National
Qualifications
SPECIMEN ONLY

S837/76/11

History
British, European and World History

Date — Not applicable

Duration — 1 hour 30 minutes

Total marks — 44

SECTION 1 — BRITISH — 22 marks

Attempt ONE question from the part you have chosen.

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD — 22 marks

Attempt ONE question from the part you have chosen.

Write your answers clearly in the answer booklet provided. In the answer booklet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Use **blue** or **black** ink.

Before leaving the examination room you must give your answer booklet to the Invigilator; if you do not, you may lose all the marks for this paper.

S8377611

[BLANK PAGE]

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS PAGE

SECTION 1 — BRITISH

Attempt **ONE** question from the part you have chosen.

PARTS

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD

Attempt **ONE** question from the part you have chosen.

PARTS

MARKS

SECTION 1 — BRITISH — 22 marks

Attempt ONE question from the part you have chosen

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

1. To what extent were the peasant classes the most important part of feudal society? **22**

2. *David I was successful in increasing royal power in Scotland.*

How valid is this view? **22**

3. To what extent was King John successful in increasing royal authority in England? **22**

PART B — The century of revolutions, 1603–1702

4. *Political issues were the main cause of the problems faced by King James after the Union of the Crowns in 1603.*

How valid is this view? **22**

5. To what extent were religious issues the most important reason for the outbreak of civil war in England? **22**

6. To what extent was the role of Charles II the main reason for the Revolution Settlement of 1688–1689? **22**

PART C — The trade in enslaved African people

7. To what extent were racist attitudes the main reason for the development of the trade in enslaved Africans? **22**

8. *The fear of Africans' resistance to their enslavement was the most important factor governing relations between enslaved Africans and their owners.*

How valid is this view? **22**

9. To what extent were the effects of the French Revolution the main obstacle to abolition? **22**

SECTION 1 — BRITISH (continued)

PART D — Britain, 1851–1951

10. To what extent was party advantage the most important reason why Britain became more democratic, 1851–1928? **22**

11. *The part played by women in the war effort was the main reason why some women were given the vote in 1918.*

How valid is this view? **22**

12. To what extent did the social reforms of the Liberal Government, 1906–1914, meet the needs of the British people? **22**

PART E — Britain and Ireland, 1900–1985

13. To what extent was the Nationalist response to the Home Rule Bill the main reason for the growth of tension in Ireland, to 1914? **22**

14. *The policies and actions of the British Government were the main obstacle to peace in Ireland, 1918–1921.*

How valid is this view? **22**

15. To what extent was Unionist political ascendancy the main reason for the developing crisis in Northern Ireland, by 1968? **22**

[Now go on to SECTION 2 starting on page 06]

MARKS

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD — 22 marks

Attempt ONE question from the part you have chosen

PART A — The crusades, 1071–1204

16. To what extent was the threat to Byzantium the main reason for the calling of the First Crusade? **22**

17. To what extent were divisions among the Islamic states the main reason for the success of the First Crusade? **22**

18. *Richard's military role was the main reason for the resolution of the Third Crusade.*

How valid is this view? **22**

PART B — The American Revolution, 1763–1787

19. To what extent was the role of George III the main reason for colonial resentment towards Britain by 1763? **22**

20. To what extent did the views of Thomas Paine represent British opinion towards the conflict in the colonies? **22**

21. *British military inefficiency was the main reason for the colonists' victory in the American War of Independence.*

How valid is this view? **22**

PART C — The French Revolution, to 1799

22. *Taxation was the main cause of the threats to the security of the Ancien Régime before 1789.*

How valid is this view? **22**

23. To what extent was the role of Louis XVI the main reason for the failure of constitutional monarchy, 1789–1792? **22**

24. To what extent was political instability the most important reason for the establishment of the Consulate? **22**

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD (continued)

PART D — Germany, 1815–1939

25. *Cultural factors were the main reason for the growth of nationalism in Germany, 1815–1850.*

How valid is this view? **22**

26. To what extent was Austrian strength the main obstacle to German unification, 1815-1850? **22**

27. To what extent were the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic the main reason why the Nazis achieved power in 1933? **22**

PART E — Italy, 1815–1939

28. To what extent were cultural factors the main reason for the growth of nationalism in Italy, 1815–1850? **22**

29. *The dominant position of Austria was the main obstacle to Italian unification, 1815–1850.*

How valid is this view? **22**

30. To what extent was the role of Mussolini the main reason why the Fascists achieved power in Italy, 1919–1925? **22**

PART F — Russia, 1881–1921

31. *The security of the Tsarist state was never seriously challenged in the years before 1905.*

How valid is this view? **22**

32. To what extent was the Tsar successful in strengthening his authority between 1905 and 1914? **22**

33. To what extent was the appeal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks the main reason for the success of the October Revolution, 1917? **22**

SECTION 2 — EUROPEAN AND WORLD (continued)

PART G — USA, 1918–1968

34. To what extent was fear of revolution the main reason for changing attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s? **22**

35. *The weaknesses of the US banking system was the main reason for the economic crisis of 1929–1933.*

How valid is this view? **22**

36. To what extent was prejudice and discrimination the main reason for the development of the civil rights campaign, after 1945? **22**

PART H — Appeasement and the road to war, to 1939

37. To what extent was fascist ideology the main reason for the aggressive nature of the foreign policies of Germany and Italy in the 1930s? **22**

38. *Military weakness was the most important reason for the British policy of appeasement, 1936-1938.*

How valid is this view? **22**

39. To what extent was the Munich agreement a success? **22**

PART I — The Cold War, 1945–1989

40. To what extent were tensions within the wartime alliance the most important reasons for the emergence of the Cold War, up to 1955? **22**

41. To what extent was US foreign policy the main reason for the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962? **22**

42. *The danger of Mutually Assured Destruction was the main reason why the superpowers attempted to manage the Cold War, 1962–1979.*

How valid is this view? **22**

[END OF SPECIMEN QUESTION PAPER]

National
Qualifications
SPECIMEN ONLY

S837/76/11

History
British, European and World History

Marking Instructions

These marking instructions have been provided to show how SQA would mark this specimen question paper.

SQA
©

General marking principles for Higher History — British, European and world history

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

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

(b) If a candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed marking instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your team leader.

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

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

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

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

(g) The question stems used in this paper are:

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

Marking principles for each question type

Essay questions (22 marks)

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

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

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

Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are:

- relevant to the issue in the question
- developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)
- used to respond to the demands of the question (for example, explain, analyse).

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

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

Award an analysis mark where candidates use their knowledge and understanding to identify relevant factors (for example, political, social, economic, or religious — although they do not need to use this terminology), or aspects within a factor (for example, success versus failure; different groups, such as elderly versus youth; or different social classes), and clearly show at least one of the following:

- links between different components
- links between component(s) and the whole
- links between component(s) and related concepts
- similarities and consistency
- contradictions and inconsistency
- different views and/or interpretations
- the relative importance of components
- understanding of underlying order or structure.

Examples of relationships between identified factors could include:

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

Evaluation
Award up to **4 marks.**

Evaluation involves making a judgement based on criteria.

Candidates make reasoned evaluative comments relating to, for example:

- The extent to which the factor is supported by the evidence.
  For example, *This evidence shows that X was a very significant area of impact.*
- The relative importance of factors.
  For example, *This evidence shows that X was a more significant area of impact than Y.*
- Counter-arguments including possible alternative interpretations.
  For example, *One factor was . . . However, this may not be the case because . . .*
  OR
  However, more recent research tends to show that . . .
- The overall impact and/or significance of the factors when taken together.
  For example, *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.
  For example, *Given the situation which they inherited, these actions were more successful than they might appear.*

Award marks where candidates develop a line of argument which makes a judgement on the issue, explaining the basis on which the judgement is made. Candidates should present the argument in a balanced way, making evaluative comments which show their judgement on the individual factors, and may use counter-arguments or alternative interpretations to build their case.

	Mark	0 marks	1 mark	2 marks	3 marks
Historical context	**3**	Candidates make one or two factual points but these are not relevant.	Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue **or** identify key factors **or** a line of argument.	Candidates establish at least one point of relevant background to the issue **and** identify key factors **or** connect these to the line of argument.	Candidates establish at least two points of relevant background to the issue **and** identify key factors **and** connect these to the line of argument in response to the issue.
Conclusion	**3**	Candidates make no overall judgement on the issue.	Candidates make a summary of points made.	Candidates make an overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue.	Candidates make a relative overall judgement between the different factors in relation to the issue and explain how this arises from their evaluation of the presented evidence.

		0 marks	6 marks
Use of knowledge	**6**	Candidates use no evidence to support their conclusion.	Up to **a maximum of 6 marks**, award **1 mark** for each developed point of knowledge candidates use to support a factor or area of impact. Award knowledge and understanding marks where points are: • relevant to the issue in the question • developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence) • used to respond to the demands of the question (for example, explain, analyse)
Analysis	**6**	Candidates provide a narrative response	Up to **a maximum of 6 marks,** award **1 mark** for each comment candidates make which analyses the factors in terms of the question. Award **a maximum of 3 marks** where candidates make comments which address different aspects of individual factors.

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

Marking instructions for each question

Section 1 — British

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

1.	**Context** Feudalism is a term that is used to describe a society that is organised around relationships that emerge from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. There is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism. **The role and importance of the peasant classes:** • feudal lords depended on the peasant classes; without their work in the fields the feudal system would not have worked • the peasants were used to form the bulk of the armies • their importance was highlighted after the Black Death when they were able to demand a lot of money for their labour • the Peasants' Revolt (1381) demonstrates that when required, the peasants could work together and make demands. **Other factors:** **The role and importance of the landed classes:** • barons accounted for ownership of almost half the arable land in England; they could have lands from several lords or kings • the barons were indebted to the king for the lands given to them • like the king, barons had control over the people under them; they could demand military service and raise an army of knights • like kings, barons could raise revenue from their lands. **The role of the clergy:** • 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 • the church provided the majority of clerks for the state government. They were needed to keep records, write charters, laws and keep accounts • within the feudal system, bishops and abbots were seen as other landowners • the church provided an important social, religious, political and economic function. **Social divisions:** • feudal society was organised around relationships that emerged from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour • there is debate about what this means in detail, but the relationship between king, nobility, knights and the peasantry is generally agreed to form the basis of feudalism.

	Changing role of knights: • royalty understood the importance of the idea of chivalry if properly harnessed, that is, in favour of the monarchy. Kings hoped to encourage knights and keep their loyalty; romantic stories of the Arthurian Legends were a way of keeping knights loyal • the English Crown attempted to recreate Camelot and the spirit of the round table. In a way, this was how Edward I and Edward III kept the importance of chivalry alive in their realm. **The king:** • kings exercised control over their kingdoms, through patronage and gifts of land • the king could therefore demand military service in return for a charter that granted the land to the baron and his descendants • the king granted judicial rights to the barons • the king retained the right to hear any case in his own court. **Revenue:** • the king received revenue, from not only his own lands, but from feudal dues from all of his barons • the king received money in the form of scutage (shield tax), from those followers who refused to fight • the king could apply taxes (for example, feudal aids and reliefs) across the kingdom. **Any other relevant factors.**

2.	**Context** David I was the youngest son of King Malcolm III and St Margaret. By the time he succeeded to the throne in 1124, he was well-connected with a good marriage, a rich inheritance and estates in Normandy, north England and southern Scotland. He sought to impose his authority on the kingdom of Scotland on his succession to the throne. **Feudal landholding:** • during his time in England, David became an admirer of the feudal landholding system. He introduced a form of military feudalism into areas of Scotland, notably the southwest, Lothian and the northeast • noble families were imported from his lands in England and France and given grants of land. In return they offered David their support, both politically and militarily. Examples include Robert de Brus in Annandale and Walter fitz Alan in Renfrewshire and East Lothian • there was penetration into Fife and beyond. There was land given in feudal due to Flemish knights in Moray • however, the Mormaers in Scotland were semi-independent and held autonomous power over large parts of Scotland. The Earls of Moray had a long tradition of independence, even going so far as to claim the Crown during the reign of Macbeth. However, when its earl rebelled in 1130 and was killed near Brechin, David annexed the province for the Crown and set up feudatories there • leaders in the far west and north of Scotland also had a history of independence. In the south, the lordship of Galloway was under the leadership of Fergus, who from 1124 styled himself as King of the Gallowegians • there was no whole-scale replacement of the native aristocracy. By the 1160s there were still 10 native earls and David was close to those in Fife and Dunbar. **Economic:** • before David I, revenue in Scotland was mostly limited to the incomes from royal demesnes • the lack of royal burghs limited international trade and early medieval Scottish kings lacked the financial resources to tackle the Mormaers directly without the Community of the Realm backing them • as a result David sought to develop more burghs, for example Perth, in order to generate revenue. Burghs allowed for privileged merchant communities. The rents, tolls and fines that the burghs provided were David's earliest and most important sources of money. By the end of his reign there were even burghs in Forres and Elgin in Moray • moneyers were appointed by David and silver pennies were introduced. **Law and order:** • royal justice was usually reserved for more serious crimes. Issues of land, an important aspect of justice, were often poorly judged or unfairly settled • expansion of royal castles: motte and bailey. **Religion:** • started by David's mother Margaret, the introduction of the Roman Church at the expense of the Celtic one offered a significant support to the development of royal authority. David gave significant grants of land to religious orders, the greatest being the Cistercian house at Melrose in 1136. Other grants of land included Benedictine at Dunfermline and the Augustinians at St Andrews and Holyrood

- David's actions were important in the monastic economic development of land and because the Church preached the divine grace of the king, it was hard to justify any rebellions against him
- loyalty was given from new religious orders free from corruption; in return David constructed magnificent Abbeys at Jedburgh and Holyrood. David established Diocese at Moray and Ross, and down the east coast from St Andrews to Edinburgh (East Lothian)
- however, David was also sensitive to local needs and displayed reverence to the native saints, for example, St Mungo of Glasgow and St Columba of Iona.

