1973, the Common Agricultural Policy changed the decision making environment for food prices and farm economics, and employment in the farming sector continued to decline. Traditionally this sector had been dominated by the Unionist community. • Discrimination against Catholic applicants for employment declined steadily during this period as Catholics in the province began to enjoy the same civil rights enjoyed by the population of the rest of the UK. **Other factors** **Religious and communal differences** • The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland belonged to churches that represented the full range of reformed Christianity, while the Catholic minority was united in its membership of a Church that dominated life in the Republic and much of Europe. These religious divisions made it very difficult for both communities to come together. • These divisions further enhanced by traditions embraced by both communities, such as the 'marching season', which became a flashpoint for sectarian violence. Also differences in sport, language. • Many Catholic political representatives refused to recognise partition and their views only heightened the nationalist community's sense of alienation and fostered unionist hostility towards the Catholic minority. • The speeches and actions of Unionist and Nationalist leaders such as Reverend Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams polarised views in the province, and emphasised the divisions between both communities. **The role of the British Army** • The so-called 'Battle of Bogside' in 1969 only ended with the arrival of a small force of British troops at the request of Chichester Clark. An acknowledgement that the govt. of Northern Ireland had lost its grip on the province's security. • By 1971 policing the province was fast becoming an impossible task, and the British Army adopted increasingly aggressive policies on the ground. • On 30 January 1972, the army deployed the Parachute Regiment to suppress rioting at a civil rights march in Derry. Thirteen demonstrators were shot and killed by troops, with another victim dying later of wounds. Appalling images of 'Bloody Sunday' led to increased recruitment by Provisional IRA. • The British Army's various attempts to control the PIRA, such as house-to-house searches and the imposition of a limited curfew, only served to drive more recruits into the ranks of the paramilitaries.

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Hardening attitudes – the role of terrorism

- Paramilitary groups began to operate on both sides of the sectarian divide, while civil rights marches became increasingly prone to confrontation.
- In late 1969, the more militant 'Provisional' IRA (PIRA) broke away from the so-called 'Official' IRA. PIRA was prepared to pursue unification in defiance of Britain and would use violence to achieve its aims.
- Unionist paramilitaries also organised. The UVF was joined by the Ulster Defence Association, created in 1971.
- Examples of terrorist activity: by the end of 1972 sectarian violence had escalated to such an extent that nearly 500 lives were lost in a single year. PIRA prisoners protest at loss of special status prisoners leading to hunger strikes. Second hunger strike in 1981, led by Bobby Sands. Sands was put forward for a vacant Westminster seat and won. Sands and nine other hunger strikers died before the hunger strikes were called off in October 1981.
- Sinn Fein won the by-election following Sands' death in June 1983. These electoral successes raised the possibility that Sinn Fein could replace the more moderate SDLP as the political voice of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.
- Indiscriminate terrorism meant Eire public opinion turned against PIRA.
- In 1985 the violence of Northern Ireland's paramilitary groups still had more than a decade to run and the sectarian divide remained as wide as it had ever been.

British government policies – Internment

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

Direct Rule

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

The role of the Irish government.

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

Any other relevant factors

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Section 3 – European and the World

PART A – The Crusades, 1071 - 1204

31. It was religious passion which swept across Europe that motivated people first and foremost, overwhelming Pope Urban and the Emperor Alexius. The tradition of pilgrimage, combined with full remissions of sins and entry to Heaven, explains why so many Christians went on Crusade to the Holy Lands.

Religious motives

- A key factor driving the largest range of people to take the cross was spirituality, the belief that the Crusade was a spiritual war which would purify their souls of sin. This was a powerful motive in a world deeply concerned with matters of religion, where everything in life was potentially sinful. Many responded to Urban's promise of spiritual rewards for those who fought for the Church. Urban took an unprecedented step at Clermont and offered entry to heaven to those who pledged their soul to the Crusade.
- All Christians, rich and poor were being promised by God's representative on earth, the Pope that fighting in a war against the enemies of the Church would bring what so many deeply wanted: a full indulgence - the highest of prizes - a direct path to heaven and eternal salvation from the moment of death.
- It was generally believed that the Remission of Sins offered by Pope Urban was an attractive solution to the dilemma of knights. At Clermont, Urban assured nobles and knights that they could slaughter the 'infidel' in the name of Christ and not have to complete penance for such action. The very act of crusading itself would form the penance.
- Urban successfully resolved the need to protect Christianity from the Muslim threat and the general desire to re-establish the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Lands. Many believed it was their Christian duty to help fellow Christians under threat by Muslims. Many felt the Crusade would be a spiritually rewarding pilgrimage. Urban drew on the ancient tradition of pilgrimage. For centuries people had journeyed to Jerusalem and the holy sites as well as Rome as a form of penance and to gain remission for their sins.
- Of the leaders of the Princes' Crusade, Raymond of Toulouse, is often held up as an example of a knight riding to the defence of the Holy Lands. Deeply religious, Raymond was the first Prince to agree to join the Crusade. He sold all his lands and wanted to die in the Holy Land. However, his decision to take Tripoli in 1100 casts a shadow over this interpretation of his motives.
- The appeal of the People's Crusade shows the power of the belief that they were doing good and helping God.
- In the First Crusade recruitment was strongest in areas which had supported Pope Gregory VII's reform movement and among families with a tradition of pilgrimage and from areas of France that Pope Urban had visited in person.
- Such omens as showers of meteorites and heavy rains after years of drought were regarded as prophesies, signs of intervention by the Hand of God. Witnesses to these signs believed they were predestined to join the soldiers of Christ and journey to the Holy City.
- Evidence from the charters reveal Crusaders did indeed want to free Jerusalem and win forgiveness for their sins although it should be noted that most charters were written by clergy who may have recorded the Church's official view.

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Other factors

Seeking of fame and riches

- It is recognised that not all Crusaders were motivated purely by religion and that many had mixed motives and agendas which included the prospect of financial gain and glory seeking.
- Some knights did go seeking glory and to prove their bravery. The Crusade had provided the solution to the problem of knights and their need for salvation. Young knights like Tancred may have been partly motivated by the desire to use their military skills in the East.
- The idea of crusading was popular with Norman knights who saw the chance of becoming rich and powerful.
- The lure of unimaginable wealth may have motivated some. It was known that there was a lot of wealth in the East. It was the centre of trade.
- Some were attracted by the prospect of booty and plunder.
- The desire for financial gain motivated the Italian city of Pisa, Genoa and Venice who supported the Crusades in the hope of gaining bases for their trading ships.
- The seeking of riches per se was relatively uncommon. For many lesser knights, going on Crusade meant risking financial ruin. They were more likely to lose money than make money since many had to sell or mortgage their lands on poor terms. In addition, land was the real source of wealth and power.

The desire to acquire territory in the Holy Land

- Urban promised that those who went on Crusade would keep possession of any lands they conquered. The traditional view is that this especially appealed to the younger sons of noble families, because of the system of primogeniture.
- Many of the great magnates on this expedition had intentions to acquire new estates for themselves. The motives of many of the leaders of the Princes' Crusade have been put down to this.
- The prospect of gaining land said to 'flow with milk and honey' was tempting for a younger son who would not inherit his father's lands.
- Territory was important to some of the knights and princes who had nothing in Europe;
- Examples of Crusaders who set off for the Holy Land in search of the 'land of milk and honey' which Urban had offered, were Bohemond and Baldwin who showed little zeal in carrying on with the Crusade once they had acquired Antioch and Edessa respectively. Bohemond of Taranto had not inherited his father's lands in Italy and was eager to gain land elsewhere.
- Some of the leaders of the First Crusade personified the desire for land. Notable examples were Robert Duke of Normandy (son of William the Conqueror) and the Normans from southern Italy, Bohemond of Taranto and his nephew Tancred, one of eleven brothers, a classic example of younger sons of the nobility striving for a living. Robert Guiscard's eldest son, Bohemond saw the Crusade as an opportunity to extend his territory.
- The promise of land was an incentive to some although the traditional historians' view of land hunger being a motivation is questioned by the huge financial cost of going on Crusade. The cost of chain mail, armour, horses and weapons amounted to several years' income for most knights.

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Peer pressure

- The pressure put on knights by their families to take the cross was at times severe. Noblemen's wives tended to be keenly aware of the politics at court and had a role in influencing the decisions of some.
- Stephen of Blois had married Adela, daughter of William I of England. It would have been unthinkable for such a notable knight not to go on the Crusade. Stephen of Blois was the son-in –law of William the Conqueror and was devoted to his very religious wife Adela. He may have joined the Crusade to please her but it would have been unthinkable for such a notable knight not to go on the Crusade.

Overpopulation and famine

- A motive of many may have been a desire to escape the hardships of life at the time. Northern Europe was experiencing rising population, constant food shortages and petty wars and lawlessness. Many craved a better life, in this world as well as the next.
- Several years of drought and poor harvests in the 1090s led to a widespread outbreak of a deadly disease called ergotism, caused by eating bread made from fungus infected cereal. Against this background, a long and dangerous journey to a distant land in the east from which they might never return must have seemed a risk worth taking.
- Many were forced to leave because of the lack of available farmland in an already overcrowded Europe.
- Several famines have also been suggested as a possible motive. It was popularly believed that the Holy Land was a land of plenty.
- Northern Europe was experiencing rising population and constant food shortages.

The sense of adventure

- Going on Crusade was exciting and engendered a sense of adventure.
- Pilgrimages had always been seen as important, and the idea of this as an armed pilgrimage was very appealing. It offered a way out for many serfs from their lives in bondage, or perhaps a chance to see the Holy Land.

Any other relevant factors

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32.	The military skills and leadership of both Richard the Lionheart and Saladin were much in evidence during the Third Crusade. However away from the battlefield, the relationship between Richard and Saladin demonstrated that both men were also skilled in diplomacy. **Richard's military strengths** • Despite Muslims and Christians having fought an 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 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 2,700 Muslim prisoners taken at Acre when Saladin failed to meet the ransom payment. Richard knew feeding and guarding the prisoners would be a considerable burden and suspecting that Saladin was deliberately using delaying tactics to pin 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.