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

Royal government:
- during David I's reign, he developed new offices such as Constable, Butler, Chamberlain and Chancellor. Supporters like Hugh de Morville and Ranulf de Soules became David's constable and butler
- however, his household kept the Gaelic speaking 'Rannaire' (Divider of Food) and the royal bodyguard (the 'Durward')
- sheriffdoms were introduced along the style of Norman Kings of England, larger than the traditional thanages
- sheriffs sought to replace thanes in the remote areas of the kingdom. They offered direct royal contact for those away from the traditional seat of power
- however the continued use of officials with Gaelic names shows how David used the structures that already existed.

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

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

Any other relevant factors.

3.	**Context** King John was the youngest, and favourite, son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. On the death of his elder brother Richard, he became King of England despite the claims of his nephew, Arthur. He struggled to hold the widespread Angevin Empire together in the face of the challenges of the Capetian monarch of France and his own barons. **Impact of the loss of Normandy:** • had an impact on the royal finances as it reduced John's income • the recovery of the royal lands north of the Loire became the focus of John's foreign policy and led to policies which eventually led to challenges to his authority • the need to fund warfare to recover Normandy led to the frequent use of scutage to raise cash. It was used much more frequently than under Henry II and Richard I, levied 11 times in 17 years. **Taxation:** • John was more efficient in collecting taxes • he used wardships to raise cash • John introduced new taxes: for example, 1207 tax on income and moveable goods • he improved the quality of silver coinage. **John's personality:** • he could be generous, had a coarse sense of humour and was intelligent • however, he could also be suspicious and cruel: vicious in his treatment of prisoners and nobles • Arthur, his nephew, died in mysterious circumstances • powerful lords like William de Braose fell from favour and were persecuted. William's wife and son were imprisoned and died. He died in exile in France. **Relations with the church:** • John fell out with Pope Innocent III over the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent insisted on the appointment of Langton which John opposed • papal interdict laid on England and Wales for 6 years • in 1213 John made England a fief of the papacy • noble uprising led by Archbishop of Canterbury. **Relations with the nobility:** • nobles refused to fight in France. This was especially true of the northern barons who had little stake in France • nobles felt their status was reduced by use of mercenaries • John became increasingly suspicious of the nobles • high cost of titles led to nobles becoming overly indebted • John took hostages to ensure nobles behaved. He showed he was prepared to execute children if their father opposed him.

	Administration of government: • John filled many of the roles in the royal household with new men, especially from Poitou. This was not popular with the English barons. **Military power:** • John established the Royal Navy • John relied on extensive use of mercenaries rather than feudal service • he was able to exert his military strength against the nobility and the French • John was an able military commander; for example, when conflict started with France and his nephew Arthur, he defeated them and captured 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 • he extended the system of coroners. **Magna Carta:** • relations worsened over the course of the reign, ending with Magna Carta and rebellion of many barons. **Any other relevant factors.**

Part B — The century of revolutions, 1603–1702

4.	**Context** During the reign of James I in England, 1603–1625, the House of Commons had challenged the divine right of kings, and relations between Crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. When James I had ascended the throne, Parliament had become used to wielding some power due to developments during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, but James wanted to exercise the same authority in England as he had been accustomed to in Scotland. Factors contributing towards James I's problems were economic, religious (in relation to both Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism), political, legal and Scotland-related. **Political issues:** • Parliament had been encouraged since the days of Henry VIII to make policy, and therefore its members felt they could criticise the Crown freely; however, James I asserted the divine right of kings as he claimed he had been accustomed to this in Scotland, which made his status as a foreigner more unattractive to the English Parliament • the House of Commons opposed James I to such an extent that the stability of the nation was affected • the king conceded defeat in the Goodwin Case which gave Parliament fresh impetus to challenge him further • James I attempted to reduce parliamentary freedom of speech by imprisoning outspoken MPs in the Tower of London when Parliament was dissolved. **Economic issues:** • James I wanted to exist financially independent of Parliament and manipulated the statute books to re-impose anachronistic laws which were designed merely to raise revenue • fiscal devices such as monopolies and wardships were unpopular • the king alienated his natural allies in the House of Lords by selling honours and titles and appearing to devalue the status of the aristocracy • increases in customs duties led to the Bates Case in 1606 which James I won, although Parliament declared the duties illegal in 1610. **Religious issues — Presbyterianism:** • James I had a lifelong hatred of Puritanism; Puritans existed in large numbers in the House of Commons and were demanding church reform • the king feared moves towards Presbyterianism and rejected the Millenary Petition at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, saying 'no bishops, no king', and vowing to maintain an Episcopalian Church of England • puritans existed in large numbers in House of Commons and were demanding church reform early in James I's reign • in 1607 the House of Commons presented a Petition for the Restoration of Silenced Ministers, requesting the re-instatement of preachers who had been previously dismissed for their Puritan views. This set MPs in direct opposition in policy terms to the sitting monarch. **Religious issues — Roman Catholicism:** • James I relaxed the Recusancy Laws against Roman Catholics, which revealed that there were more Roman Catholics than many in the House of Commons had feared • the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 increased tension and turned many against Roman Catholics

- Parliament was horrified that the king allowed his son to marry a Roman Catholic French princess and allowed her to celebrate Mass privately at court
- furthermore, James I admired the religious power of the monarchies in France and Spain, both Roman Catholic countries and England's traditional enemies
- James conducted many negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, whose influence at court many Puritans resented. In 1604 they concluded a peace, bringing their 19-year war to an end with the Treaty of London
- eventually the king issued the House of Commons with the Rebuke of 1621, a ban on discussing foreign policy so that he could forge stronger links with Spain. This generated much anti-Catholic feeling among James I's political opponents who disapproved of this developing relationship.

Legal issues:

- James I attempted to control the court system by appointing judges who would favour the Crown; Parliament saw this as unfair and objected to the abuse of power
- the king also made sure that only he could sack Justices of the Peace, and not Parliament. This 'immovability of judges' was deeply resented by the House of Commons
- the king used his position to influence proceedings in the prerogative law courts such as the Court of Star Chamber and protect the landed classes who were exempt from flogging. Savage punishments were imposed on poorer people who could not pay fines, with Justices of the Peace frequently pronouncing 'No goods: to be whipped'
- the king imposed martial law in towns where troops were preparing to embark on foreign campaigns; Parliament opposed this
- the king billeted troops in the homes of civilians in order to enforce the law.

Divine right of kings:

- James I asserted the divine right of kings as he claimed he had been accustomed to this in Scotland while ruling as James VI.

Difficulties James had ruling both England and Scotland:

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

Any other relevant factors.

5.	**Context** The English Civil War was fought between the Royalist forces, who supported Charles I, and Parliamentarians, who opposed the king's authority. During the reign of James I, 1603–1625, the House of Commons had challenged the divine right of kings. When Charles I ascended the throne in 1625, relations between Crown and Parliament deteriorated over a number of issues. Factors contributing towards the war were economic, religious, political, and legal; the legacy of James I was also a factor, as were Scottish matters and the events of 1640–1642. **Religious issues:** • in 1628 Charles I made William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud wanted to stamp out Puritanism and believed in the authority and discipline of the Anglican Church and sacred status of the clergy, ordering priests to wear elaborate vestments and conduct services from Communion tables railed off from the congregation • Laud favoured the High Church, which was the grouping of those whose ideas about liturgy and prayer were similar to Roman Catholic practice. He oversaw the Court of High Commission, in front of which those who offended the church were brought to trial and fined heavily • Charles I authorised Laud's punishment of Puritan preachers and his clamp-down on conventicles, private meetings for worship. There was tight censorship of the printed word to prevent criticism of the High Church. This led to 20,000 Puritans fleeing England to America in 10 years • Charles I allowed his queen, Henrietta Maria, to celebrate Mass publicly at court. He also allowed this to take place with a representative of the Pope in attendance. This development infuriated Puritans in Parliament. **Other factors:** **Economic and financial issues:** • Charles I wanted to be financially independent, but resorted to anachronistic methods of raising revenue, such as a Declaration of Forced Loans in 1625 to fund wars with France and Spain, and a continuation of the enforcement of the Forest Laws re-discovered by James I • the punishing of Distraint of Knighthood raised £150,000 between 1633 and 1635 by fining those with incomes of over £40, a practice unheard of since medieval times • the raising of Ship Money in 1635 was highly controversial, as the king demanded money to the value of a ship from towns throughout the country, extending the medieval practice of requesting this only from ports to aid the defence of the realm. The Ship Money Case of 1637 involved an MP, John Hampden, who refused to pay but was defeated in court • the Tonnage and Poundage allowance, which gave the king a share in profits from farm produce to help fund English naval supremacy, was awarded by Parliament in 1625 for 1 year only as Charles I allowed the navy to decay. However, the king continued to raise this without MPs' consent up until 1628. Opposition to this in the House of Commons would eventually be a factor in the king dissolving Parliament in 1629 • the king encouraged trade and empire as means of raising revenue. Parts of Canada were sold to France in 1629, and a Commission for Plantations established merchants in the West Indies between 1634 and 1637. Parliament objected not so much to the notion of trade but to the king's favouritism in awarding contracts and membership of trading companies • the king used the church for political purposes, with clergymen often holding public office in the civil service. Charles I appointed clerics to ministerial positions, including the Bishop of London who became Lord High Treasurer in 1636.

Legacy of James I:

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

Political issues:

- Charles I employed the Duke of Buckingham as his Chief Minister and together they excluded Parliament from their negotiations with France and Spain
- Parliament passed the Petition of Right in 1628 condemning Buckingham's work raising taxes and imprisoning opponents, both carried out with the king's approval and without parliamentary consent
- Charles I believed in divine right, treated his promises to Parliament lightly, was a poor judge of character, and surrounded himself with advisors unsuited to their positions
- after Buckingham died, the king was increasingly influenced by three people: his wife, Henrietta Maria, who encouraged him to relax laws against Roman Catholics; Archbishop Laud, who encouraged him to promote High Church policies; and Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, whose work as Chief Minister from 1628 to 1633 and then as Lord Deputy of Ireland, made Charles I more absolute
- Parliament tried to introduce bills and antagonised the king by impeaching serving government ministers to show that members of the His Majesty's government were responsible to Parliament as well as the Crown. Charles I disapproved of this, and imprisoned critics in the Tower of London
- when Parliament was asked to support Charles I's foreign policy it drew up the Petition of Right in 1628 and forced him to sign it in exchange for funds. This stated that taxes should not be levied without Parliament's consent; nobody could be imprisoned by the king without trial; soldiers and sailors could not be billeted in civilians' houses; and martial law should not be imposed on civilians
- in 1629, however, Charles I dissolved Parliament because it criticised his levying of tonnage and poundage. He ruled on his own until 1640 — the 'Eleven Year Tyranny'.