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- 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 were important turning points 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 Egypt 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.

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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 was scuttled to prevent its cargo falling 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 Crusaders' retreat from Jerusalem by launching a lightening 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 lost control of his men at Jaffa.
- The stalemate at Jaffa showed that Saladin was incapable of driving the Crusaders out of southern Palestine.

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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 his 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 favourite 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 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.

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

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Role of Venice

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

Any other relevant factors.

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PART B - The American Revolution, 1763 - 1787

34 Since the 1600s, the thirteen colonies of North America had been part of the British Empire. However, on 4 July 1776 the Continental Congress met in Freedom Hall, Philadelphia and issued the Declaration of Independence. This historic event, the turning point in the American Revolution, came after over ten years of opposition by colonists to British rule. The action by the delegates in Philadelphia led to the American War of Independence.

Punishment of Massachusetts and Quebec Act

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

Taxation and the Stamp Act

- Indirect taxation appeared in 1764 with the Sugar Act which controlled the export of sugar and other items which could now only be sold to Britain. This was to be enforced through greater smuggling controls. Colonist merchants protested on the grounds of their reduced income and the idea that there should be no taxation of colonists who had no representation in the British Parliament.
- Also, the Stamp Act, passed by Grenville's administration in 1765, was the first direct taxation on colonists. It stated that an official stamp had to be bought to go on printed matter such as letters, legal documents, newspapers, licences pamphlets and leases. Many colonists subsequently refused to pay the tax, with James Otis of Boston arguing that "taxation without representation is tyranny".
- While the British argued that taxation would contribute to the costs of Seven Years War and pay for the continued presence of British Army in America, colonists claimed that they already paid financial dues to British through the Navigation Acts and other trading restrictions, and also that they had their own militia and did not need the British Army to protect them.
- The slogan "No Taxation without Representation" was a familiar protest during this time, and due to inability to enforce the Stamp Act, Prime Minister Rockingham oversaw its repeal in March 1766. At the same time he passed the Declaratory Act, supporting any future taxation of the colonies. To underline opposition to any taxation by Britain, the secret organisation Sons of Liberty was founded in February 1766 by colonist like John Adams and Patrick Henry, who proclaimed loyalty to the king but opposition to Parliament.

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- In 1767, new Prime Minister William Pitt proposed indirect taxation in the form of duties against imports into the colonies. Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Townshend introduced taxes on glass, tea, paper and lead. These were opposed by those such as Boston merchant John Hancock whose ships, including the "Liberty", were regularly raided by Customs Board officials acting on behalf of new Prime Minister Grafton, and there were riots across Massachusetts.

Boston Massacre

- On 5 March 1770, during a riot in Boston in opposition to the Townshend Duties, forces sent by General Gage, the British Commander-in-Chief in North America, to quell resistance opened fire on a crowd on the orders of Captain Preston, killing three people instantly, injuring eleven others, and fatally wounding two more. Preston and four soldiers were charged with murder. Many Bostonians were horrified at what they perceived as the brutal actions of the British Army.
- Committees of Correspondence, which had been established during the 1760s, quickly spread news of the massacre around the thirteen colonies, and Paul Revere, a Boston silversmith, depicted the event in an engraving which shocked colonists viewing prints of it. The soldiers were represented at the trial in October by John Adams after he volunteered to ensure there was a fair hearing, and the result was the acquittal of all defendants. This outcome outraged colonists as it suggested that British soldiers had a free hand to kill Americans.
- Committees of Correspondence would later prove effective after the Gaspee Incident in the summer of 1772, when a Royal Navy schooner was captured off Rhode Island and burned by smugglers who resented its enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Britain resolved to transport any culprits to England for trial. Subsequently, all the thirteen colonies' Committees worked together to investigate the legality of all British actions towards them from now onwards.

Proclamation of 1763

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

The Tea Act

- In 1773, tea duties in the colonies were reduced by the Tea Act, designed by the Lord North's government to give the British East India Company a monopoly in North America to help ease it out of financial difficulty. Although this also benefited colonist tea merchants, many felt not only that Britain may extend this monopoly to other commodities. The key effect of the act was to lead many to suggest that accepting the cheap tea symbolised acceptance of Britain's right to tax America.
- In Boston, crowds of colonists organised blockages of loading bays to prevent the unloading of tea cargoes. On 16 December 1773, in what became known as the Boston Tea Party, hundreds of people, co-ordinated by Samuel Adams, boarded three British East India Company ships and threw £10,000 worth of tea into the harbour. This destruction of British government property was an expression of colonist frustration at policies.

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Events at Lexington and Bunker Hill

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

Rejection of Olive Branch Petition

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

Events of 1775-6

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

Any other relevant factor

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35. 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.

Washington's military capability

- Washington was aware that the British forces would hold the advantage in open battle, so he fought using guerrilla warfare effectively, for example at the significant crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776. This was part of a surprise raid on British posts which resulted in Washington's small bands of men crossing the river back to their positions in Pennsylvania with captured supplies and arms. Guerrilla warfare, therefore, was an effective weapon in Washington's armoury.
- In addition, Washington taught his troops to fire accurately from a distance on those occasions when they were engaged in open battle, particularly in the fight to control the New Jersey area in the first half of the war. During the attack on Princeton in January 1777 and the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, Washington's forces successfully drove the British from the battlefield.
- Washington's "scorched earth" campaign during the summer of 1779 was aimed at Iroquois settlements in New York in revenge for their co-operation with the British early in the war. This policy deterred further collaboration between Native Americans and the British Army. Although brutal, this strategy increased colonists' chances of winning the war on land.
- Moreover, Washington had experience of serving with the British Army during the Seven Years War, and had been a leading figure in the British capture of Pittsburgh in 1758. He was aware of British military practice and the weaknesses in the chains of communication between London and North America. This meant he was well-placed to second-guess British manoeuvres during the War of Independence.

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. Therefore, this motivational aspect of his nature, an asset which the British did not possess, was an important advantage to the colonists.
- 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 of a high quality; his promotion of Nathaniel Greene through the ranks from Private to Quartermaster-General meant regular food for the soldiers as well as adequate supplies of ammunition and uniforms, including boots; and 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. These astute decisions were vital to the colonists' war efforts, both practically and militarily.

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French entry into the war

- The Franco-American Treaty of Alliance was signed by Franklin and Louis XVI at Versailles in February 1778. This formalised French recognition of the United States, the first international acknowledgement of American independence. The agreement cemented the colonists' autonomy and provided much-needed help in the fight against the British.
- 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. This meant that the colonists were better equipped to tackle the British successfully in America.
- 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. Thus, the French army significantly contributed to the ending of the war on land.

French contribution worldwide

- The strength of the 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. Although these failed, French naval activity worldwide reduced the efforts which Britain could make to defend its North American possessions.
- 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. It is clear, therefore, that leading French naval figures planned a strategy to divide British maritime forces, thus exposing their hold on the colonies to greater threat from the Continental Army and American Navy.
- 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.

British military inefficiency

- On several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to instructions, such as when Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for America, hatched a plan to separate the New England colonies from the others in mid-1777. This involved General Howe moving his forces north from New York, but Howe misinterpreted his orders and moved south during August, rendering the plan futile. This demonstrates a costly incompetence on the part of the leading British military figure in North America.
- 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.

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- Furthermore, changes in personnel hindered operations, as politicians such as Lord North and Lord Germain promoted or appointed officers frequently, causing inconsistency and lack of stability at command level. Petty jealousies amongst military leaders also obstructed progress, so that even after military campaigns had been waged successfully or battles had been won, there was no co-operation, leading to the British losing land gained, particularly after French entry in 1778.

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. This gave the Continental Army an obvious advantage over their British enemies.
- 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. This meant that the British found it hard to go on the attack in the field.
- 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. This meant it was difficult for the British to reduce the size of their enemy's numbers.
- 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. Therefore, the behaviour of locals further reduced the potential supplies for the British army.

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 the British less effective in their 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

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36.	The American War of Independence took place between 1776 and 1781, between Britain and its thirteen colonies of North America. When the colonists drew up their constitution they built in a separation of powers that would be essential to the government of the new United States. **Separation of power** • When the colonists drew up their Constitution, they built in a separation of powers providing checks and balances within the political system, influenced by the thinking of the French philosopher Montesquieu. This was driven through by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison who had disapproved of the too-powerful Continental Congress. The separation of powers, in its division of authority between branches of government in a modern industrialising nation, is, therefore, considered to be the most revolutionary aspect of the Constitution. • The Constitution stated that no branch of government should ever be subordinate to any other. The Executive, Legislature and Judiciary had to remain apart, with no one person allowed to participate in more than one branch at any one time. This prevented, for example, the administration of justice being subject to outside influence from anyone with political interest. • This separation of power would be essential to the government of the United States. The President could not take a seat in Congress, Congressmen could not be part of the Supreme Court, and members of the Supreme Court could only be appointed by an agreed confirmation between President and Congress. This secured the separation of powers as a vital component of the Constitution. • The separation of powers had a built-in system of checks and balances, whereby each branch of government could be kept in line by the other two. The Philadelphia Convention had arranged this to ensure that no single branch could establish tyrannical authority. This meant that the Legislature and Judiciary could check the power of the Executive if necessary. • The President and his Cabinet, Congressmen and Supreme Court judges could all lose their jobs if they acted improperly. Each strand of government acted independently of each other. This system thus ensured that no one person could rule tyrannically. **Executive** • Executive power was vested in the elected President, and his Vice-President and Cabinet. The first President, George Washington, was elected in February 1789, and could make all key decisions and establish policy. This gave Washington and future Presidents clearly defined powers within the American political system. • Members of the Executive, including the President, or Thomas Jefferson, who became the USA's first Secretary of State, could be removed from office by the electorate in four-yearly elections. Other branches of government could also remove Executive members from office if it was felt they were not doing their job appropriately. This meant that even the most powerful were kept in check by others in government.