Actions of Charles and Parliament after 1640:

- by 1640–1641, Puritans and the High Church were in bitter dispute over proposed reforms of the Church of England. Parliament had imposed anti-Episcopalian conditions on its cooperation with the king in his request for funds to fight Scotland
- Charles I had asked for Parliamentary funding for the Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640. MPs took advantage of the situation, demanding the abolition of Ship Money which would be seen as a victory in the face of years of perceived financial tyranny

	• Parliament insisted on the introduction of the Triennial Act in 1641, legislating for Parliament to be called at least every 3 years. In response to rumours of plots against him, in January 1642, Charles I entered the House of Commons to try and arrest five Puritan MPs, including John Hampden, but they escaped • Parliament made increasing demands on the king, such as the abolition of the prerogative law courts including the Star Chamber, High Commission and Council of the North. The House of Commons impeached Wentworth who was then arrested in March 1641 and condemned to death after Charles I signed an Attainder Act agreeing to this • there were minor rebellions in Ireland, as hostilities broke out after people rose up against the ruthless policies imposed by Wentworth during the 1630s. In addition, threats were faced from Scotland, as with England in crisis, invasion by the Covenanters seemed likely • Charles I left London for the north, joined by two-thirds of the House of Lords and one-third of the House of Commons. By the end of March 1642, Parliament had completed forming its own army and the king responded by raising the royal standard at Nottingham. The English Civil War had begun. **Legal issues:** • Charles I used the prerogative law courts such as the Star Chamber to enforce royal policy. One example is the 1637 case in which three men were sentenced to be pilloried, have their ears cropped, and be imprisoned for life, merely for writing Puritanical pamphlets. MPs objected fiercely, believing that the Star Chamber was an instrument of the Crown • the king also allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury to use the Court of High Commission to put on trial anyone who opposed his religious policy and to persecute Puritans. Laud used his power in the High Commission to reverse some decisions made in common law courts • Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, was the king's Chief Minister from 1628 to 1633, and was authorised by Charles I to use the Council of the North to enforce his ruthless 'Thorough' policies in the north of England to suppress rebellions and influence the justice system. After 1633, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and although he revived Ireland's fishing, farming and linen industries, this was merely to generate more money for the Crown and make the Irish subservient to the king. **Scottish issues:** • Laud's imposition of the Prayer Book in Scotland in 1637 was fiercely opposed by members of the Scottish Kirk. His policies towards Scotland provoked hostility in the Scottish Parliament • thousands of Scots signed the National Covenant in 1638, pledging to defend Presbyterianism. The Covenanting movement was a political challenge to Laud, and was also therefore a challenge to royal power in Scotland. This led to a weakening of Charles I's position in England as the military threat from the Covenanters forced the king to attempt to reconcile his differences with Parliament • Charles I's defeat in the First and Second Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 further weakened his authority over Parliament in England. Threats of Scottish invasion in 1640–1642 led to drastic action by Parliament in forming its own army. **Any other relevant factors.**

6.	**Context** After the Interregnum, the monarchy was restored in 1660. Charles II reigned until 1685, although he used loopholes in the Restoration Settlement to rule without Parliament from 1681 onwards. His brother James II ruled from 1685, but his attempts at absolutism led to the Revolution of 1688–1689, when his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange were asked by Parliament to become joint monarchs, under terms known as the Revolution Settlement. Factors contributing towards the Revolution were religious and political; the roles of both Charles II and James II were important; the role of Parliament and the absence of a Bill of Rights were also factors. **Role of Charles II:** • the king, exiled in France for the Interregnum, had accepted limitations on his power when the monarchy was restored in 1660. However, loopholes in the Restoration Settlement allowed him to make policy without Parliament. This caused indignation among MPs • the legal terms of the 1660 Restoration had upheld the Triennial Act and the abolition of prerogative law courts, and prohibited non-parliamentary taxation. It also stated that Charles II should live off his own finances and not receive money from Parliament, although in return, Parliament granted the king taxation on alcohol • in 1677 the king's Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Danby, who was anti-French, was persuaded by some MPs to arrange the marriage of the king's niece, Mary, to William of Orange, a Dutch prince. This was a response to Charles II's foreign policy which broke the 1668 Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, by allying himself with Louis XIV. This added to Parliament's alarm at the king's pro-French and Roman Catholic leanings • nevertheless, towards end of his 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. **Other factors:** **Religious issues:** • James II issued the First Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687 which suspended the Test Act, which stated that all holders of civil office, both military and political, should be Anglican and should swear an oath against Roman Catholic doctrine • the king also issued the Second Declaration of Indulgence in May 1688, which stated that toleration towards Roman Catholics should be preached in every church in England on two successive Sundays • Charles II had been an Anglican, but had secretly signed the Treaty of Dover in 1670, a deal agreeing with Louis XIV that he would declare himself Roman Catholic when his relations with Parliament improved. He entered the Third Dutch War in alliance with France in 1673, and eventually declared himself a Roman Catholic on his death bed • James II promoted Roman Catholics to key posts in government and the army. The new heir to the throne, born in 1685, was to be raised as a Roman Catholic. The religious crisis this created in the minds of MPs drove the momentum for parliamentarians to send for William and Mary • the Restoration Settlement in 1660 had stated that the Church of England would carry on using the Prayer Book approved by the Stuarts. There were hostile divisions between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. **Role of James VII/II:** • the king, a Roman Catholic, ruled absolutely by dismissing Parliament in November 1685 before it could condemn Louis XIV's persecution of Huguenots, French Protestants. He then stationed a 16,000-strong army, including Roman Catholic officers, outside London

- James II imposed his will on the judicial system, re-establishing prerogative courts in 1686. In 1687, 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
- James II replaced Anglican advisors and office-holders with Roman Catholic ones, including making the Earl of Tyrconnell the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Sir Roger Strickland the Admiral of the Royal Navy. He appointed Roman Catholics to important posts at Oxford and Cambridge Universities
- in late 1688, as MPs made clear their determination to invite the king's Protestant daughter Mary to become queen, James 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.

Political issues:

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

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, 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 13 February 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 remaining on the throne. The importance of the Bill of Rights confirms the view that the blurred lines between monarchs and Parliament had been a problem in the past.

Any other relevant factors.

Part C — The trade in enslaved African people

7.	**Context** During the 18th and early 19th centuries a large productive workforce was required as the sugar plantation system spread throughout the Caribbean. The use of enslaved African people on the plantation system was justified by the ideology of racism. **Racist attitudes:** • the unequal relationship that was created as a consequence of the enslavement of Africans was justified by the ideology of racism — the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans • entrenched racism among members of the merchant and landowning classes meant that enslaving Africans was accepted by colonists • many Europeans claimed that African captives would suffer if the trade was abolished, for example, criminals and prisoners of war would be butchered and executed at home • many colonists believed that enslaved Africans were fortunate to be provided with homes, protection and employment, in the care of enlightened Europeans rather than African despots. **Other factors:** **Religious factors:** • the Church of England had links to enslavement through the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary organisations which had plantations and owned enslaved African people. The Church of England supported the laws not to educate enslaved Africans. Some bible passages such as the Curse of Ham from Genesis were used to justify enslavement. Other bible passages such as Exodus were banned in British colonies because they could be interpreted as being anti-enslavement • many believed that Africans benefited from their enslavement as they became 'Christian'. This would result in the spread of 'civilisation'. But even so, Africans were not viewed or treated as equals • some clergy tried to push the idea that it was possible to be a 'good enslaved person and a Christian' and pointed to St Paul's *Letter to the Ephesians*, which called for enslaved people to 'obey their owners' • however very little missionary work actually took place during the early years. Religion got in the way of a moneymaking venture by taking enslaved Africans away from their work. It also taught them potentially subversive ideas and made it hard to justify the cruel mistreatment of fellow Christians. **Shortage of labour:** • huge profits made from the trade in tropical crops created a demand for labour to work on plantations in the colonies. Crops such as sugar cane required a large labour force to plant, look after, harvest and process crops in harsh conditions. There was a high death rate among the Indigenous peoples due to lack of resistance to diseases brought by Europeans, and ill-treatment at the hands of colonists created labour shortage in the Caribbean.

Military factors:

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

Importance of Caribbean colonies:

- the trade in enslaved African people generated finance. It was an important source of tax revenue and Caribbean colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours
- financial, commercial, legal and insurance institutions emerged to support the activities of the traders in enslaved Africans. Traders in enslaved Africans became bankers and many new businesses were financed by profits made from the trade in enslaved people.

Legal position:

- the legal status of enslaved people as property was long established. It took a series of court cases from the 1770s that dealt with the rights of formerly enslaved Africans within the British Isles to challenge the legality of enslavement and the trade in enslaved Africans, for example, Granville Sharp's resolute campaign to
  prove the illegality of enslavement in England that culminated in Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case.

Failure of alternative sources of labour:

- the trade in enslaved African people developed due to the rapid decline in the number of Indigenous people who were first used as a source of labour in the Caribbean. Poor diet and European diseases were largely responsible. Compared to the later enslavement of Africans, the use of the Indigenous populations was on a small scale. Few colonists were willing to work voluntarily on the plantations as manual labour
- there was a limit to the number of British criminals who could be sent as forced labour. Britain had very harsh laws in the 18th century with 300 capital crimes, for example, pickpocketing more than 1 shilling, shoplifting 5 shillings or more, stealing a sheep or a horse, and poaching rabbits. Transportation to the Caribbean colonies was seen as an alternative to hanging. Some of those transported were for political or religious reasons. For example, many Jacobites were treated in this way. As political upheavals subsided, the number of political prisoners declined
- there was also a lack of indentured servants. These poor Europeans would sign a contract binding them to work for a fixed period, usually 3–7 years, in return for their passage abroad, although it was not unknown for poor people in cities such as London and Bristol to find themselves on ships to Jamaica after being kidnapped or plied with alcohol. Some Europeans were classed as Redemptioners — they arranged with the ship's captain to pay for their passage within a specified time after arrival or be sold to the highest bidder
- there were not enough indentured servants to replace those who had served their time and escape was much easier for Europeans. As a result, for economic reasons, plantation owners started to turn to Africa for labour. Williams argues that the decisive factor was the fact that enslaved Africans were cheap and that while an indentured servant would be working for a limited number of years, the enslaved African would work for life. For a while European indentured labour existed alongside enslaved Africans but as African enslaved labour increased, European indentured labour gradually came to an end.

Any other relevant factors.

8.	**Context** As the number of enslaved Africans increased with the growth of the trade in enslaved African people, a climate of fear was created as owners of enslaved African people became increasingly outnumbered. The fear of Africans' resistance to their enslavement was reflected in the conditions on board the 'slave ships' on the Middle Passage and in the brutal violence used to coerce and control enslaved Africans on the plantations. **Fear of enslaved Africans' attempts to gain their freedom:** • both on 'slave ships' and plantations there was a constant fear of an Africans' resistance. On ships, security was paramount, as crews were heavily outnumbered by their cargoes. This meant that enslaved Africans were kept under decks for long periods. It also meant that they were usually shackled for the whole passage • as the number of Africans' attempts to free themselves on 'slave ships' grew so did the cost of the voyages because larger crews and more weapons were required to keep control of the enslaved Africans • on plantations, there was fear of Africans' resistance, both overt and otherwise. Draconian legal codes were enacted by island assemblies (dominated by planters) covering the treatment and/or punishment of runaways as well as those who resisted openly • some Africans managed to escape the plantations and established communities in mountainous areas which they defended and from which they launched raids on plantations to free others. **Other factors:** **Financial considerations:** • in essence, the trade in enslaved Africans and enslaved labour were commercially based. Europeans and some Africans participated in the trade in enslaved Africans because it was profitable, and those who owned and ran plantations did so for the same reason • 'slave ships' carried as many enslaved Africans as possible in order to make as much profit as possible. The debate about 'loose' or 'tight' pack on board 'slave ships' was about how to get as many enslaved Africans as possible over to the plantations in the Caribbean alive • at auctions at the end of the Middle Passage, Africans were bought on the basis of ability to work. Little thought was given to family bonds • coercion and terror, through violence and other abuses, were used to extract as much work as possible from enslaved Africans; violence against Africans was normalised and was at the heart of the plantation system • enslaved Africans were treated as property and so they were bought and sold; but they had a value to those who oppressed them only held up for as long as they could be made to work • plantation owners in the British Caribbean islands tended to be absentee. Their plantations were managed and run by overseers whose main aim was to make as much profit for the plantation and for themselves in as short a time as possible so they could return to Britain to live on their wealth. **Racism and prejudice:** • the brutal violence used to coerce and control enslaved Africans was justified by racism, the mistaken belief that Africans were inferior to Europeans • traders in enslaved Africans who bought African people at trading posts on the African coast often believed that African captives would otherwise be executed as prisoners of war or for crimes

	• there was ignorance of African societies, cultures, history and achievements. Africans were regarded by some Europeans as not fully human. This was used as an excuse for extreme brutality • the idea that Africans were not fellow human beings, but moveable property was highlighted in the case of the *Zong*. During this case arguments were put forward suggesting that the killing of enslaved Africans was not murder because those who were killed were property not people. **Religious concerns:** • traders and/or owners of enslaved Africans pointed to the existence of enslavement in the Bible as justification for the institution of enslavement • traders and/or owners claimed that enslaved Africans were being exposed to Christianity. Enslavement was therefore good for them, as it gave them the chance of eternal salvation • some participants were religious and moderated their treatment of the enslaved accordingly. **Humanitarian concerns:** • humanitarian concerns had little impact on the treatment of the people being forcibly removed from Africa or on the African people on board ships on the Middle Passage. Participants were not in daily close contact with the enslaved people and did not get to know them personally • the plantations in the Caribbean, on the other hand, were often small communities. Where members of the owner's family were present, bonds of affection sometimes grew between the enslaved and their oppressors. Where such personal ties did not exist, there was less moderation of the brutalities of enslavement • a very few captains of 'slave ships' doubted the morality of what they were doing but most were more interested in the pursuit of profit and actively participated in the trade. **Any other relevant factors.**

9.	**Context** The early progress of the abolitionist campaign was temporarily stalled by events outside Britain. One such event was the French Revolution, the effects of which led to a fear of political and social change of any kind among Britain's politicians. **Effects of the French Revolution:** • the French Revolution had a detrimental effect on the progress of the abolitionist campaign as many British MPs believed that the abolitionist cause was associated with French revolutionary ideas. For example, the abolitionist campaigner, Thomas Clarkson openly supported the French Revolution • to a degree, initially, the French Revolution was welcomed in Britain, but the execution of Louis XVI and soon after, Britain being at war with France, changed the views of both the public and Britain's politicians. Wealthy and powerful people in Britain were shocked by the political violence and radicalism which gripped France. Britain's politicians became worried about the activities of British radicals and feared they had links with their French counterparts. In Britain, political societies which had supported the French Revolution were now forced to shut down. Basic civil freedoms began to be withdrawn, anti-republican associations were formed, and government informers became more common due to a fear that events in France may be repeated in Britain • measures were taken to restrict civil rights. Approval for any political meeting was required if more than 50 people attended. People could be arrested if they spoke or wrote in any way which could stir up hatred or criticism of the government. Interestingly, Wilberforce, although consistently for abolition, gave his support to these measures. The result was, however, a halt to the popular grass roots support for the abolition societies, which had made such an impact in the 1780s • radical political groups had learned much from the tactics of the abolitionists so it was easy for anti-abolitionists to get people to make a link between radical politics and abolitionism and to present abolitionism as an attempt to subvert the British state. By the 1790s very few apart from hardened radicals still supported abolition • Britain's involvement in the French Revolutionary Wars also delayed the abolitionist campaign. To oppose the trade in enslaved Africans during a major war seemed unpatriotic to many people, leading to a loss of support for the abolitionists' cause • it was argued that the Caribbean colonies and the plantation system and enslaved Africans' labour were vital for Britain to sustain an expensive war effort against France. Not only did Britain need ships and sailors to protect itself and the Empire, but a lot of money was required to pay for the war with France. Britain could therefore not risk ending the trade in enslaved African people which might have resulted in a loss of much needed finance. **Other factors:** **Enslaved Africans' fight for freedom in St Domingue:** • fears over the consequences of abolition were increased when enslaved Africans on the French colony of Saint-Domingue rose up against their oppressors and ended enslavement. Though a violent and bloody revolution, under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, formerly enslaved Africans set up the independent country of Haiti. Anti-abolitionists used the Haitian revolution as a way to stir up fear about what would happen if the trade in enslaved Africans were to be abolished and enslaved Africans in Britain's Caribbean colonies were freed.

	• the success of enslaved Africans' fight for freedom on St Domingue sent shock waves throughout the Atlantic world and unsettled owners of enslaved Africans everywhere. British leaders were worried that similar resistance from enslaved Africans might break out on neighbouring British islands such as Jamaica. They banned any moves towards abolishing the trade in enslaved African people claiming it would encourage enslaved Africans in Britain's Caribbean colonies to attempt to follow the example of Toussaint de L'Ouverture and the enslaved Africans in St Domingue • Britain's attempt to take over Haiti ended in abject failure. **Attitudes of British governments:** • initially British governments were anxious to protect the rights of property, which attacks on enslavement seemed to threaten. The tactical decision by the abolitionists to concentrate, in the first instance, on abolition of the trade in enslaved Africans avoided this to an extent • successive British governments were influenced by powerful vested interests in Parliament and outside that had the wealth and power to buy votes and exert pressure on others in support of the trade in enslaved African people. **Anti-abolition propaganda:** • the anti-abolition movement had powerful support among MPs, businessmen, financiers and across wider society and it conducted a powerful propaganda campaign to counter that of the abolitionists, though some of the arguments and evidence were misleading • owners of enslaved Africans and traders and merchants and their supporters argued that millions of pounds worth of property would be threatened by the abolition of the trade in enslaved African people. The plantation system was built on the labour of enslaved Africans and so, the anti-abolitionists argued, ending the trade would destroy Britain's Caribbean colonies. **Importance of the trade in enslaved Africans to the British economy:** • the trade in enslaved Africans generated finance. It was an important source of tax revenue and Britain's Caribbean colonies were an important source of valuable exports to European neighbours. Anti-abolitionists argued that taxes would have to be raised to compensate for the loss of trade and revenue, and that abolition would help foreign rivals such as France as other nations would fill the gap left by Britain • British cotton mills depended on cheap cotton produced by enslaved labour • Africa provided an additional market for British manufactured goods • individuals, businesses and ports in Britain prospered on the back of the trade and trade was stimulated across the empire. So, for example, cloth from India was brought over to London by the East India Company and bought by merchants there to be exported to West Africa • shipbuilding benefited, as did maritime employment. **The power of vested interests:** • many absentee plantation owners and merchants involved in the trade in enslaved Africans rose to high office as mayors or served in Parliament. William Beckford, the owner of 22,000 acres and over 1,300 enslaved Africans 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 trade which made it difficult to get a law abolishing it 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

	• MPs who supported the trade made speeches in Parliament opposing abolition. They argued that millions of pounds worth of property would be threatened by abolition. They also argued that the trade was necessary to provide essential labour on the plantations and that abolition would ruin the colonies • MPs with business interests which made money from the trade used tactics to slow down any moves towards abolition or supported compromise solutions. In 1792, in a response to Wilberforce's Bill to end the trade, Henry Dundas proposed a compromise of gradual abolition over a number of years. • wealthy merchants from London, Liverpool and Bristol also exerted pressure on governments to oppose the abolition of the trade in enslaved African people. In 1775 a petition was sent to Parliament by the mayor, merchants and people of Bristol in support of maintaining the trade • the House of Commons was dominated by various interest groups, of which the 'West India Lobby' (ie those actively involved in the trade in enslaved African people) was, for some time, the most powerful. Tactics included producing witnesses in favour of the trade in enslaved Africans to testify in parliamentary inquiries into the 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. **Fears over national security:** • it was argued that 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' because it provided training for sailors joining the Royal Navy. **Any other relevant factors.**

10.	**Context** By the mid-19th century changes to Britain's economy (industrialisation) resulted in social change, such as the demand for literacy. Such changes brought about increasing demands for political change. **Party advantage:** • in 1867 the Conservative Party became the government after 20 years out of power. To an extent the Reform Act could be seen as 'stealing the Liberal's clothes' to gain support • the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 limited the amount of spending on elections; the Liberals believed the advantage held by wealthier Conservative opponents would be reduced • by placing the reforms of 1883 and 1884 close to the next election, the Liberals hoped to gain advantage from grateful new voters in towns more fairly represented after the redistribution of seats. **Other factors:** **Effects of industrialisation and urbanisation:** • urbanisation and growing class identity within an industrial workforce, and the spread of socialist ideas, led to demands for a greater voice for the working classes. Also, the growth of the Labour party offered a greater choice • demographic change, including rapid urbanisation, sparked demands for redistribution of seats • the growing economic power of middle-class wealth-creators led to pressure for a greater political voice • basic education, the development of new, cheap, popular newspapers and the spread of railways helped to create an awareness of national issues • after 1860 the fear of the 'revolutionary mob' had declined. Skilled working men in cities were more educated and respectable. That was an argument for extending the vote in 1867. **Pressure groups:** • the 1867 Reform Act was passed among considerable popular agitations; before them the Reform League and Reform Union had been active • the suffragists and suffragettes were influential in gaining the franchise for women • role of trade unions may also be considered • there was debate about the methods which should be adopted, whether direct action or peaceful protest would be more effective • large-scale meetings, for example, Hyde Park. **Effects of the First World War:** • the war meant that more political change was needed. Many men still had no vote but were conscripted to fight from 1916. As further reform for males was being considered, fears of a revival of the militant women's campaign, combined with a realisation of the importance of women's war work, led to the Representation of the People Act of 1918 which gave votes to more men and some women

	• as the franchise was given to women aged over 30, and many munitions workers were much younger than this, women's role in the war effort should not be overstated in terms of driving democratic change • it could also be argued that the war provided an opportunity for the coalition government to give women the vote. No single political party was able to claim it was behind the idea. **Examples of developments abroad:** • in a number of foreign countries there was a wider franchise than in Britain; in others women could also vote. Neither development had threatened the established social order. **Changing political attitudes:** • political reform was no longer seen as a threat. In the USA and in Europe, struggles were taking place for liberty and a greater political voice for the people. Britain tended to support these moves abroad, making it logical for this to happen in Britain too • the growing influence of the Liberal Party in challenging older vested interests — the Liberal Party opposed the power of the old landowning aristocracy, for example, the secret ballot to assist the working-class electorate to use their political voice to promote social reforms • politicians combined acceptance of changes which they suspected were unavoidable while ensuring that their own party political interests would be protected • the death of former Prime Minister Palmerston represented the changing tone of politics as the reactionary ideas of the early 19th century gave way to new ideologies • the veto of the unelected chamber was removed partly as result of the 1910 elections fought on the issue of 'peers versus people' and the financing of social reform to help the poor, especially in urban areas. **Any other relevant factors.**

11.	**Context** The campaigns for women's suffrage must be seen within the wider context of a changing society and the massive social and political changes happening in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The campaign for women's suffrage was a clear attempt to influence the development of democracy in Britain at a time of changing attitudes about the sexes between 1851 and 1928 when women gained the right to vote on the same terms as men. **Women in the war effort, 1914–1918:** • Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 and 2 days later the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) suspended its political campaigning for the vote. Undoubtedly the sight of women 'doing their bit' for the war effort gained respect and balanced the negative publicity of the earlier Suffragette campaign. A Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) pro-war propaganda campaign encouraged men to join the armed forces and women to demand 'the right to serve' • women's war work was important to Britain's eventual victory. Over 700,000 women were employed making munitions • the creation of a wartime coalition also opened the door to change • the traditional explanation for the granting of the vote to some women in 1918 has been that women's valuable work for the war effort radically changed male ideas about their role in society and that the vote in 1918 was almost a 'thank you' for their efforts. But the women who were given the vote were 'respectable' ladies, aged 30 or over, not the younger women who worked long hours and risked their lives in munitions factories • another argument about the 1918 Act is that it only happened because politicians grew anxious to enfranchise more men who had fought in the war but lost their residency qualification to vote, and women could be 'added on' to legislation that was happening anyway • the war acted more as a catalyst but the tide was flowing towards female franchise before it started. **Other factors:** **Suffragist campaign:** • the NUWSS was founded in 1897 under the leadership of Millicent Fawcett who was president for more than 20 years • the NUWSS believed in moderate, peaceful tactics to win the vote such as meetings, pamphlets, petitions and parliamentary bills • membership remained relatively low at about 6,000 until around 1909 but grew to 53,000 by 1914 when women angered by the Suffragettes' campaign joined. **Suffragette campaign:** • Emmeline Pankhurst formed the WSPU in 1903. WSPU adopted the motto 'Deeds Not Words'. The new strategy gained publicity with noisy heckling of politicians. Newspapers immediately took notice. The Suffragettes had achieved their first objective — publicity. Violent protest followed, for example, window smashing campaigns and arson attacks aimed to provoke insurance company pressure on the government. The prisons filled with Suffragettes • women used hunger strikes as a political weapon to embarrass the government. In response the government introduced the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act — the Cat and Mouse Act • the actions of the Suffragettes mobilised opinion for and against. It can be argued that were it not for the Suffragette campaign, the Liberal Government would not even have discussed women's suffrage before World War I. But for opponents, the militant campaign provided an excellent example of why women could not be trusted with the vote.