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Legislature

- Legislative power lay in the hands of an elected Congress which was divided into two Houses, the Senate and Representatives. The Senate was set up with each state equally represented and the House of Representatives was set up with states represented proportionately to size and population. This was an attempt to divide power equally amongst those representing the electorate.
  The job of Congress was to pass laws and raise taxes. In addition, Congress was given responsibility for international trade, war and foreign relations. This presented Senators and Representatives with significant powers within the country as well as influence around the world.
- No-one in the legislature could serve in the judiciary or executive without first resigning from the legislature. In addition, Congressional elections were held regularly to ensure that Congressmen remained in touch with the people they served. Therefore, the views of the American people would be represented as faithfully as possible amongst those setting taxes and enacting laws.

Judiciary

- The newly formed Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine judges, would hold judicial power in the United States. The Supreme Court was formed in order to prevent legal matters becoming entwined with political ones. Therefore, this Judiciary also had a plain role to act out in the country.
- The Supreme Court could be called upon to debate the legality of new laws enacted by Congress. It also acted as the highest court of appeal in the United States. It can be seen, therefore, that one of the key functions of the Supreme Court was to protect individual citizens from unconstitutional behaviour on the part of law-makers and law-enforcers.
- Supreme Court judges were nominated by the President upon advice from his Cabinet and political staff. New appointments had to be ratified by Congress after a rigorous vetting process. This design led to the Supreme Court representing a mix of views on various legal issues.

Bill of Rights

- The Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1791 as the first ten amendments to the Constitution, after several states refused to ratify the Constitution as it stood. These states' delegates at Philadelphia wanted greater protections for citizens against the federal government. Therefore, the Bill of Rights became an important document that set out the limitations of the power of Congress.
- The Bill of Rights established liberty for individual citizens in states within a federal union of all states, and set out clear lines of authority between federal government and individual states. Central government controlled matters of national importance, and state assemblies were to be responsible for local government and administration. This meant that the Constitution would prevent central government from exerting a controlling power over people's lives.
- In addition, the Bill of Rights stated that neither Congress nor the government could pass laws which established religion as a part of state institutions, for example within the education system. School prayer was, therefore, prohibited. This meant that religion was disestablished in the United States.
- Moreover, the Bill of Rights protected the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceable assembly. Also it set out the rights of citizens who were under investigation or being tried for criminal offences; for example, no-one could be compelled to give evidence which might incriminate them. This was designed to prevent the government from assuming too much power over individuals.

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- Furthermore, any powers which had not been written into the Constitution as being delegated to the federal government would be delegated to state governments. This meant that any future disputes over certain powers, for example, the power to abolish slavery, which had not been envisaged at the time of the Revolution, would be ceded to states automatically and, therefore, taken out of the hands of Congress and central government.

Democratic ideals

- The hierarchy of colonial government which had existed under rule by Britain was altered drastically by the Constitution. The Constitution stated that "all men are created equal" and that everyone was entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". This established, therefore, a new approach to the rights and position of ordinary citizens within the processes of government.
- From now on, people would be asked to ratify many of the stages within democratic processes at state and national level. This meant ordinary citizens were involved in the election of various offices from local education boards to state governors. The Constitution was thus ensuring government by the people.
- However, women and blacks were excluded from the franchise, and in reality only one-fifth of eligible voters turned out for national elections. Forces of vested interest were too strong. This suggests that democracy was more of an ideal than an actuality.
- Moreover, the Philadelphia Convention introduced an elitist system of electors in Presidential elections voting for an electoral college. The electoral college consisted of educated men who would vote for the President, a system which still exists today. The electoral college system implies an institutional distrust of ordinary citizens, which is an undemocratic practice.

The experience of rule by Britain

- As part of the British Empire, colonists had been ruled by the King and the British Parliament, who together made key policy decisions, set laws and taxes, and enforced the law. As a result there had been no checks and balances on executive, legislative and judicial processes. This created a need for a Constitution which had built in safety mechanisms to prevent tyrannical behaviour on any ruler's part.
- The notion of "No Taxation without Representation" had been a source of much of the original resentment towards British colonial policy. After 1787, representation would be a key feature of the new system of politics. This meant that the new branches of government were to be predominantly elective, to ensure participation of the people.
- During their experience of being ruled by Britain, colonists had learned to be suspicious of all forms of government, and they feared the potentially tyrannical power of a monarch. They designed the Constitution to thwart any future attempts of American heads of state to act in a similar manner as George III. Therefore, the separation of powers was devised.

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	Other features • The Articles of Confederation had been written in 1776, signed in 1781, and acknowledged in 1787, to declare that states would retain individual sovereignty and provided for state representatives to Continental Congress. This led to states rights being fiercely guarded by states in the future. • In relation to religion, the church was separated from the state in order to ensure equality was extended to include freedom of belief for everyone. The church was thus disestablished. • Regarding the question of slavery, in northern states measures were taken for the practice, already declining, to be gradually abolished, although pro-slavery sentiment in the South intensified simultaneously. **Any other relevant factors**

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PART C – The French Revolution, to 1799

37. By 1789 the problems of the Ancien Regime were coming to a head. A series of foreign wars had led the state into debt. The demands for more cash, attempts to reform the taxation system, demands for political change, the influence of the Enlightenment and an ineffectual monarch all led to pressures on the Ancien Regime, which was put into stark relief by the economic crisis of 1788/9.

Influence of the Enlightenment

- The Enlightenment encouraged criticism, and freedom of thought, speech and religion, and was seen as the end of man's self-imposed irrationality at the hands of the Church in particular.
- Ideas of Philosophes like Voltaire who attacked God, Montesquieu who favoured a British system of government and Rousseau who put forward the idea of direct democracy.
- Very much appealed to the middle-classes, who led the revolution.

Other factors

The economic crisis of 1788/9

- Bad harvests and grain shortages inspired unrest among the peasantry and the urban workers in Paris and in provincial cities throughout France, exerting critical pressures on the Ancien Regime.
- There was less demand for manufactured goods, which led to unemployment increasing amongst the urban workers.
- The nobility were increasingly blamed as peasants started to take political action.
- The economic crisis clearly created an environment in which the Ancien Regime was struggling to survive.

Financial problems of the Ancien Regime

- Because of exemptions the crown was denied adequate income. The privileged orders were an untapped source of revenue but it would require reforms to access it.
- This created resentment amongst the Third Estate
- Exacerbated divisions that already existed between the Estates.
- Tax - farming meant not all revenues were reaching the government.
- By the 1780s France faced bankruptcy due to heavy expenditure and borrowing to pay for wars.
- Government failed to gain agreement on tax reform.
- This was arguably the biggest threat facing the Ancien Regime. The opposition which this generated not only led to Calonne's dismissal in 1787 but more importantly to the convocation of the Estates General in 1788. When it met in May 1789 the long-standing divisions between the three Estates unleashed forces which culminated in the overthrow of the Ancien Regime.

The American Revolution

- This war contributed to the financial crisis which came to a head in France post–1786 as the French had to finance both their navy and army fighting America.
- For many in France at the time they also represented the practical expression of the enlightened views of the Philosophes in terms of the rights of the individual, no taxation without representation and freedom from tyrannical government.
- The wars inspired many of the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie to seek the same freedoms.

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The political crisis of 1788/9

- The convocation of the Estates General in August 1788 sharpened divisions between the three Estates which came to a head between May and August 1789.
- The Cahiers des Doleances revealed the depth of dissatisfaction with the existing order, especially among the bourgeoisie and the peasantry.
- The creation of the National Assembly, the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen all contributed to a revolutionary change in French government, society and economy.

Actions of Louis XVI

- Louis was largely under the influence of his wife, Marie Antoinette who, although strong minded, failed to grasp the serious nature of the situation and was also unpopular as she was Austrian.
- Louis XVI's handling of the Estates-General contributed towards the start of the Revolution. He wanted to make reform difficult by making the three Estates meet separately, in the hope that the First and Second Estates would vote the Third down.
- This backfired: opposition to the King grew, the Third Estate refused to act separately, and many of the clergy changed sides, changing the balance of power.
- Louis allegedly closed the meeting halls, which led to the Tennis Court Oath from members of the Third Estate. He later agreed to a constitution when the Third Estate representatives occupied the royal tennis courts.
- The King had lost more political ground than if he had just listened to the grievances of the middle classes and the Third Estate from the start.

Role of Bourgeoisie

- As part of the Third Estate resented paying the taxation.
- Dominated the Third Estate representatives in the Estates-General.
- Were outside the political process unless they bought a noble title: wanted access to power.
- Very attracted to ideas of a constitutional monarchy as advocated by people like Montesquieu.
- Provided the leadership for the Revolution.

Any other relevant factors

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38.	French military performance in 1798 and 1799 led to the eventual collapse of the Directory. The British encouraged Royalist insurrection in the south of France, further complicating matters. Subsequent political intrigue by Sieyes backed by the military reputation of Bonaparte led to the coup that established the Consulate. **Role of Sieyes** • Afraid that France would descend into anarchy as a result of the on-going political conflict and deeming the 1795 constitution unworkable, Sieyes enlisted the aid of Bonaparte in mounting a coup against it. • The Convention, the Directory and the legislative councils had run their course and few, if any, mourned their passing. **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 deployment of the army in May 1796 to put down the left-wing Babeuf Conspiracy was followed by the Coup of Fructidor in September 1797 when the first 'free' Convention elections returned a royalist majority. **Political instability** • In the late summer of 1794 France was emerging from two years of increasing radicalisation and resulting bitterness between opposing factions. • 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, threatened by foreign armies egged on by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow the Revolution and riven by religious conflict occasioned by the State's opposition to the primacy of the Catholic Church. **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.

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	Role of Bonaparte • A supreme self-propagandist, he seemed to offer the strength and charisma which the Directory and the legislative councils singularly lacked. • Afraid that his spectacular victories in Italy during 1795 might be jeopardised by the election of a right-wing government less sympathetic to conducting a war against monarchical states, Bonaparte threw his support behind the Directory who effectively annulled the election results by purging right-wing deputies. • The 1788 and 1799 elections were similarly 'adjusted'. • The Consulate – with Bonaparte as First Consul – came into being. A notably more authoritarian constitution was promulgated by referendum, supported by a populace tired of weak and ineffectual government and the instability it had brought between 1795 and 1799. **Any other relevant factors**

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39.	The effects of the French Revolution were profound and lasting. In particular the impact was felt by the French Aristocracy and Clergy. However, there was also an impact on the peasantry, the middle class and urban workers. **The impact of the Revolution on the First Estate** • The Catholic Church was a key pillar of the Ancien Regime. The Upper Clergy (usually drawn from the ranks of the traditional nobility) enjoyed considerable wealth and status based on a raft of privileges and tax exemptions. These privileges and exemptions were swept away by the Revolution and the position of the Catholic Church within France by 1799 was far less assured than it had been under the Ancien Regime. • The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790) polarised attitudes towards the place of the Catholic Church within French society and promoted conflict between opposing factions through the rest of the period to 1799. In November 1789 Church lands were nationalised, stripping the Church of much of its wealth. The net result of all of this was that the Church never regained its primacy within the French state and can be seen to have lost far more than it gained. **The impact of the Revolution on the Second Estate** • The aristocracy had enjoyed similar privileges and tax exemptions to those of the Catholic Church under the Ancien Regime. Advancement in the key positions of the State, the Army and, indeed the Church, depended more often on birth than merit. The traditional nobility monopolised these key positions and sought at all times to defend its favoured position. Again, the Revolution swept away aristocratic privilege even more completely than that of the clergy. • The ending of feudalism in August 1789 marked the prelude to a decade when the status of the nobility in France effectively collapsed. In 1790 outward displays of 'nobility' such as titles and coats of arms were forbidden by law and in 1797, after election results suggested a pro-royalist resurgence, the Convention imposed alien status on nobles and stripped them of French citizenship. • The Revolution brought in a regime where careers were open to talent regardless of birth or inheritance and the traditional aristocracy simply ceased to exist. Having said that, some nobles simply transformed themselves into untitled landlords in the countryside and continued to exercise significant economic and political power. **The impact of the Revolution on the Third Estate** **The peasantry** • In contrast to the Catholic Church and the nobility the position of the peasantry was in many ways strengthened by the Revolution. The ending of feudalism in August 1789 removed many of the legal and financial burdens which had formed the basis of peasant grievances in the Cahiers des Doleances presented to the Estates-General in 1789. • The revolutionary land settlement, instigated by the nationalisation of church lands in November 1789, had transferred land from the nobility and the clergy to the peasantry to their obvious advantage. • Not all peasants benefited equally from the land settlement. Only the well-off peasants could afford to purchase the Church lands which had been seized by the National Assembly.

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The bourgeoisie

- The Revolution instigated a fundamental shift in political and economic power from the First and Second Estates to the bourgeoisie.
  The ending of feudalism in August 1789 heralded profound social and economic change (eg facilitating the development of capitalism) whilst the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen later in the month did the same for political life. In both cases the main beneficiaries were the bourgeoisie.
- Successive constitutions and legislative reforms throughout the1790s favoured the bourgeoisie above all other social groups by emphasising the notion of a property-owning democracy with voting rights framed within property qualifications, whilst the ending of trade restrictions and monopolies favoured an expanding business and merchant class.
- France had moved from a position of privileged estates to one where increasingly merit was what counted. It was the educated bourgeoisie who were best placed to benefit from this change in French society.

The urban workers

- At key points throughout the Revolution overt demonstrations of discontent by the urban masses-particularly in Paris - impacted on key events as successive regimes framed policy with an eye to appeasing the mob.
- The modest gains by the urban poor were short-lived. A decade of almost continuous wars in the 1790s had created shortages and inflation which hit the urban poor particularly hard.
- The passing of the Chapelier Law in May 1791, by a bourgeois-dominated National Assembly protecting the interests of industrialists, effectively banned the formation of trade unions and thereafter the Revolution brought few tangible economic or political gains for urban workers.

Any other relevant factors

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PART D – Germany, 1851 - 1939

40.	German nationalism, the desire for a united Germany, was already in existence in 1815 as a response to the ideas of the French Revolution and due to resentment of French domination under Napoleon. However, the lack of popular support for nationalism — especially amongst the peasants — and the political repression coordinated by Metternich meant there were still many factors unfavourable to German nationalism. **Evidence that nationalism had made significant progress in their aims:** • Cultural nationalism – work of poets, musicians, writers and their effects on Germans. Impact largely on educated Germans and not everyone was interested in such ideas. Not considered vital to the everyday lives of the ordinary people. • *Vormarz* period – evidence suggests that workers were starting to take a real interest in politics and philosophy, but only in relatively small numbers. • Nationalism remained largely middle-class before 1848. • In 1815 there were tens of thousands of people, especially among the young, the educated and the middle and upper classes, who felt passionately that the Germans deserved to have a fatherland. • 1840 – French scare to German states. Ordinary Germans were now roused to the defence of the fatherland. This was not confined to the educated classes – spread of nationalist philosophy to large numbers of ordinary Germans. Enhanced reputation of Prussia among German nationalists. • Economic nationalism – middle class businessmen pushed the case for a more united Germany in order to be able to compete with foreign countries. Benefits evidenced by the Zollverein to German states. Arguments that 'economic' nationalism was the forerunner to political nationalism. **Evidence that nationalists had not made significant progress** • Growth of the *Burschenschaften* – dedicated to seeing the French driven from German soil. Nationalist enthusiasm tended to be of the romantic type, with no clear idea of how their aim could be achieved. Much of the debate in these societies was theoretical in nature and probably above the comprehension of the mass of ordinary Germans. • Political nationalism – virtually non-existent between 1820 and 1848. Suppressed by the Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Acts. Work/success of Metternich in suppressing such a philosophy. • Work of the German Confederation and the rulers of the autonomous German states to suppress nationalism. • Troppau Congress – decision taken by the representatives of Austria, Prussia and Russia to suppress any liberal or nationalist uprisings that would threaten the absolute power of monarchs. This was a huge blow to nationalists within the German states. • German *Bund* remained little more than a talking shop. Austrian domination of the *Confederation* and the *Bund* stifled political change. 'The French spread liberalism by intention but created nationalism by inadvertence' (Thomson). The French united these German states in a common feeling of resentment against them. • 1848 Revolutions and the Frankfurt Parliament. No agreement was reached on a grossdeutsch or a kleindeutsch solution. German rulers regained authority. Divided aims of revolutionaries. Self-interest of the rulers of the German states led to their opposition to Frankfurt Parliament. Frederick William of Prussia backed down in face of Austrian pressure at Olmutz and the humiliation of Prussia. German nationalism was arguably a spent force. **Any other relevant factors.**

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41.	In 1933 Hitler became Chancellor of Germany. His ability to tap into German resentment towards the Treaty of Versailles aided his rise to power. **Resentment towards the Treaty of Versailles** • The Treaty of Versailles: acceptance by Republic of hated terms. • Land loss and accepting blame for the War especially hated. • Led to growth of criticism; 'November Criminals', 'Stab in the back' myth. **Other factors** **Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic** • A Republic without Republicans/a Republic nobody wanted – lack of popular support for the new form of government after 1918. • Peasants in a palace – commentary on Weimar politicians. • Divisions among those groups/individuals who purported to be supporters of the new form of government eg the socialists. • Alliance of the new government and the old imperial army against the Spartacists – lack of cooperation between socialist groups – petty squabbling rife. • The Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') - arguably Germany was too democratic. • Proportional representation led to weak coalition governments. • Lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, Stresemann excepted. • Inability (or unwillingness) of the Republic to deal effectively with problems in German society. • Lukewarm support from the German Army and the Civil Service. **Social and Economic difficulties** • Over-reliance on foreign investment left the Weimar economy subject to the fluctuations of the international economy. • 1922/23 (hyperinflation) - severe effects on the middle classes, the natural supporters of the Republic; outrage and despair at their ruination. • The Great Depression of the 1930s – 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. **Appeal of the Nazis after 1928** • Nazi Party attracted 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 etc. • The Nazis put their message across well with the skilful use of propaganda under the leadership of Josef Goebbels. • Propaganda posters with legends such as "Hitler – our only hope" struck a chord with many. • The SA was used to break up opponents' meetings and give the appearance of discipline and order. • Gave scapegoats for the population to blame from the Jews to the Communists.

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	The role of Hitler Hitler was perceived as a young, dynamic leader, who campaigned using modern methods and was a charismatic speaker. • He offered attractive policies which gave simple targets for blame and tapped into popular prejudice. **Weaknesses and mistakes of others** • 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.**

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42.	The Nazis used a variety of methods to stay in power. These ranged from policies that pleased the German people to the development of State terror. **Fear and terror** • Opponents liable to severe penalties, as were the families. • The use of fear/terror through the Nazi police state; role of the Gestapo. • Concentration camps set up; the use of the SS. **Other factors** **Success of economic policies** • Nazi economic policy – attempted to deal with economic ills caused by the Great Depression affecting Germany, especially unemployment. • Nazis began a massive programme of public works; work of Hjalmar Schacht. • Nazi policy towards farming eg Reich Food Estate – details of various policies. • Goring's policy of 'guns before butter'. Popular once foreign policy triumphs appeared to justify it. **Social policies** • Attempts to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community). • Nazi youth policy. • Nazi education policy. • Nazi policy towards the Jews-first isolate, then persecute and finally destroy. • Nazi family policy – Kinder, Kirche, Kuche. • Kraft durch Freude programme. • A Concordat with the Catholic Church was reached; a Reichsbishop was appointed as head of the Protestant churches. **Success of foreign policy** • Nazi success in foreign policy attracted support among Germans; Rearmament, Rhineland, Anschluss. • Much of Hitler's popularity after he came to power rested on his achievements in foreign policy. **Establishment of totalitarian state** • Political parties outlawed; non-Nazi members of the civil service were dismissed eg Enabling Act following the Reichstag Fire. • Nazis never quite able to silence opposition to the regime. • Speed of takeover of power and ruthlessness of the regime made opposition largely ineffective. • Anti-Nazi judges were dismissed and replaced with those favourable to the Nazis. • Acts Hostile to the National Community (1935) – all-embracing law which allowed the Nazis to persecute opponents in a 'legal' way. **Crushing/weakness of opposition** • Opponents liable to severe penalties, as were their families. • Opponents never able to establish a single organisation to channel their resistance – role of the Gestapo, paid informers. • Opposition lacked cohesion and a national leader; also lacked armed supporters. • Lack of cooperation between socialists and communists. • The Night of the Long Knives removed internal opposition, removed the unpopular SA and earned the gratitude of the Army.