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

12.	**Context** Attitudes towards poverty in the 19th century were laissez-faire. Although the Liberals had not been elected on a social reform ticket in 1906, the overwhelming evidence regarding the scale of poverty, as well as developing concerns about the health of the nation (as an empire, Britain could not afford to be seen as economically weak), led to a series of limited social reforms that were introduced by the Liberal Party. **The young:** • children were thought to be the victims of poverty and unable to escape through their own efforts. In this way they were seen as 'the deserving poor'. Child neglect and abuse were seen as problems associated with poverty • the Provision of School Meals Act allowed local authorities to raise money to pay for school meals but the law did not force local authorities to provide school meals • medical inspections after 1907 for children were made compulsory but treatment of illnesses or infections found was not provided until 1911 • the Children's Charter of 1908 banned children under 16 from smoking, drinking alcohol, or begging. New juvenile courts were set up for children accused of committing crimes, as were borstals for children convicted of breaking the law. Probation officers were employed to help former offenders in an attempt to avoid re-offending • the time taken to enforce all the legislation meant the Children's Charter only helped improve conditions for some children during the period. **The old:** • Rowntree had identified old age as the time when most people dropped below his poverty line. Old age was inescapable and so was clearly associated with the problem of poverty • Old Age Pensions Act (1908) gave people over 70 up to 5 shillings a week. Once a person over 70 had an income above 12 shillings a week, their entitlement to a pension stopped. Married couples were given 7 shillings and 6 pence • the level of benefit was low. Few of the elderly poor would live until their 70th birthday. Many elderly people were excluded from claiming pensions because they failed to meet the qualification rules. **The sick:** • illness can be seen as both a cause and consequence of poverty • the National Insurance scheme of 1911 applied to workers earning less than £160 a year. Each insured worker got 9 pence in contributions from an outlay of 4 pence – 'ninepence for fourpence'. As a result, workers would be paid 10 shillings a week for the first 13 weeks • only the insured worker got free medical treatment from a doctor. Other family members did not benefit from the scheme. The weekly contribution was, in effect, a wage cut which might have made poverty worse in many families. **The unemployed:** • unemployment was a cause of poverty • the National Insurance Act (Part 2) only covered unemployment for some workers in some industries and like Part 1 of the Act, required contributions from workers, employers and the government. For most workers, no unemployment insurance scheme existed.

	The employed: • in 1906, a Workman's Compensation Act covered a further 6 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 • Coal Mines Act (1908) and the Shop Act (1911) improved conditions. **Any other relevant factors.**

13.	**Context** Local self-government for Ireland in the late 19th century had created a number of politically-experienced leaders. This, coupled with land reform, gave political nationalism an economic base from which to demand self-government. There was also an increasingly radical edge to this, albeit at the margins, through James Connolly and the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Tension was exacerbated by the reaction from the Protestant-dominated north of Ireland. **Response of Unionist and Nationalist to the Home Rule Bill:** **Nationalist:** • the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up as a reaction. Members from the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) all joined, hoping to use the IVF for their own purposes. By May 1914 it had 80,000 members • in 1913, a third private army was set up, the Irish Citizen Army, under the leadership of James Connolly, a socialist. It had two clear aims — to gain independence for Ireland and to set up a socialist republic for the working-class of all religions to join up with to improve their lives. **Unionist:** • the roles of Carson and Craig: Sir Edward Carson's theatrical political performances caught the public imagination and brought the case of the Unionists to the nation. At the signing of the 'Solemn League and Covenant' in Belfast Town Hall, in front of the world's press, 250,000 Ulstermen pledged themselves to use 'all means necessary' to defeat Home Rule • setting up of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) • Curragh Mutiny: British officers stationed in Ireland declared they would not use force against the Unionists. **Other factors:** **Irish Cultural Revival:** • in 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was set up 'for the preservation and cultivation of our national pastimes'. Games like Gaelic football and hurling became very popular. In 1883 the Gaelic League was also set up whose aim it was to revive and preserve the Irish language and Gaelic literature. **Re-emergence of Irish Republicanism:** • Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1905 to boycott all things British and to press for the Irish to set up their own parliament in Ireland, which Griffith thought would cause the British Government to collapse. The IRB was revived with Thomas Clarke recruiting young men in Dublin for the movement. Both groups wanted an Ireland separate from Britain and both were willing to use force.

	Role of John Redmond and the Nationalist Party: • Redmond claimed that the Home Rule Bill would lead to greater unity and strength in the Union, ending suspicion and disaffection in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland. It would show Britain was willing to treat Ireland equally, as part of the Empire. Redmond's Party was consistently strong throughout southern Ireland, where there was strong support for Home Rule • after 1910 the Liberals needed the help of the Irish Nationalists to run the country as they would not have a majority otherwise; they passed the third reform bill. In 1908 Campbell-Bannerman had been replaced as Prime Minister by Asquith, who in 1909 had declared that he was a supporter of Home Rule • with the support of John Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, a bill was passed to reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, from being able to block a bill to only being able to hold up the passing of a bill for 2 years. As a result, the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which was previously blocked by the House of Lords, could now be passed. **Differing economic and religious features:** • Ulster was mainly Protestant and feared that a government led by Dublin would see the imposition of laws on Northern Ireland based on Catholic faith which they were opposed to • Ulster people were worried they would lose the economic benefits they enjoyed from being part of the British Empire, such as the linen industry and the shipbuilding industry. **Any other relevant factors.**

14.	**Context** The radicalisation of Irish politics generated during the First World War, led to conflict between the British State and Irish Nationalists. Attempts to solve the problem of who was to govern in Ireland led to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, which effectively created two governments, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. However, this gave only very limited devolved power which was unacceptable to the Irish Nationalists. **Policies and actions of the British Government:** • the British aim between 1918 and 1921 was to reduce Ireland to obedience within the United Kingdom and in doing this relied increasingly on military force. The best houses in local areas were taken and used, with the occupants evicted, if the local police station had been burned or destroyed • Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) members were instructed to challenge civilians from ambush and shoot them if they did not obey the RIC officers. RIC officers were encouraged to shoot suspicious-looking people, and sometimes innocent people were killed. RIC officers were protected by their superiors • the Black and Tans were responsible for violence, theft, drunken rampages, attacks on villages such as the burning of Balbriggan, village creameries being burnt down and houses destroyed. In March 1919, the Lord Mayor of Cork was shot dead by RIC men. At Croke Park, where there was a Gaelic football match taking place, the Black and Tans fired into the crowd, killing 12 people and injuring 60 • the violence led to a drift to extremism, culminating in the sacking of Cork City by the Black and Tans. **Other factors:** **Irish attitudes to British rule after World War I:** • the aftermath of the Easter Rising, and the anti-conscription campaign, led to a decline in support for the Nationalist Party and a huge growth in support for Sinn Fein (Sinn Fein membership reached 112,000). In the 1918 General Election, Sinn Fein won 73 seats, compared to winning none in 1910. In total 47 of the Sinn Fein MPs were elected from jail. During their first public meeting in January 1919, 28 of the newly-elected Sinn Fein representatives met and constituted themselves as the first Dail Eireann. The remaining Sinn Fein representatives were either in prison or unable to attend for other reasons. This meant control of the nationalist movement largely moved to the IRB and the IVF. With the support of the majority of the population, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was prepared to wage an armed struggle against the British. **Role of the Dail (Declaration of Independence):** • republicans led by Sinn Fein, who did not attend Westminster, met at the Mansion House in Dublin and declared themselves 'Dail Eireann'. De Valera was made the President of Ireland, Arthur Griffith Vice President, and Michael Collins Minister of Finance. Most local councils in Ireland, except in Ulster, recognised the rule of this new assembly. By 1921 1,000 Sinn Fein law courts had been set up and Collins raised £350,000 as many people paid their taxes to the Minister of Finance, Collins, rather than the British Government • the Dail failed to meet very regularly but worked using couriers carrying communications between those in hiding. Law and order was maintained though, as the Dail relied on 'alternative' courts, presided over by a priest or lawyer and backed up by the IRA. This system won the support of the Irish communities as well as the established Irish legal system • the Dail had won the support of masses, the Catholic Church and professional classes in Ireland. The Dail wrested power away from Britain to a considerable extent due to military wing of the Dail.

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

15.	**Context** By the early 1960s Northern Ireland was relatively stable. However, the Northern Ireland Nationalists were discriminated against in terms of housing, employment and electorally. In 1964 a peaceful civil rights campaign started to end the discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland. **Unionist political ascendancy in Northern Ireland:** • population of Northern Ireland was divided: two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic. It was the minority who were discriminated against in employment and housing • in 1963, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Viscount Brookeborough, stepped down after 20 years in office. His long tenure was a product of the Ulster Unionist domination of politics in Northern Ireland since partition in 1921 • Unionist ascendancy: before 1969 elections were not held on a 'one person, one vote' basis: gerrymandering was used to secure Unionist majorities on local councils. Local government electoral boundaries favoured Unionist candidates, even in mainly Catholic areas like Derry/Londonderry. Also, the right to vote in local elections was restricted to ratepayers, favouring Protestants, with those holding or renting properties in more than one ward receiving more than one vote, up to a maximum of six. This bias was preserved by unequal allocation of council houses to Protestant families • there were challenges as Prime Minister O'Neill expressed a 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 were impatient with the pace of reform and remained unconvinced of Prime Minister O'Neill's sincerity. Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was founded in 1967. NICRA did not challenge partition, though membership was mainly Catholic. Instead, it called for the end to seven 'injustices', ranging from council house allocations to the 'weighted' voting system. **Other factors:** **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 (RUC) 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 (PIRA) by 1970 as the IRA split into Official and Provisional factions • the PIRA's strategy was to use force to cause the collapse of the Northern Ireland administration and to inflict casualties on the British forces so that the British Government would 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 between communities:

- the Catholic minority was 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
- there was an average of 10–12 Nationalists in the Northern Ireland Parliament compared to an average of 40 Unionists. In Westminster, there were 10–12 Unionists compared to two Nationalists
- as the Republic's constitution laid claim to the whole island of Ireland, O'Neill's meeting with his Dublin counterpart, Seán Lemass, in 1965, provoked attacks from within unionism, for example the Reverand 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.

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
- the civil rights move was encouraged by television coverage of civil rights protest in USA and student protests in Europe and by widening TV ownership: In 1954, there were 10,000 licences, and 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 which was difficult to control, and civil disobedience descended into occasions of civil disorder.

Economic issues:

- Northern Ireland was left relatively prosperous by World War II, with the boom continuing into the 1950s. But by the 1960s, as elsewhere in Britain, these industries were in decline, for example, Harland and Wolff were profitable until early 1960s, but needed government help in 1966. The largely Protestant workforce was protected as a result
- Catholic areas received less government investment than their Protestant neighbours. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed or in low-paid jobs than Protestants in Northern Ireland. Catholic applicants were 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.

Any other relevant factors.

Section 2 — European and world

Part A — The crusades, 1071–1204

16.	**Context** In 1095 Pope Urban II urged Christians from all over Europe to fight a holy war to drive out the Muslims from the Holy Land. Among Urban II's reasons for launching a crusade was a desire to increase the power of the papacy. Pope Urban II saw the appeal from Byzantium as an opportunity to assert papal power and authority not only over western European leaders and people, but to assert the influence of Rome onto the Byzantine and Muslim East. **Threat to Byzantium:** • the Seljuk Turks had threatened the Empire for decades. The Byzantines were defeated in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. Between 1077 and 1092 the Byzantines were driven out of the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Turks were now encroaching further west towards the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. There was fear in Europe that if Byzantium was allowed to fall, then the expansion of this new aggressive Islamic group into central Europe would be inevitable • the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius was seen as a safeguard against this outcome and his letter asking for help was taken very seriously • the threat to Byzantium was perhaps exaggerated by the Emperor Alexius who had negotiated a treaty with Kilij Arslan in 1092 and was hiring more and more mercenaries from Europe to protect the Empire. **Other factors:** **Ongoing struggle between church and state:** • popes now challenged kings and demanded the right to appoint priests, bishops and cardinals as they saw fit. This led to the development of the Investiture Contest, a prolonged war between Pope Gregory VII and the German Emperor, Henry IV. A low point was reached in 1080 when Henry appointed a separate Pope and attacked Rome with his armies. This power struggle had damaged the reputation of the papacy and directly affected Pope Urban, possibly influencing his decision • a crusade would increase the papacy's political status in Europe. The Pope would be seen as a great leader, above princes and emperors • it is believed the Investiture Contest may have delayed the calling of a crusade. There may have been a crusade to drive back the Seljuk as early as the mid-1070s but Gregory's struggle against the German Emperor meant he was too weak to see it through. **Fear of Islamic expansion:** • founded by the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic religion had erupted onto the world in the late 7th century, advancing across the Christian principalities of North Africa, through Spain and into southern France, where it had been stopped in the 8th century and pushed back into Spain • Pope Urban used the fear of Islamic expansion in his famous speech at Clermont in 1095. He pointed to the successful Reconquista in Spain. El Cid had only captured Valencia from the Moors in 1094

- he pointed to the threat of the Turks to Byzantium, a topic that was already talked about across Europe. He claimed that the loss of Anatolia had 'devastated the Kingdom of God'
- he detailed claims of Turkish activities such as torture, human sacrifice and desecration.

Threat to Mediterranean trade:

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

Papal desire to channel the aggressive nature of feudal society:

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

Emergence of a knightly class:

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

Attempts to assert papal authority:

- the new style of pope, influenced and trained at the monastery of Cluny, heralded a shift in the emphasis of Christianity. The papal reforms influenced by the Cluniac establishment demanded actual, as well as spiritual, power. No longer were popes to be subservient to the monarchs or warlords of Europe. A Cluniac reformer himself, Pope Urban II was keen to build on the reforms of previous popes
- the papacy was anxious to re-join the two halves of the Christian Church. Since the Great Schism of 1054, where the Pope of Rome and Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated each other, it had been the goal of every pope to become head of the Greek Orthodox Church and to extend Roman influence into the eastern Mediterranean. Now the crusade seemed to offer Pope Urban the opportunity to achieve this.