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	Propaganda • Use of Nuremburg Rallies. • Use of radio. • Cult of the Leader: the Hitler Myth. • Use of the Cinema: Triumph of the Will, the Eternal Jew, etc. • Role of Goebbels. **Any other relevant factors**

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PART E – Italy, 1851 - 1939

43. By 1850 the forces of nationalism had grown in Italy. The Revolutions of 1848 showed this, but they also illustrated the tensions within the nationalist movement and the continued strength of Austria.

Supporters of nationalism

Educated middle class

- Risorgimento saw 'patriotic literature' from novelists and poets including Pellico, and Leopardi. These inspired the educated middle class.
- Gioberti, Balbo and Mazzini promoted their ideas for a national state, this inspired nationalism amongst the middle classes.

Liberals

- Some liberals and business classes were keen to develop an economic state. Napoleon Bonaparte had built roads and encouraged closer trading. One system of weights, measures and currency appealed.

Popular sentiment

- French revolutionary ideals had inspired popular sentiment for a national Italian state.
- There was a growing desire for the creation of a national state amongst students; many joined Mazzini's 'Young Italy'.
- Operas by Verdi and Rossini inspired growing feelings of patriotism.
- The use of Tuscan as a 'national' language by Alfieri and Manzoni spread ideas of nationalism.
- Membership of secret societies such as the Carbonari grew. Members were willing to revolt and die for their beliefs which included desire for a national state.

Opponents

Austria and her dependent duchies

- Resentment against Austria and its restoration of influence in the Italian peninsula and their use of spies and censorship, helped increase support for the nationalist cause. However, any progress made by nationalists was firmly crushed by the Austrian army. Strength of the Quadrilateral. Austrians never left Italian soil. Carbonari revolts in Kingdom of Naples 1820 – 1821, Piedmont 1821, Modena and the Papal States 1831 all crushed by Austrian army. During 1848 revolutions, Austrian army defeated Charles Albert twice – Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark.

Italian princes and rulers

- Individual rulers were opposed to nationalism and used censorship, police and spies as well as the Austrian army, to crush revolts 1820 -1821, 1830 and 1848.

Attitude of the peasants

- The mass of the population were illiterate and indifferent to politics and nationalist ideas. They did revolt during bad times as can be seen in 1848 – but their revolts were due to bad harvests and bad economic times and were not inspired by feelings of nationalism.

Position of the Papacy

- Pope Pius IX. Nationalist movement had high hopes of New Pope Pius IX, initially thought of as a liberal and sympathetic to nationalist cause. Hopes dashed when Pope Pius IX denounced the nationalist movement during and after 1848 revolutions.

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	Failures of 1848 revolutions • These showed that nationalist leaders would not work together, nor did they seek foreign help thus hindering progress. Charles Albert's 'Italia farad a se' declared that Italy would do it alone – she did not. Lombardy and Venetia suspected Charles Albert's motives and were reluctant to work with him. Venetians put more faith in Manin. • All progress was hampered when Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism. • Charles Albert hated Mazzini and would not support the Roman Republic. • Austrian military might based on the Quadrilateral defeated Charles Albert twice – at Custoza and Modena, retook Lombardy and destroyed the Republic of St Mark. • The French crushed the Roman Republic. **Any other relevant factors.**

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44.	By 1925, Mussolini and the Fascists had gained power in Italy. A number of factors contributed to Mussolini's rise to power, including the economic difficulties facing Italy after the First World War. **Economic difficulties** • The First World War 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: - no wage rises - food shortages - two million unemployed 1919 - firms collapsed as military orders ceased. **Weaknesses of Italian governments** • 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. • 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. • Fascists threatened a 'March on Rome' – King refused to agree to martial law; Facta resigned; Mussolini was invited to form coalition. 1924 Acerbo Law. **Resentment against the Peace Settlement** • 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. • 'Mutilated victory' – Italian nationalists fuelled ideas that Italy had been betrayed by her government. **Role of the King** • The King gave in to 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.

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Appeal of the Fascists

- They exploited weaknesses of other groups by excellent use of Mussolini's newspaper 'Il Popolo D'Italia'.
- The Fascio Italiano di Combattimento began as a movement not a political party and thus attracted a wide variety of support giving them an advantage over narrower rivals.
- By 1921 fascism was anti-communist, anti-trade union, anti-socialist and pro-nationalism and thus became attractive to the middle and upper classes.
- Fascism became pro-conservative, appealed to family values, supported church and monarchy; promised to work within the accepted political system. This made fascism more respectable and appealing to both the monarchy and the papacy.
- Squadristi violence was directed against socialism so it gained the support of the elites and middle classes.
- Violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless. It appealed to many ex-soldiers.
- Fascists promised strong government. This was attractive after a period of extreme instability.
- Fascists promised to make Italy respected as a nation and thus appealed to nationalists.
- Fascist policies were kept deliberately vague to attract support from different groups.

Role of Mussolini

- Key role in selling the fascist message: Powerful orator- piazza politics.
- He seized his opportunities. He changed political direction and copied D'Annunzio.
- He used propaganda and his newspaper effectively and had an ear for effective slogans.
- He dominated the fascist movement, kept support of fascist extremists (Ras).
- He relied on strong nerve to seize power and to survive the Matteotti crisis.
- Mussolini manipulated his image, kept out of violence himself but exploited the violence of others.

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 was divided over attitude to fascism – right wing supported fascism. Aventine Secession backfired; destroyed chance to remove Mussolini.

Any other relevant factors.

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45.	By 1925, Mussolini and the Fascists had achieved power in Italy. The establishment of the Fascist State had in part been achieved by economic and social policies, which were important in maintaining power up to 1939. **Economic and social policies** • Fascists tried to develop the Italian economy in a series of propaganda-backed initiatives eg the 'Battle for Grain'. While superficially successful, they did tend to divert resources from other areas. • Development of transport infrastructure, with building of autostrade and redevelopment of major railway terminals eg Milan • One major success was the crushing of organised crime. Most Mafia leaders were in prison by 1939. • Dopolavoro had 3.8 million members by 1939. Gave education and skills training; sports provision, day-trips, holidays, financial assistance and cheap rail fares. This diverted attention from social/economic problems and was the fascist state's most popular institution. **Crushing of opposition** • Liberals had divided into four factions so were weakened. • The Left had divided into three – original PSI, reformist PSU and Communists – they failed to work together against fascists. • Pope forced Sturzo to resign and so PPI (Catholic Popular Party) was weakened and it split. • Acerbo Law passed. in 1924 elections – fascists won 66% of the vote. • Opposition parties failed to take advantage of the Matteotti crisis. By walking out of the Chamber of Deputies (Aventine Secession) they gave up the chance to overthrow Mussolini; they remained divided – the Pope refused to sanction an alliance between PPI and the socialists. The King chose not to dismiss Mussolini. • Communists and socialists did set up organisations in exile but did not work together. Communist cells in northern cities did produce some anti-fascist leaflets but they suffered frequent raids by OVRA. • PPI opposition floundered with the closer relationship between Church and State (Lateran Pacts). **Fear and intimidation** • Mussolini favoured complete State authority with everything under his direct control. All Italians were expected to obey Mussolini and his Fascist Party. • The squadristi were organised into the MVSN Milizia Voluntaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale the armed local Fascist militia (Blackshirts). They terrorised the cities and provinces with tactics such as force-feeding with toads and castor oil. • After 1925-6 around 10,000 non-fascists/opposition leaders were jailed by special tribunals. • The secret police, OVRA was established in 1927 and was led by Arturo Bocchini. Tactics included abduction and torture of opponents. 4,000 people were arrested by the OVRA and sent to prison. • Penal colonies were established on remote Mediterranean islands such as Ponza and Lipari. Conditions for those sentenced to these prisons were primitive with little chance of escape. • Opponents were exiled internally or driven into exile abroad. • The death penalty was restored under Mussolini for serious offences but by 1940 only ten people had been sentenced to death.

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Establishment of the Fascist state

- Nov/Dec 1922 Mussolini was given emergency powers. Nationalists merged with PNF 1923. Mussolini created MSVN (fascist militia) – gave him support if the army turned against him – and Fascist Grand Council – a rival Cabinet. These two bodies made Mussolini's position stronger and opposition within PNF weaker. The establishment of a dictatorship began:
  - 1926 - opposition parties were banned. A one party state was created.
  - 1928 – universal suffrage abolished.
  - 1929 – all Fascist Parliament elected.

Social controls

- Workers were controlled through 22 Corporations, set up in 1934; overseen by National Council of Corporations, chaired by Mussolini.
- Corporations provided accident, health and unemployment insurance for workers, but forbade strikes and lock-outs.
- There were some illegal strikes in 1930s and anti-fascist demonstrations in 1933 but these were limited.
- The majority of Italians got on with their own lives conforming as long as all was going well. Middle classes/elites supported fascism as it protected them from communism.
- Youth knew no alternative to fascism, were educated as fascists and this strengthened the regime. Youth movements provided sporting opportunities, competitions, rallies, camps, parades and propaganda lectures – 60% membership in the north.

Propaganda

- Press, radio and cinema were all controlled.
- Mussolini was highly promoted as a 'saviour' sent by God to help Italy - heir to Caesar, world statesman, supreme patriot, a great thinker who worked 20 hours a day, a man of action, incorruptible.