Any other relevant factors.

17.	**Context** Despite many hardships, the First Crusade was a unique and overwhelming success. Muslim disunity and the lack of a single Muslim leader were very much to the crusaders' advantage and assisted the crusaders in their victories. **Divisions among the Islamic states:** • the division in the Islamic faith was between the Sunni and the Shia, a split dating back to the death of the prophet Muhammad (AD 632) • by the 1070s, the Sunni controlled Asia Minor and Syria, under the leadership of the caliph of Baghdad while the Shia ruled Egypt under a caliph based in Cairo. The two groups hated each other more than they hated the crusaders and were known to form alliances with the crusaders in order to make gains on their fellow Muslim enemy • at the time of the First Crusade, there was a lack of stable leadership in Anatolia due to the death of several leaders from both the Sunni and the Shia branches of Islam. A series of petty rulers fought for leadership • as a result, the Islamic response to the First Crusade was slow in getting under way. Not only were the Islamic leaders more willing to fight among themselves than join forces against the common enemy, many did not even realise that the crusaders were a common enemy. Kilij Arslan, for example, expected the 'Princes Crusade' to be no more of a concern than Peter the Hermit's followers; he was off raiding his Muslim neighbours when Nicaea came under attack • further evidence of division among the Islamic states was when Kerbogha's army abandoned him at the battle of Antioch in 1098. Many had feared that his victory would allow him to gain a semblance of authority over the other Seljuk Turkish leaders. There was tension in his army as the Turks mistrusted the Arab-speaking Muslims and the different tribes of nomads. The lack of unity was clear among the divisions of Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus. Infighting among the Turkish leaders led to Kerbogha being abandoned at the battle's critical moment • the fundamental division of Muslims between the Fatimids and the Seljuk is shown by the Egyptians' seizure of Jerusalem. The Egyptian Army used siege engines to reduce the walls of Jerusalem in a siege that lasted 6 weeks. This not only damaged the defences of the city but reduced the number of defenders available. The Fatimids sent embassies to the crusaders offering them Jerusalem in exchange for an alliance against the Seljuk • for the Muslims the First Crusade was not seen as a holy war, at least not at the outset. To the Muslims, unifying to face the Christians was a more dangerous idea than the crusaders themselves. **Other factors:** **Religious zeal of the crusaders:** • without their belief in what they accepted as 'God's will', the First Crusade would have disintegrated long before it reached Jerusalem. The sheer determination of the crusaders helped them through incredible hardships during their passage through the Taurus Mountains and at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem • because they believed God would help them, the crusaders attempted the impossible, where most armies would have surrendered. Visions during the siege of Antioch and the discovery of the Holy Lance were much needed boosts to morale. The Lance had become a mystical weapon to be wielded on Christ's behalf. The fact that the crusading army was now in possession of such a relic caused the majority of the crusaders to believe in their own invincibility. The miracle perceived by the crusaders lifted their spirits and brought them victory over Kerbogha's army at Antioch and gave them the energy and confidence for the next stage of their crusade — Jerusalem

	• another vision came to the rescue of the crusaders at Jerusalem. Peter Desiderous announced he had received a vision from Bishop Adhemar saying the city would fall to them if they would fast and walk on barefoot in procession around the city. 'God's hand' was even clearer when the crusaders fought their way across the city wall on 15 July 1099, the date that Adhemar, in vision, had foretold as the day by which the Christian army would capture Jerusalem • despite Nicaea falling to the Byzantine emperor through negotiation and the skill of Bohemond of Taranto, who saved the crusaders at their first real battle at Dorylaeum, many crusaders considered their success as part of God's plan. **Military power of the crusader knights:** • the First Crusade had been unexpected by local Muslim leaders. Those who witnessed the ineptitude of the People's Crusade expected Christian knights to be as inept in combat. However Christian knights were often ferocious fighters, used to long campaigns in Europe, whereas the knights of the east were seen as gentlemen of culture and education • the mounted tactics of the knights were relatively unknown in the east and the sight of the largest concentration of knights in history assembled on the field was an awesome sight. This full frontal charge of the knights was in contrast to the tactics deployed by the Islamic forces. Their hit-and-run horse archers were not prepared for this aggressive style • it was the strategic skill of Bohemond of Taranto and the discipline that he had instilled in his men which saved the crusaders from a ferocious Turkish attack near Dorylaeum • Crusading knights used aggressive combat tactics, and used heavier armour and barding for their horses. The constant fighting of the 12th century had well prepared the organised and disciplined knightly classes for warfare. Many, such as Raymond of Toulouse, had combat experience against the Moors in Spain. **Misunderstanding of the crusaders' intent:** • Muslims misunderstood the threat of the western knights. Many saw this as another expedition from Byzantium and thought them soldiers of Alexius. Such raids had occurred before; however this was different. Here the Christians had an ideological motivation not yet encountered by the Islamic leaders. **Aid from Byzantium:** • the First Crusade was the only crusade to have significant support from Constantinople. Even though Alexius' army did not participate in the crusade itself, they did cause problems, diverting a lot of Muslim resources • Alexius also provided much needed supplies at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. **Any other relevant factors.**

18.	**Context** The Third Crusade is viewed as the greatest-ever crusade in Europe to be launched against the Muslim East. Both heroic military leadership and diplomatic negotiations were features of the Third Crusade. Despite defeating Saladin in battle and forcing Saladin to a peace treaty, Richard ultimately failed to recapture Jerusalem. **Richard's military role:** • despite Muslims and Christians having fought an on−off battle over Acre over 2 years, Richard's leadership and expertise broke the deadlock and forced the surrender of Acre after 5 weeks of bombardment, mining and repeated assaults • Richard's arrival in June 1191 with money and the advantage of western military technology in the form of enormous siege engines which terrified opponents, enabled him to seize control of the battle and to intensify the bombardment • Richard switched tactics at Acre after the destruction of his war machines. He offered his soldiers four gold coins for every stone they could remove from the base of one of the towers, putting so much effort on the one point that a breach in the wall was created • further evidence of Richard's leadership skills at Acre were shown when, despite falling ill with 'arnaldia', he ordered himself to be carried to the walls in a silken quilt and there, protected by a screen, fired his crossbow at the city which further inspired his troops • the capture of Acre was a major boost for the crusaders and brought the unimpeded rise of Saladin to a halt • Richard demonstrated firm, if brutal, leadership in August 1191 when he took the decision to massacre the 2,700 Muslim prisoners taken at Acre when Saladin failed to meet the ransom payment. Richard knew feeding and guarding the prisoners would be a considerable burden and suspecting that Saladin was deliberately using delaying tactics to pin him down, Richard resolved the situation quickly and effectively in order to carry on his momentum and capitalise on his victory at Acre • Richard demonstrated that he was a great military strategist on the march from Acre down the coast to Jaffa. Under Richard's leadership, the crusader army of 12,000 men set out along the coast in immaculate formation. Inland were the foot soldiers with their vital role of protecting the heavy cavalry. The cavalry were lined up with the 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 discipline as he kept his troops marching even as they were being attacked by arrows. Richard was insistent that no crusader should respond and break formation, denying Saladin the chance to defeat the crusader forces. Richard wanted to charge on his own terms, discipline which showed him to be a military genius • at the battle of Arsuf, Richard reacted immediately to the breaking of the crusader ranks and personally led the attack which eventually defeated the Muslims. Richard turned his whole army on the Muslims and fought off two fierce Muslim counter-attacks. Led by Richard, the crusaders charged into Saladin's army forcing them to retreat. Richard's planning and attention to detail allowed his personal bravery to stand out. The victory of Richard's army over Saladin's forces at the Battle of Arsuf, and the success of the crusaders in reaching Jaffa, was an important turning point in the Third Crusade, breaching Saladin's success

- at the battle of Jaffa, Richard displayed inspired military leadership and personal bravery. When he heard that Saladin had stormed the port of Jaffa in July 1192, he responded by rushing south from Acre with a tiny force of only 55 knights and crossbowmen at the head of a 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 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 his military sense told him that his depleted force of 12,000 men and lack of resources couldn't hold Jerusalem against Saladin's vast army drawn from across the Muslim world
- that Richard was a strong military strategist was also demonstrated on his journey to the Holy Land when he captured Cyprus and sold part of it to the Templars. Richard recognised the long-term importance of Cyprus as a base for crusading armies to use when supplying and reinforcing expeditions to the Holy Land
- Richard also realised that Egypt was the key to Saladin's wealth and resources. Ever the military strategist, Richard wanted to take the mighty fortress of Ascalon which would threaten Saladin's communications with Egypt. Richard was aware that in order to keep Jerusalem after it was captured, Egypt would need to be conquered first. The crusader army was not interested and wanted to proceed to Jerusalem
- although the Third Crusade failed in its 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 also failed to draw Saladin into battle and inflict a decisive defeat. He failed to comprehensively defeat Saladin.

Other factors:

Richard's use of diplomacy:

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

Saladin's military role:

- Saladin counter-attacked at Acre. Saladin's troops launched fierce attacks on the crusaders at given signals from the Muslim defenders and launched volley after volley of Greek fire, putting Richard on the defensive as all three of his giant siege towers went up in flames. Saladin also sent a huge supply ship with 650 fighting men in an attempt to break into Acre's harbour. After destroying a number of English vessels, it scuttled itself rather than have its cargo fall into Christian hands
- on the march south to Jaffa, Saladin's army unleashed a relentless series of forays and inflicted constant bombardment, tempting the Christians to break ranks. Saladin's skilled horsemen made lightning strikes on the crusaders showering the men and their horses with arrows and crossbow bolts. The crusaders lost a large number of horses and the crusaders themselves resembled pincushions with as many as 10 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 lightning attack on Jaffa in an attempt to break the Christian stranglehold on the coast. In just 4 days the Muslim sappers and stone throwers destroyed sections of Jaffa's walls which left only a small Christian garrison trapped in the citadel. Saladin's forces blocked help coming from overland which meant that relief could only arrive by sea
- arguably Saladin's greatest military achievement was to gather and hold together (despite divisions) a broad coalition of Muslims in the face of setbacks at Acre, Arsuf and Jaffa. Although the consensus is that Saladin was not a great battlefield general (it could be argued that his triumph at Hattin was down more to the mistakes of the crusaders than his own skill), Saladin was still able to inspire his troops and fight back. Saladin's continued resistance had ensured that Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands
- Saladin found it increasingly difficult to keep his large army in the field for the whole year round. In contrast to the crusading army, many of his men were needed back on their farms or were only expected to provide a certain number of days' service
- Saladin's authority was ignored when the garrison at Acre struck a deal with Conrad of Montferrat to surrender. Saladin lost control of his men at Jaffa
- the stalemate at Jaffa showed that Saladin was incapable of driving the crusaders out of southern Palestine.

Saladin's use of diplomacy:

- during the siege of Acre and alongside the military skirmishes as the crusaders set out on their march to Jerusalem, Saladin and Richard were engaged in diplomacy. Both sides were willing to find areas of agreement at the same time as engaging in brutal combat

	• following Richard's victory at Jaffa, Saladin knew he could not maintain such a level of military struggle indefinitely. He recognised the need to make a truce with Richard. On 2 September 1192, the Treaty of Jaffa was agreed which partitioned Palestine in return for a 3-year truce. While Saladin was to retain control of Jerusalem, the crusaders were allowed to keep the conquests of Acre and Jaffa and the coastal strip between the two towns. Christian pilgrims were also allowed access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem • Saladin faced increasing discontent from his Muslim allies • Saladin negotiated a 5-year truce over Jerusalem despite his strong position. **Rivalry between the crusader leaders:** • against advice, Richard backed Guy de Lusignan to become King of Jerusalem, against the popular Conrad of Montferrat, perhaps because he was the favourite of King Philip. This continued support of Guy resulted in a compromise that nobody liked • the assassination of Conrad was suggested by some to be Richard's fault. The end result was the withdrawal of the support of Conrad's forces and those of the Duke of Burgundy's remaining French knights. **Any other relevant factors.**

19.	**Context** By 1763, Britain had ruled the 13 American colonies for over a century. The harmony with Britain which colonists had once held had become indifference during Whig Ascendancy of the mid-1700s. The ascendancy of George III in 1760 was to bring about further change in the relationship between Britain and America. When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, the king strengthened Britain's control over the colonies. Factors contributing towards colonial resentment included George III, the Navigation Acts, the old colonial system, political differences between the colonists and the British, and British neglect of the colonies. **Role of George III:** • George III increased the number of British soldiers posted to the colonies after the Seven Years' War ended in 1763 • one function of the king's Proclamation of 1763 was to protect the colonies from future threats posed by foreign powers. However, all colonies and even some larger towns and cities within the colonies had their own militia already, and felt that the British Army in fact posed a threat to the colonists' freedom to defend themselves • in addition, George III ensured there was a highly visible Royal Navy attendance on the Atlantic coast, whose job it was to patrol for smugglers importing from Holland, France or Spain, and to ensure compliance with the Navigation Acts • this measure, to support the Revenue Bill proposed in Parliament in 1763, was seen as equivalent to foreign invasion by many colonists who had acted in an independent spirit during Whig Ascendancy • on the other hand, it can be debated that George III was aiming to guarantee the protection of the colonies by maintaining British military presence and that, together with Parliament, he was planning a sensible economic strategy to raise money from the colonists to pay for their own security • however, cynics in America argued that the king was merely working to ensure continued revenue for Britain, whose national debt had grown from £75 million to £145 million between 1756 and 1763. **Other factors:** **Navigation Acts:** • the Navigation Acts stated that colonists in any part of the British Empire could only sell their goods to British merchants, they could only import goods from British traders, and they could only use British shipping in the transportation of goods in and out of the colonies • this meant that colonist merchants were being denied access to European markets for their produce such as tobacco or whale products, reducing their potential income and creating opposition to this aspect of British rule • moreover, although colonists had ignored the Acts during the Whig Ascendancy, the laws were re-enforced by Prime Minister Grenville after the Seven Years' War ended in 1763 • this caused deep resentment, since the presence of the Royal Navy, patrolling the eastern seaboard for rogue Dutch, French or Spanish ships, restricted the trading ability of the colonists who felt their enterprising spirit was being penalised • it could, however, be argued that the Navigation Acts gave the colonists a guaranteed market for their goods. Generally though, the Navigation Acts were disliked by those wishing to trade freely with European merchants.