Foreign policy

- Mussolini was initially extremely popular, as evidenced by huge crowds who turned out to hear him speak.
- Foreign policy successes in the 1920s, such as the Corfu Incident, made him extremely popular. He was also able to mobilise public opinion very successfully for the invasion of Abyssinia.
- Mussolini's role in the Munich Conference of 1938 was his last great foreign policy triumph.
- As Mussolini got more closely involved with Hitler his popularity lessened. His intervention in Spain proved a huge drain on Italy's resources. The invasion of Albania was a fiasco.

Relations with the Papacy

- Lateran treaties/Concordat with Papacy enabled acceptance of regime by the Catholic majority.
- Many Catholics supported Mussolini's promotion of 'family values'.

Any other relevant factors.

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PART F – Russia, 1881 - 1921

46	By 1905 Russia's problems had led to open opposition to the Tsarist state. Poor military performance in the war with Japan exposed the social, economic and political weaknesses of the state. **Military defeat** • Land battle: decisive defeat at Mukden. • Sea battle: defeat at Tsushima Strait. They sailed 18,000 miles before being defeated in under an hour. • The Russo-Japanese War was disastrous for Russia. Defeats by Japan were humiliating and led to discontent in Russia over the Tsar's leadership, the incompetence of the Tsar's government and the inadequate supplies and equipment of Russia's armed forces. • Russian soldiers and sailors were unhappy with their poor pay and conditions. • The incompetence of their leaders and their defeats led to low morale. • Naval mutiny in the Black Sea fleet, battleship *Potemkin*, over poor conditions and incompetent leadership threatened to spread and weakened support for the Tsar. **Other factors** **Economic problems** **Working-class discontent** • Russia had been experiencing a number of economic problems in the period before 1905. Russia had started the process of industrialisation, however its cost meant that Russia used foreign loans and increased taxes to fund it. • The working and living conditions in the cities were very poor and this, along with long working hours and low pay, led to discontent. **Peasantry discontent** • The vast majority of Russians were peasant farmers who lived in poverty and were desperate to own their own land. Many peasants were frustrated at paying redemption payments and at the unwillingness of the government to introduce reforms. An economic slump in Russia hurt the newly-created Russian industries and, coupled with famine in 1902/1903, led to food shortages. • There was an outcry when Russian grain was still being exported to pay for the foreign loans. **Political problems** • Growing unhappiness with Tsarist autocratic rule. The middle class and the industrial workers were calling for a constitutionally-elected government as they were so frustrated at the incompetence of the Tsar's government, especially during the war with Japan. During 1905, workers set up groups called soviets to demand better pay and conditions. The Russian nobility feared a revolution if moderate reforms were not introduced. • Tsar Nicholas II was seen as being too weak and unable to make good decisions for Russia in a crisis. • National minorities hated the policy of Russification as it ignored their language, customs and religion and many felt so isolated that the desire for independence intensified. • As the war with Japan progressed there were a growing number of protests from different parts of Russian society calling for the war to end and the Tsar to share his power.

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		Events • Bloody Sunday, on Sunday 9 January 1905, led by Father Gapon. Troops fired on the unarmed crowd which led to strikes in all major towns and cities. • Terrorist acts followed towards government officials and landowners. • Peasant violence in the countryside when peasants took over land and burned landowners' estates started after the government threatened to repossess the land of those behind with their redemption payments. **Any other relevant factors.**

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47.	In 1917, the Bolsheviks successfully overthrew the Provisional Government. A reason for this was the appeal of the Bolsheviks under the leadership and organisation of Lenin. **Appeal of the Bolsheviks** • Lenin returned to Russia announcing the April Theses, with slogans such as "Peace, Land and Bread" and "All Power to the Soviets" which were persuasive. • Lenin talked of further revolution to overthrow the Provisional Government and his slogans identified the key weaknesses of the Provisional Government. • 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. • The Bolsheviks did not return their weapons to the Provisional Government after they defeated Kornilov. • Bolsheviks were able to act as protectors of Petrograd. **Other factors** **Weaknesses of the Provisional Government** • 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. • The Provisional Government gave in to the pressure of the army and from the Allies to keep Russia in the War. • 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. • General Kornilov, a right wing general, proposed to replace the Provisional Government with a military dictatorship and sent troops to Petrograd. • Kerensky appealed to the Petrograd Soviet for help and the Bolsheviks were amongst those who responded. • Some Bolsheviks were armed and released from prison to help put down the attempted coup. **Dual power - The role of the Petrograd Soviet** • The old Petrograd Soviet re-emerged and ran Petrograd. • The Petrograd Soviet undermined the authority of Provisional Government especially when relations between the two worsened. • 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. **Economic problems** • The workers were restless as they were starving due to food shortages caused by the war. • The shortage of fuel caused lack of heating for the workers in their living conditions. • The shortage of food and supplies made the workers unhappy and restless.

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	The Land Issue • All over Russia peasants were seizing nobles land and wanted the Provisional Government to legitimise this. • The failure of the Provisional Government to recognise the peasants' claims eroded the confidence in the Provisional Government. • Food shortages caused discontent. **Any other relevant factors**

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48.	In order to secure power the Bolsheviks had to fight a vicious Civil War with their opponents. That they won was due to their strengths, such as the role of Trotsky as well as disunity among their enemies. **Role of Trotsky** • Trotsky had a completely free hand in military matters. • HQ was heavily armed train, which he used to travel around the country. • He supervised the formation of the Red Army, which became a formidable fighting force of three million men. • He recruited ex Tsarist army officers and used political commissars to watch over them, thus ensuring experienced officers but no political recalcitrance. • He used conscription to gain troops, and would shoot any deserters. • Trotsky helped provide an army with great belief in what it was fighting for, which the whites did not have. **Other factors** **Disunity among Whites** • The Whites were an uncoordinated series of groups whose morale was low. • The Whites had a collection of different political beliefs who all wanted different things and often fought amongst themselves due to differences. All of the Whites shared a hatred of Communism but other than this they lacked a common purpose. • No White leader of any measure emerged to unite and lead the White forces whereas the Reds had Trotsky and Lenin. **Organisation of the Red Army** • The Red Army was better organised than the White army and better equipped and therefore able to crush any opposition from the White forces. • Use of ex-officers from old Imperial Army. • Reintroduction of rank and discipline. • Role of Commissars. **Superior Red resources** • Once the Reds had established defence of their lines they were able to repel and exhaust the attacks by the Whites until they scattered or surrendered. • By having all of their land together it was easier for the Reds to defend. With the major industrial centres in their land (Moscow and Petrograd) the Reds had access to factories to supply weapons etc and swiftly due to their control of the railways. • Control of the Railways meant they could transport troops and supplies quickly and efficiently and in large numbers to the critical areas of defence or attack. • The decisive battles between the Reds and Whites were near railheads. • The Reds were in control of a concentrated area of western Russia, which they could successfully defend due to the maintenance of their communication and supply lines. • Having the two major cities of Moscow and Petrograd in their possession meant that the Reds had the hold of the industrial centres of Russia as well as the administrative centres. • Having the two major cities gave the Reds munitions and supplies that the Whites were unable to therefore obtain.

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	Use of Terror (Cheka) • The Cheka was set up to eradicate any opposition to the Reds. • There was no need for proof of guilt for punishment to be exacted. There was persecution of individual people who opposed the Reds as well as whole groups of people, which helped to reduce opposition due to fear, or simply eradicate opposition. • The Cheka group carried out severe repression. • Some of the first victims of the Cheka were leaders of other political parties. **Foreign Intervention** • The Bolsheviks were able to claim that the foreign "invaders" were imperialists who were trying to overthrow the revolution. • The Reds were able to stand as Champions of the Russian nation from foreign invasion. • The help received by the Whites from foreign powers was not as great as was hoped for. • The Foreign Powers did not provide many men due to the First World War just finishing and their help was restricted to money and arms. **Propaganda** • Whites were unable to take advantage of the brutality of the Reds to win support as they often carried out similar atrocities. • The Whites were unable to present themselves as a better alternative to the Reds due to their brutality. • The Reds kept pointing out that all of the land that the peasants had seized in the 1917 Revolution would be lost if the Whites won. This fear prevented the peasants from supporting the Whites. **Leadership of Lenin** • Introduction of War Communism • By forcing the peasants to sell their grain to the Reds for a fixed price the Reds were able to ensure that their troops were well supplied with and well fed. • The Whites' troops were not as well supplied and fed as the Reds' troops. • Skilled delegation and ruthlessness **Any other relevant factors.**

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PART G – USA, 1918 - 1968

49. Between 1918 and 1941 the USA was a racist society to a large extent. Black Americans faced hostility due to racist attitudes. Such racism was underpinned by a lack of political influence, legal sanction, social attitudes and organisations that persecuted black Americans.

Lack of political influence

- 1890s: loopholes in the interpretation of the 15th Amendment were exploited so that states could impose voting qualifications.
- 1898 case of Mississippi v Williams – voters must understand the American Constitution.
- Grandfather Clause: impediment to black people voting.
- Most black people in the South were sharecroppers they did not own land and some states identified ownership of property as a voting qualification.
- Therefore black people could not vote, particularly in the South, and could not elect anyone who would oppose the Jim Crow Laws.

Activities of the Ku Klux Klan

- Racist organisation formed in 1860s to prevent former slaves achieving equal rights. Suppressed by 1872, but in the 1920s there was a resurgence.
- Methods horrific: included beatings, torture and lynching.
- Roosevelt refused to support a federal bill to outlaw lynching in his New Deal in 1930s - feared loss of Democrat support in South.
- Activities took place at night – men in white robes, guns, torches, burning crosses.
- The 'second' Klan grew most rapidly in urbanising cities which had high growth rates between 1910 and 1930, such as Detroit, Memphis, Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston.
- Klan membership in Alabama dropped to less than 6,000 by 1930. Small independent units continued to be active in places like Birmingham, where in the late 1930s members launched a reign of terror by bombing the homes of upwardly mobile African- Americans.
- Their activities in the 1930s led to continued migration of black Americans from the South to the North.

Legal impediments

- 'Jim Crow Laws' – separate education, transport, toilets etc – passed in Southern states after the Civil War
- 'Separate but Equal' Supreme Court Decision 1896, when Homer Plessey tested their legality
- Attitudes of Presidents eg Wilson 'Segregation is not humiliating and is a benefit for you black gentlemen'.

Divisions in the black community

- Booker T. Washington, accommodationist philosophy, regarded as an 'Uncle Tom' by many.
- In contrast W. E. B De Bois founded the NAACP – a national organisation whose main aim was to oppose discrimination through legal action. 1919 he launched a campaign against lynching, but it failed to attract most black people and was dominated by white people and well off black people.
- Marcus Garvey and Black Pride – he founded the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) which aimed to get blacks to 'take Africa, organise it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over'.

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	Popular prejudice • Since the institution of slavery the status of Africans was stigmatized, and this stigma was the basis for the anti-African racism that persisted. • The relocation of millions of African-Americans from their roots in the Southern states to the industrial centres of the North after World War I, particularly in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York (Harlem). In northern cities, racial tensions exploded, most violently in Chicago, and lynchings increased dramatically in the 1920s. **Any other relevant factors**

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50.	After 1945, the Civil Rights Movement was active in campaigning to improve the lives of African-Americans. There are many reasons why this mass movement developed after 1945 and the role of Martin Luther King is a significant factor. **The role of Martin Luther King** • Martin Luther King – inspirational. Linked with SCLC. Peaceful non-violence and effective use of the media. 'I have a dream' speech. • 1957 Martin Luther King and other black clergy formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to coordinate the work of civil rights groups. • King urged African-Americans to use peaceful methods. • Leadership during Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955. • Use of media to gain publicity for the cause. **The emergence of effective black leaders** • Malcolm X – inspirational, but more confrontational. Articulate voice of Nation of Islam. • Stokely Carmichael – Black Power and rejection of much on MLK's non-violent approach. A 'direct ideas' descendant of Marcus Garvey. • All leaders attracted media coverage, large followings and divided opinion across USA. • Black Panthers attracted attention but lost support by their confrontational tactics. • Other leaders and organisations eclipsed by media focus on main personalities. **The formation of effective black organisations** • 1960: groups of black and white college students organised Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help the civil rights movement. • They joined with young people from the SCLC, CORE and NAACP in staging sit-ins, boycotts, marches and freedom rides. • Combined efforts of the civil rights groups ended discrimination in many public places including restaurants, hotels, and theatres. **Continuation of prejudice and discrimination** • The experience of war emphasised freedom, democracy and human rights yet in USA Jim Crow laws still existed and lynching went unpunished. • The Emmet Till murder trial and its publicity. • Education: 1954 Brown v Board of Education of Topeka; 1957 Little Rock Central High School. • Transport: 1955 Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. **The experience of black servicemen in the Second World War** • Black soldiers talked about 'the Double-V-Campaign': Victory in the war and victory for Civil Rights at home. • Philip Randolph is credited with highlighting the problems faced by black Americans during World War Two. • Planned March on Washington in 1941 to protest against racial discrimination. • Roosevelt's response – Executive order 8802. • Roosevelt also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination. • Creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 1942. • Beginning of a mass movement for Civil Rights. **Any other relevant factors.**

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51. After 1945, the Civil Rights Movement was active in campaigning to improve the lives of black Americans. This mass movement was successful, in part, in solving the problems facing black Americans, up to 1968.

Aims of the Civil Rights Movement

- Was mainly pacifist and intended to bring Civil Rights and equality in law to all black Americans.
- More radical segregationist aims of Black Radical Movements.

Role of NAACP

- Work of NAACP in the Brown v Topeka Board of Education, 1954.
- Work of NAACP in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955.

Role of CORE

- Organised sit-ins during 1961 and freedom rides.
- Helped organise march on Washington.
- Instrumental in setting up Freedom Schools in Mississippi.

Role of SCLC and Martin Luther King

- Emergence of Martin Luther King and the SCLC.
- Little Rock, Arkansas - desegregation following national publicity.
- Non-violent protest as exemplified by Sit-ins and Freedom Rides.
- Birmingham, Alabama 1963: use of water cannon: Reaction of Kennedy.
- March on Washington, August 1963 - massive publicity.
- Martin Luther King believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 'gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote it was dignity without strength'.
- March 1965, King led a march from Selma to Birmingham, Alabama, to publicise the way in which the authorities made it difficult for black Americans to vote easily.

Changes in Federal Policy

- Use of executive orders: Truman used them to appoint black appointments, order equality of treatment in the armed services: Kennedy signed 1962 executive order outlawing racial discrimination in public housing, etc
- Eisenhower sent in federal troops and National Guardsmen to protect nine African-American students enrolled in a Central High School: Kennedy sent troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect black student: James Meredith
- Johnson and the 1964 Civil Rights Act banning racial discrimination in any public place, Voting Rights Act of 1965: by end of 1965 over 250,000 Blacks newly registered to vote, Affirmative Action, etc

Social, economic and political changes

- Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 irrelevant to the cities of the North.
- Economic issues more important in the North.
- Watts Riots and the split in the Civil Rights movement.
- King and the failure in Chicago.
- Urban poverty and de facto segregation still common in urban centres – failure of King's campaign to attack poverty.

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	Rise of black radical movements • Stokely Carmichael and Black Power. • Malcolm X publicised the increasing urban problems within the ghettos of America.The Black Panthers were involved in self-help schemes throughout poor cities. • Kerner Commission 1968 recognised US society still divided. **Any other relevant factors.**

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

52. By its nature the fascism espoused by Hitler and Mussolini was expansionist in nature. However, the methods used to fulfil their aims varied owing to the circumstances faced by the fascist powers. There was considerable skill on display as well as the ability to use opportunity when it arose. However, the inevitable end of such actions was war.

Military agreements, pacts and alliances

- The German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and Poland signed on January 26, 1934 - normalised relations between Poland and Germany, and promised peace for 10 years. Germany gained respectability and calmed international fears.
- Anglo German Naval Treaty 1935 - Germany allowed to expand navy. Versailles ignored in favour of bi-lateral agreements. A gain for Germany.
- Rome-Berlin axis - treaty of friendship signed between Italy and Germany on 25 October 1936.
- Pact of Steel – an agreement between Italy and Germany signed on May 22, 1939 for immediate aid and military support in the event of war.
- Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi-Germany and Japan on November 25th, 1936. The pact directed against the Communist International (Comintern) but was specifically directed against the Soviet Union. In 1937 Italy joined the Pact Munich Agreement - negotiations led to Hitler gaining Sudetenland and weakening Czechoslovakia.
- Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact August 1939 - Both Hitler and Stalin bought time for themselves. For Hitler it seemed war in Europe over Poland unlikely. Poland was doomed. Britain had lost the possibility of alliance with Russia.

Other Factors

Fascist strategies: use of Military threat and force

- Italy's naval ambitions in the Mediterranean – 'Mare Nostrum'.
- Italian invasion of Abyssinia – provocation, methods, and relatively poor performance against very poorly equipped enemy.
- German remilitarisation of Rhineland – Hitler's gamble and timing, his generals' opposition, lack of Allied resistance.
- Spanish Civil War – aid to Nationalists, testing weapons and tactics, aerial bombing of Guernica.
- Anschluss – attempted coup 1934; relations with Schuschnigg; invasion itself relatively botched militarily; popularity of Anschluss in Austria.
- Czechoslovakia – threats of 1938; invasion of March 1939.
- Italian invasion of Albania – relatively easy annexation of a client state.
- Poland – escalating demands; provocation, invasion.
- The extent to which it was the threat of military force which was used rather than military force itself – eg Czechoslovakia in 1938; and the extent to which military force itself was effective and/or relied on an element of bluff – eg Rhineland.

German Rearmament

- Open German rearmament from 1935.
- The speed and scale of rearmament, including conscription.
- The emphasis on air power and the growing threat from the air.
- By 1939, Hitler had an army of nearly 1 million men, over 8,000 aircraft and 95 warships.
- Germany's perceived military strength may have had an effect on other countries. Britain, for example feared aerial power, especially after the bombing of Guernica by the German Condor Legion.

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	Fascist diplomacy as a means of achieving aims: • Aims can be generally accepted as destruction of Versailles, the weakening of democracies, the expansion of fascist powers and countering communism. • Diplomacy and the protestation of 'peaceful' intentions and 'reasonable' demands. • Appeals to sense of international equality and fairness and the righting of past wrongs eg Versailles. • Withdrawal from League and Disarmament Conference. • Prior to Remilitarisation of Rhineland Hitler made offer of 25 year peace promise. Diplomacy used to distract and delay reaction to Nazi action. **Fascist strategies: Economic** • Use of economic influence and pressure, eg on south-eastern European states. • Aid supplied to Franco (Spain) was tactically important to Hitler. Not only for testing weapons but also access to Spanish minerals. **Any other relevant factors**

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53.	Czechoslovakia was created by the break-up of Austria-Hungary, at the end of World War One, by the Treaty of St Germain. It was a successful democracy in Eastern Europe, though there was a significant minority of Sudeten Germans. This Germanic population became very restless after relentless Nazi propaganda. Hitler threatened invasion to 'protect' the 'persecuted' German minority. In September of 1938 Chamberlain flew out to meet Hitler directly at Berchtesgaden in order to avoid war. He met with Hitler again at Bad Godesberg and finally at a four-power conference in Munich, conceding the Sudetenland 'peace for our time'.
	
	Munich Agreement was a reasonable settlement
	• Czechoslovakian defences were effectively outflanked anyway following the Anschluss.
	• Britain and France were not in a position to prevent German attack on Czechoslovakia in terms of difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia.
	• British public opinion was reluctant to risk war over mainly German-speaking Sudetenland.
	• Military unpreparedness for wider war – especially Britain's air defences.
	• Lack of alternative, unified international response to Hitler's threats:
	  • Failure of League of Nations in earlier crises
	  • French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia
	  • US isolationism
	  • British suspicion of Soviet Russia
	  • Strong reservations of rest of British Empire and Dominions concerning support for Britain in event of war.
	• Attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.
	• Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use.
	• Views of individuals, politicians and media at this time.
	