Resentment towards the old colonial system:

- the 13 colonies in North America had been used by Britain for almost two centuries as a source of revenue and convenient market
- valuable raw materials such as timber or cotton or fur were plundered from the continent and then used to manufacture goods which were then sold in Europe and around the world. This meant that the profits from North American goods were being made by British trading companies, which was resented by those colonists whose labour produced the raw materials to make goods such as fur-trimmed hats or rifles
- in addition, colonists in the more populated New England and middle colonies objected to being used as a dumping ground for British goods
- poverty led to minor rebellions by tenant farmers against their landlords throughout the 1740s, including the Land Riots in New Jersey and the Hudson River Valley Revolt in New York
- elsewhere, wealthy southern plantation owners, who considered themselves the aristocracy of the continent, objected to members of the British Government attempting to control them through trading restrictions on sugar, cotton and molasses
- some historians would point out that being part of the British Empire meant British Army protection for the colonists against the threat of the French and Indians; the British had fought the Seven Years' War which prevented the colonies being ruled by France. Despite this advantage, colonists greatly resented the efforts of Britain to restrict their movements and economic development.

Political differences between colonies and Britain:

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

British neglect of the colonies:

- during the Whig Ascendancy from 1727 to 1760, colonist assemblies had assumed the powers which should have been exercised by governors, such as the settlement in new territories acquired during that time including the Ohio Valley and Louisiana. Although they objected Parliament's attempt to reverse this after the Royal Proclamation of 1763, they were politically impotent and could not prevent it
- in addition, individual colonists and land companies expanding west into the Michigan area unwittingly violated agreements between Britain and Indigenous Americans such as the 1761 Treaty of Detroit
- therefore, quarrels arose as it appeared that the British Government, and in particular Secretary of State William Pitt, was ignoring colonist aspirations to explore new regions in the continent

	• one school of thought suggests that Britain's policies highlighted the status of the colonies as lands to be fought over with imperial powers like France and Spain who viewed America as potential possessions, and that British legislation maintained colonist security under the Union Jack • however, colonists such as planter and lawyer Patrick Henry of Virginia believed by 1763 that, while the right of the king to the colonies was indisputable, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for them was highly contentious. **The Proclamation of 1763:** • the Proclamation Line drawn up by Parliament in 1763 led to frontiersmen feeling frustrated at British attempts to prevent them from settling beyond the Appalachian Mountains. **Any other relevant factors.**

20.	**Context** In the 1760s and 1770s, the 13 colonies in America witnessed resentment from colonists towards Britain. Several crises including the Stamp Act in 1765, the Boston Massacre in 1770 and the Tea Act in 1773 created a momentum of hostility. The colonists' last hope of compromise, the Olive Branch Petition, was rejected by Britain in 1775 and the Continental Congress declared independence in 1776, leading to a 5-year war which the colonists won. Factors to be considered among British opinion are the views of Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, George III, Parliament, the Earl of Chatham and other British people such as politicians, industrialists and the working classes including those living in England, Scotland and Ireland. **Thomas Paine:** • Paine had attacked the notion of hierarchical monarchy in debating clubs in London and in revolutionary pamphlets in the 1770s. His views were radical for his time, and people in Britain read his work out of fascination rather than because they agreed with him. This suggests Paine's opinions on the monarchy were out of step with his contemporaries • Paine had met Benjamin Franklin in London and he assisted Paine to settle in Philadelphia in October 1774 • Paine believed he could further the cause of American independence, and made republican speeches and met with notable colonists, although his revolutionary ideas were regarded as too radical for many, including Franklin, who favoured compromise with Britain. Paine, therefore, was very much against the stem of British opinion on the situation • on 10 January 1776 Paine published 'Common Sense', a propagandist pamphlet in favour of American independence which sold 100,000 copies in the colonies, and more than that in Britain and France • during the war, his writings continued to encourage colonists to keep fighting as Britain would one day recognise America's independence. The popularity of his work demonstrates the willingness of colonists to expose themselves to his radical views. **Other factors:** **Edmund Burke:** • as a new MP in 1765, Burke spoke against the Stamp Act in the House of Commons, having studied the American situation and taken the colonists' demands seriously • he made speeches citing the common bond of 'Englishness' which existed between Britain and America, and urging Parliament to 'loosen the reins' on colonists or lose America for good. This shows Burke's insight into colonist feeling about rule by Parliament • he opposed the Quebec Act 1774 as both impractical and ill-timed, stating that it appeared to be punitive because it was being passed simultaneously with the Coercive Acts • he proposed a Motion of Conciliation from Britain to the 1st Continental Congress in November 1774, but was heavily defeated in the House of Commons. Burke's actions demonstrate an awareness of the need to maintain good relations with America • Burke believed George III's actions to have accelerated colonists' moves towards independence, but his views were dismissed as alarmist by many Parliamentarians in the pre-war years • during the war, in 1777 in Parliament, Burke predicted a colonist victory based on his knowledge of their rebellious spirit and Britain's inability to crush their determination • one school of thought is that Burke was an imperialist who merely sought to maintain the colonies within the British Empire by compromising with their political demands. However it is certain that Burke was viewed as a sympathetic figure by many colonists who applauded his common sense and humanist approach to their plight.

George III:

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

British Parliament:

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

Earl of Chatham:

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

Differing British views of the situation in the colonies:

- Lord Grenville was Prime Minister from 1763–1765, and favoured British merchants in the colonies. His Currency Act of 1764 protected debts owed to British traders. He imposed the Stamp Act, though privately feared it could not be enforced

	• Lord Rockingham was Prime Minister from 1765–1766, and was inclined to be lenient towards America. However, after he repealed the Stamp Act he passed the Declaratory Act, proclaiming British parliamentary supremacy over America • the Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister from 1768–1770, and believed in the removal of duties in America but stood firm on the notion of British supreme authority. Despite his opposition to taxation, he insisted that duties on tea remain • Lord North was Prime Minster from 1770–1782. He believed Parliament should enforce British interests and supremacy in the colonies. He was supported by the British landed classes as long as he did not attack their interests and had the confidence of George III. North oversaw the Coercive Acts and Quebec Act. He led Britain through the war and spent a fortune on military supplies in America and the West Indies, believing the war could be won • John Wilkes was elected as an MP in 1768, although Parliament refused to allow him to take his seat as he was so radical. He was recognised by American radicals as honest and freedom-loving, fighting against the tyranny of Crown and Parliament. He favoured 'rights and privileges of freeborn subjects in a land of liberty', and spoke out against British policy in the House of Commons • British cotton industrialists and mill owners, including some MPs, favoured the Navigation Acts as they guaranteed a supply of raw materials from the colonies. However, as the crisis approached war, they merely wanted a speedy resolution in order to allow trade to continue. Cotton mill workers wanted trade to be maintained in order to preserve jobs, and so favoured any moves by the British Government which would resolve the crisis • in Scotland and Ireland, some people sympathised with the colonists' resentment of 'English' rule and understood their calls for greater autonomy • in America, British settlers and other empire loyalists in the colonies favoured the status quo, and after the revolution, 70,000 left the new states to settle in Canada. **Any other relevant factors.**

21.	**Context** The American War of Independence took place between Britain and its 13 colonies of North America. For many colonists, this was a revolutionary conflict fought by people fighting for freedom against tyranny, monarchy and the threat of enslavement. The war was fought not only on American soil, but on the high seas and across the world once other European powers became involved. Factors which contributed to the colonists' victory were British military inefficiency, George Washington's military capability and leadership, France's entry to the war and its contribution worldwide, local knowledge held by the Continental Army, and other worldwide factors. **British military inefficiency:** • on several occasions British generals did not act appropriately to instructions, such as when Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for America, hatched a plan to separate the New England colonies from the others in mid-1777. This involved General Howe moving his forces north from New York, but Howe misinterpreted his orders and moved south during August, rendering the plan futile • meanwhile, General Burgoyne, commander of British forces in Canada, had received orders to march south into the Hudson valley towards Ticonderoga in early 1777. Burgoyne, however, was left isolated in the Hudson valley after capturing Ticonderoga because Howe had gone south and General Clinton was too slow to move north in place of Howe, and so, confronted by large American forces, Burgoyne was forced to surrender his 3,500 men and equipment at Saratoga in October 1777 • furthermore, changes in personnel hindered operations, as politicians such as Lord North and Lord Germain promoted or appointed officers frequently, causing inconsistency and lack of stability at command level • petty jealousies among military leaders also obstructed progress, so that even after military campaigns had been waged successfully or battles had been won, there was no cooperation, leading to the British losing land gained, particularly after French entry in 1778. **Other factors:** **Role of George Washington:** • Washington was aware that the British forces would hold the advantage in open battle, so he fought using guerrilla warfare effectively, for example, at the significant crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776 • this was part of a surprise raid on British posts which resulted in Washington's small bands of men crossing the river back to their positions in Pennsylvania with captured supplies and arms. Guerrilla warfare, therefore, was an effective weapon in Washington's armoury • in addition, Washington taught his troops to fire accurately from distance on those occasions when they were engaged in open battle, particularly in the fight to control the New Jersey area in the first half of the war • during the attack on Princeton in January 1777 and the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, Washington's forces successfully drove the British from the battlefield • Washington's 'scorched earth' campaign during the summer of 1779 was aimed at Iroquois settlements in New York in revenge for their cooperation with the British early in the war • this policy deterred further collaboration between Indigenous 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
- 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 appointment as Commander of the Continental Army in 1775 inspired many. So Washington's business and political reputation were key features of his authority during the war
- his personal qualities included the ability to give speeches to his troops, emphasising the incentive of independence if they won the war. Washington was aware of the political aspect of the conflict, and turned military defeats, of which he suffered many, into opportunities to inspire his forces to fight on
- Washington's leadership at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777–1778 saw him preserve the morale of his 10,000-strong army in terrible conditions, particularly by allowing soldiers' families, known as Camp Followers, to remain with the troops
- his appointment of celebrated Prussian drill sergeant Baron Friedrich von Steuben to maintain discipline meant firearms skills stayed at a high quality
- his promotion of Nathanael Greene through the ranks from Private to Quartermaster-General meant regular food for the soldiers as well as adequate supplies of ammunition and uniforms, including boots
- the trust he showed in the French General Lafayette led to Congress commissioning Lafayette into the Continental Army before the French entered the war, allowing him an important role in strategic planning.

Importance of French entry:

- the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance was signed by Franklin and Louis XVI at Versailles in February 1778. This formalised French recognition of the US, the first international acknowledgement of American independence
- from this period onward, the French guaranteed the colonists abundant military support in the form of troops sent to fight on land and a naval contribution on the eastern seaboard, around Britain and across the world
- in addition, France provided the Continental Army with ammunition, uniforms, expertise, training and supplies
- importantly, the forces under the command of Count Rochambeau who landed at Rhode Island in 1780 hampered the British Army's attempts to dislodge colonist strongholds in Virginia throughout 1780 and 1781
- Rochambeau's cooperation 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
- 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
- Admiral d'Orvilliers defeated the Royal Navy in the Battle of Ushant in the English Channel in July 1778, weakening British defences in preparation for further attacks on the south coast of England
- Admiral de Grasse successfully deceived British fleets in the Atlantic to arrive at Chesapeake Bay in September 1781 prior to the Yorktown surrender. The entry of France into the conflict encouraged Spain and Holland to follow suit within the next 2 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.