	Munich Agreement was not a reasonable settlement
	• A humiliating surrender to Hitler's threats.
	• Another breach in the post-WW1 settlement.
	• A betrayal of Czechoslovakia and democracy.
	• Czechoslovakia wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939.
	• Further augmentation of German manpower and resources.
	• Furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in Eastern Europe.
	• Further alienation of Soviet Union.
	• Poland left further exposed.
	• A British, French, Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative.
	• Views of individuals, politicians and media at this time.
	
	Any other relevant factors

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54. The Nazi occupation of the Sudentenland could be justified in the eyes of Appeasers as Hitler was absorbing fellow Germans into Greater Germany. However, by the time of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, any illusion of justified grievances had evaporated.

Importance of Nazi-Soviet Pact

- Pact – diplomatic, economic, military co-operation; division of Poland.
- Unexpected – Hitler and Stalin's motives.
- Put an end to British-French talks with Russia on guarantees to Poland.
- Hitler was freed from the threat of Soviet intervention and war on two fronts.
- Hitler's belief that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland without Russian assistance.
- Hitler now felt free to attack Poland.
- But, given Hitler's consistent, long-term foreign policy aims on the destruction of the Versailles settlement and lebensraum in the east, the Nazi-Soviet Pact could be seen more as a factor influencing the timing of the outbreak of war rather than as one of its underlying causes.
- Hitler's long-term aims for destruction of the Soviet state and conquest of Russian resources - lebensraum.
- Hitler's need for new territory and resources to sustain Germany's militarised economy.
- Hitler's belief that British and French were 'worms' who would not turn from previous policy of appeasement and avoidance of war at all costs.
- Hitler's belief that the longer war was delayed the more the balance of military and economic advantage would shift against Germany.

Other factors

Changing British attitudes towards appeasement

- Czechoslovakia did not concern most people until the middle of September 1938, when they began to object to a small democratic state being bullied. However, most press and population went along with it, although level of popular opposition often underestimated.
- Events in Bohemia and Moravia consolidated growing concerns in Britain.
- The anti-appeasement movement gained more support as Hitler's intentions became clearer.
- German annexation of Memel [largely German population, but in Lithuania] further showed Hitler's bad faith
- Actions convinced British government of growing German threat in south-eastern Europe.
- Guarantees to Poland and promised action in the event of threats to Polish independence.

The occupation of Bohemia and the collapse of Czechoslovakia

- British and French realisation, after Hitler's breaking of Munich Agreement and invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, that Hitler's word was worthless and that his aims went beyond the incorporation of ex-German territories and ethnic Germans within the Reich.
- Promises of support to Poland and Rumania.
- British public acceptance that all attempts to maintain peace had been exhausted.
- Prime Minister Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realised his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed, and began to take a much harder line against the Nazis.

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British diplomacy and relations with the Soviet Union

- Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia.
- Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary was invited by Stalin to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany.
- Britain refused as they feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler.
- In August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British and French eventually sent a military mission to discuss an alliance with Russia. Owing to travel difficulties it took five days to reach Leningrad.
- The Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused, knowing that the Poles would not want this. The talks broke down.
- This merely confirmed Stalin's suspicions regarding the British. He felt they could not be trusted, especially after the Munich agreement, and they would leave Russia to fight Germany alone. This led directly to opening talks with the Nazis who seemed to be taking the Russians seriously by sending Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and offering peace and land.

The position of France

- France had signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia offering support if the country was attacked. However, Hitler could all but guarantee that in 1938, French would do nothing as their foreign policy was closely tied to the British.
- French military, and particularly their air force, allowed to decline in years after 1919.
- After Munich, French more aggressive towards dictators and in events of 1939 were keen on a military alliance with the Soviet Union, however despite different emphasis on tactics were tied to the British and their actions.

Developing crisis over Poland

- Hitler's long-term aims for the destruction of Versailles, including regaining of Danzig and Polish Corridor.
- British and French decision to stick to their guarantees to Poland

Invasion of Poland

- On 1 September 1939, Hitler and the Nazis faked a Polish attack on a minor German radio station in order to justify a German invasion of Poland. An hour later Hitler declared war on Poland stating one of his reasons for the invasion was because of "the attack by regular Polish troops on the Gleiwitz transmitter."
- France and Britain had a defensive pact with Poland. This forced France and Britain to declare war on Germany, which they did on September 3.

Any other relevant factors

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

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Demands for change and reaction: Berlin (1961)

- Problem of Berlin – a divided city in a divided nation.
- Lack of formal boundaries in Berlin allowed East Berliners and East Germans to freely enter the West which they did owing to the lack of political freedom, economic development and poor living standards in the East.
- Many of those fleeing (2.8 million between 1949 and 1961) were skilled and young, just the people the communist East needed to retain. This was embarrassing for the East as it showed that Communism was not the superior system it was claimed to be.
- Concerns of Ulbricht and Khrushchev: attempts to encourage the Western forces to leave Berlin by bluster and threat from 1958 failed.
- President Kennedy spoke about not letting the Communists drive them out of Berlin. Resultant increase in tension could not be allowed to continue.
- Building of barriers: barbed wire then stone in August 1961 to stem the flood from East to West.
- Success in that it reduced the threat of war and the exodus to the West from the East to a trickle. To an extent it suited the West as well as they did not like the obvious threat of potential conflict and escalation that Berlin represented.
- Frustration of many in East Germany. Propaganda gift for the US and allies, though Soviets had controlled the direct challenge.

Military and ideological factors

- Buffer zone could not be broken up as provided military defence for Soviet Union.
- Use of force and Red Army to enforce control in late 40s and early 50s.
- Need to ensure success of Communism hence policy.

Domestic pressures

- Intention to stop any further suffering of Soviet Union in aftermath of WW2 made leadership very touchy to change.
- Some economic freedoms were allowed, but at the expense of political freedoms.
- Need to stop spread of demands for change.

Any other relevant factors

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56	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. The USSR wished to restructure its economic focus from weapons production and heavy industry to more consumer goods. The USA felt that there were other ways to contain Communism and wished for more engagement in the context of their involvement in Vietnam. **Economic cost of arms race** • Developments in technology raised the costs of the arms race. • The development of Anti-Ballistic Missile technology and costs of war led to SALT 1, and the ABM treaty • Limiting MIRV and intermediate missile technology led to SALT 2. • The cost of 'Star Wars' technology also encouraged the Soviet Union to seek better relations. • 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. • 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. **Other factors** **Mutually Assured Destruction** • The development of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons from 1945 by both superpowers as a deterrent to the other side; a military attack would result in horrific retaliation. • So many nuclear weapons were built to ensure that not all were destroyed even after a first-strike, and this led to a stalemate known as MAD. Arms race built on fear. **Dangers of military conflict as seen through Cuban Missile Crisis** • 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. • 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. **Technology: The importance of verification** • American development of surveillance technology (U2 and satellites) meant that nuclear weapons could be identified and agreements verified. • Example of U2 flight over Cuba where Anderson photographed nuclear sites. • Also U2 and satellite verification to make sure the Soviets were doing as promised at the negotiating table. • Some historians think Arms Control would never have taken root, but for the ability of the sides to verify what the other was doing.

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	Co-existence and Détente • Policies of co-existence and détente developed to defuse tensions and even encourage trade. • Role of others like Brandt in West Germany in defusing tension through their policies of Ostpolitik, etc. **Any other relevant factors**

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57	Ronald Reagan became President of the United States in 1981. He brought an aggressive anti-Communism to Cold War relations. This showed itself through new defence initiatives as well as tough talk. By 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev had become General Secretary of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. He was very aware of the economic problems building up for Russia and sought reform at home and engagement abroad. **Actions of President Ronald Reagan** • Unlike many in the US administration Reagan actively sought to challenge Soviet weakness and strengthen the west in order to defeat Communism. In 1983 he denounced the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire'. • Programme of improving US armed forces, including nuclear weapons and he proposed a Star Wars missile shield to challenge the belief in MAD (SDI). • He was very charming when he met Gorbachev and visited the Soviet Union. **Other factors** **Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe** • Strong Polish identity and history of hostility with Russia. By 1970s, Poland in economic slump. Emergence of opposition around Gdansk in 1980: industrial workers strike led by Lech Walesa, who argued for the creation of an independent trade union. Solidarity grew to nine million members in a matter of months. Movement suppressed in 1981 by General Jaruzelski's government. • Multiparty elections in Poland, after Soviet troops left, victory for Solidarity. • Czechoslovakia, political prisoners released in November 1989 and by the end of the month, the communist government had gone. No Soviet intervention. • Opening of the Berlin Wall: division of Germany finally came to an end. • Soviet domination ended. • Perestroika and Glasnost and end of Communist rule in USSR. **Role of President Mikhail Gorbachev** • Gorbachev saw that the USSR could not afford a new arms race. The Soviet economy was at breaking point. Commitments to the arms race and propping up allied regimes meant consumer goods and other things such as housing that mattered to Russian people were neglected. • Gorbachev implemented policies of Perestroika and Glasnost which aimed to reform the Soviet economy and liberalise its political system. • Gorbachev worked to improve relations with the USA. He took ideology out of his foreign policy, as exemplified by arms agreements to allow the USSR to concentrate on internal matters: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, Dec 1987, Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, 1989. • Gorbachev told leaders of the satellite East European states in March 1989 that the Soviet army would no longer help them to stay in power. **Western economic strength** • Allowed America to embark on the Star Wars weapons programme. • Perception of the affluent West through television and consumer goods undermined Communist claims of the superiority of their economic system.

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	Withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan • Symptom of the problems of Soviet Union • Intervention in Dec 1979: conflict with the Mujahidin. Russian army morale crumbled when over 20,000 Soviet soldiers died, as did support at home. The conflict showed the weaknesses of the Soviet economy. War led to a slump in living standards for ordinary Russians. • Russians began to question the actions of their own government. Gorbachev withdrew troops in 1988. **Any other relevant factors**

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