	Role of local knowledge and people: • the land war was mainly on American soil, with the main battles being fought out in Massachusetts, the middle colonies and Virginia. Even if the British gained ground, the revolutionary forces knew the terrain well enough to find ways of re-occupying lost territory • key colonist victories such as the Battle of Princeton on 3 January 1777, the Battle of Kings Mountain on 7 October 1780, and the Battle of Yorktown between September and October 1781 were partly due to colonist forces' ability to utilise local geography to their advantage • British forces constantly found themselves having to react to the movement of the Continental Army • furthermore, as witnessed in British victories such as the Battle of New York City between August and October 1776, the Battle of Fort Ticonderoga on 6 July 1777, and the Battle of Brandywine on 11 September 1777, colonist troops had intimate knowledge of the surrounding areas and were able to avoid capture, and so withdrew to safety in order to fight another day • on occasions, such as during the Saratoga campaign, local people burned their crops rather than let them fall into British hands. The distance between Britain and the colonies already meant that supplies were slow in arriving at the front. **Control of the seas:** • Spain entered into the war in June 1779, intent on mounting an attack on the British mainland • Dutch entry into the war came in December 1780, providing another threat of invasion • these European powers stretched British resources even further and made Britain less effective in its overall military effort • the Armed League of Neutrality was formed in December 1780. The involvement of Russia, Denmark and Sweden in an agreement to fire on the Royal Navy, if provoked, placed extra pressure on Britain • the war at sea was a vital feature of Britain's weaknesses. British concentration was diverted from maintaining control of the colonies on land towards keeping control of maritime access to its wider empire. Ultimately, with the surrender at Yorktown, it was loss of control of the sea which led to the eventual British defeat. **Any other relevant factors.**

22.	**Context** In France, the Ancien Régime was the old order, which came to an end with the French Revolution of 1789. The king was at the centre of the Ancien Régime, governing through councils and ministries. Taxes and laws were set by royal edict. The absolute monarchy ruled in provinces through Intendants, and in towns through Parlements. The Ancien Régime consisted of Three Estates. Factors contributing to the threat to security included taxation, corruption, the royal family, financial issues, the position of the clergy, the role of the nobility, and grievances held by the peasantry and bourgeoisie. **Taxation:** • unfair nature of the system • privileged orders of the First and Second Estates were exempt from many taxes • the church received the 'tithe' from peasants who lived on its lands — one tenth of their produce • the nobility could tax the peasantry for hunting, shooting and fishing on their land • cumbersome administration — tax collected by the Farmers General, who had a vested interest in collecting as much as they could • the Third Estate (peasantry, urban workers and bourgeoisie) had to pay indirect taxes such as the gabelle (on salt), aides (on luxury goods) and the douanes (on imported goods) • the Third Estate paid direct taxes such as the capitation (to local government) and the vingtieme (to central government). **Other factors:** **Corruption:** • absolutist nature of the monarchy meant that many resented the lack of political representation • much of the functioning of central and local government was carried out with favour shown to individuals • court advisors were concerned with protecting their position rather than contradicting the king or warning him against bad decisions. **Position of the clergy:** • the clergy was split into the upper and lower clergy, the latter identifying more closely with the Third Estate. The church hierarchy was resented by the lower clergy • parish priests often sided with the peasants in their locality but the upper clergy viewed peasants with contempt and merely as a source of taxation • the church owned a large amount of land and paid relatively little taxation. The upper clergy were concerned to protect their privileges. **Role of the nobility:** • like the clergy, the upper nobility were concerned to protect their privileged status, particularly access to posts at court and in the army, and their exemptions from taxation • natural supporters of the monarchy, they saw some threat from the rise of the bourgeoisie • there were also tensions between the traditional nobility (of the sword) and the newly ennobled nobility (of the robe) • the 'old' sought to hold onto their control of key positions of the state, the Army and the church, much to the annoyance of the 'new'.

Complaints of the Third Estate:

- the Third Estate was liable for compulsory military service
- the peasantry were liable for forced labour on public roads and buildings — this service was called the corvée
- the peasantry had to pay to use their landlords' ovens to bake bread
- the peasantry would be likely to support change when it came
- poor pay and high food prices
- during times of poor harvests and bad winters, the Third Estate resented the lack of help from the First and Second Estates.

Grievances held by the bourgeoisie:

- the bourgeoisie had to pay the taille if they did not want to do military service
- the bourgeoisie desired political power but the Estates General, the collective group of representatives from each of the Three Estates, had not been called since 1614
- the bourgeoisie resented the extravagant lifestyle of the Second Estate
- the bourgeoisie were educated and were aware of the criticisms made of the Ancien Régime by the French philosophical movement of the 18th century.

Royal family:

- Louis XVI was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure
- king was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants
- king never called the Estates General (before 1789)
- Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality
- queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge
- monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry
- decadence of the court.

Financial issues:

- financial problems were arguably the biggest threat to the Ancien Régime
- created in part by France's involvement in wars — most recently the American War of Independence — brought France to bankruptcy
- by the 1780s, the Treasury deficit was estimated at 112,000,000 livres
- failure to reform — several finance ministers suggested changes to the taxation system but were thwarted by the privileged classes
- Turgot, Controller-General from 1774–1776, was dismissed after suggesting physiocratic reform and the abolition of town guilds
- Necker, Controller-General from 1776–1781, reduced court expenses, cut the number of tax-farmers, but had to borrow heavily to finance the war in America. Disclosure of court expenditure brought about his dismissal
- Calonne, Controller-General from 1783–1787, floated loans and spent freely, and attempted to persuade nobles to accept a land tax but resigned when they refused this
- Brienne, Controller-General from 1787–1788, tried to impose taxes on the privileged classes but the Parlements refused to confirm this and he was dismissed.

Any other relevant factors.

23.	**Context** The French Revolution of 1789 brought about the downfall of the Ancien Régime, the collapse of absolutism, and ultimately in 1792, the end of the French monarchy. The constitution was established in 1789 and was an attempt to retain the French monarchy with limited powers and according representation to royalists, Jacobins and Girondists. Factors contributing to the failure of the constitution included the character and actions of Louis XVI, weaknesses in the constitution and government, financial problems and the effects of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1792. **Role of Louis XVI:** • even before the outbreak of revolution in July 1789, Louis had shown himself incapable of making the strong decisions necessary to save the monarchy • the king was seen as weak and indecisive, surrounded by incompetent sycophants • the king was viewed as a wasteful monarch, creating an excess of court expenditure • king placed no trust in the Estates General • monarchy perceived as being ignorant of the lifestyles of the peasantry • decadence of the court • Marie-Antoinette was despised by many in the population for her Austrian nationality • queen was unwilling to improve her political knowledge • king never called the Estates General (before 1789) • flight to Varennes had already stirred anti-royalist feelings • Louis was, from the start, unsupportive of the principle of constitutional monarchy • he dismissed Controller-General (Finance Minister) Calonne in the face of opposition from the nobility to the major tax reforms needed to save France from bankruptcy • even in the weeks before the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the king seemed to be preparing for a counter-revolution through the build-up of troops at Versailles • after the Declaration of the Rights of Man in August 1789, Louis failed to openly endorse its principles • there was considerable suspicion about the king, which made the achievement of a constitutional monarchy unlikely. **Other factors:** **Activities of the émigrés:** • from their places of exile in other countries many émigrés plotted against the revolutionary government, seeking foreign help in their goal of restoring the old regime • even before King Louis' veto on decrees against 'refractory' clergy and émigrés in December, his actions during 1791 had done the monarchy immeasurable harm • his lukewarm support for the reforms of the Constituent Assembly had generated popular hostility in Paris from the spring of 1791 onwards • the king was likely to seek support from European allies to increase his powers.

	Outbreak of war: • the Revolution was radicalised to the point where the position of the monarchy became impossible because of the king's identification with the enemy • this was partly Louis' own fault but it should be remembered that France declared war on Austria in April 1792 • however, radical anti-monarchists believed that a successful war against Austria would bring them increased support at home and prove a decisive blow to the monarchy • the final overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792 had become inevitable under the pressures exerted by the war. **Role of the National Assembly:** • the constitution still accorded the king a power-sharing arrangement with the Legislative Assembly • limitations on the power of the monarch would never be accepted by Louis • within 6 months of the first meeting of the Assembly in October 1791, the king had been exercising his veto in a manner unacceptable to the Girondists and Jacobins. **Civil Constitution of the Clergy:** • the government's actions against the church were unpopular with the peasantry • the Civil Constitution of the Clergy made clergymen state employees which Roman Catholic priests objected to. **Financial problems:** • the economy had been damaged by events of the Revolution (and was already in crisis before 1789) • inflation was spiralling, making the constitutional monarchy unpopular in the provinces • in towns and cities increased bread prices were unpopular among industrial workers in urban areas • continued heavy taxation of the poorest sections of society • the financial benefits of the Revolution were perceived as being enjoyed by the wealthy and bourgeoisie. **Any other relevant factors.**

24.	**Context** The French Revolution of 1789 brought the end of the Ancien Régime. After a failure to establish a constitutional monarchy between 1789 and 1792, the monarchy was abolished, and the king and queen were later executed. The period of 'Terror' then took place until 1795, at the end of which the new Directory was created, but this was brought to an end with the creation of the Consulate by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. Among the factors which led to this were political instability, the increasing intervention of the army in politics, the role of Sieyes, the constitution of 1795, and the role of Bonaparte himself. **Political instability:** • in the late summer of 1794 France was emerging from 2 years of increasing radicalisation • growing bitterness between opposing factions within the country • the Jacobins, under Robespierre, had been overthrown and a 'White Terror' was soon to sweep the country in revenge for the excesses of the radical left during the Terror • France had been torn apart by civil war, with suspicions existing within communities in both urban and rural areas • the country was threatened by foreign armies egged on by émigré nobles seeking to overthrow the Revolution • France was riven by religious conflict occasioned by the state's opposition to the primacy of the Catholic Church. **Other factors:** **Increasing intervention of the army in politics:** • even before the 1795 constitution was ratified, the army had been used to quell sans-culottes insurgents who sought to invade the Convention and to repel an émigré invasion at Quiberon • Napoleon's use of a 'whiff of grapeshot' to put down the disturbances in October merely underlined the dangerous nature of politics at the time • the army was deployed in May 1796 to put down the left-wing Babeuf Conspiracy • the Directory reacted with the Coup of Fructidor in September 1797 when the first 'free' Convention elections returned a royalist majority. **Role of Sieyes:** • Sieyes was afraid that France would descend into anarchy as a result of the ongoing political conflict, and thought the 1795 constitution unworkable • Sieyes enlisted the aid of Bonaparte in mounting a coup against the constitution • the Convention, the Directory and the legislative councils had run their course and few, if any, mourned their passing. **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 bicameral legislature was established wherein each chamber counter-balanced the power of the other. By so doing it inhibited strong and decisive government • to ensure continuity, the new Convention was to include two-thirds of the outgoing deputies from the old. This enraged sections of the right who felt that the forces of left-wing radicalism still prevailed in government • the resulting mass protests in October 1795 were put down by the army under Bonaparte. The principle of using extra-parliamentary forces to control the state had been established with Bonaparte right at the heart of it. It was to prove a dangerous precedent • annual elections worked against consistent and continuous policy-making. So did the appointment of an Executive — the Directory — one of whose members rotated on an annual basis • again, the counter-balance between the legislature and the executive may have been commendable but it was to prove inherently unstable in practice. **Role of Bonaparte:** • following participation in warfare in Europe and the Middle East, Bonaparte returned in October 1795 • public perception was of Bonaparte as a hero, someone who could restore France to its former glory after years of revolutionary chaos and confusion • Bonaparte himself had political ambitions and planned to support Sieyes in the dissolution of the Directory and then seize power himself • Bonaparte cited the Coup of Fructidor to the Council of Five Hundred as evidence of their own culpability in the imminent downfall of the Directory • Bonaparte led the army in deposing the Directory in November 1799 • Bonaparte's use of the military gave him greater authority in later dealings with Sieyes. **Any other relevant factors.**

25.	**Context** In 1815 'Germany' was not a unified state but a loose confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. However, the development of a German sense of culture after 1815 created a greater feeling of unity and led to a growth of nationalism. **Cultural factors:** • main unifying force was language — 25 million Germans spoke the same language and shared the same culture and literature • writers and thinkers (for example, Heine, Fichte, Goethe, Brothers Grimm, Schiller and Hegel) encouraged the growth of a German consciousness • post-1815 nationalist feelings first expressed in universities • growth of Burschenschaften pre-1815 dedicated to driving French from German soil — zealous but lacking a clear idea of how best to accomplish the task • the Hambacherfest and student demonstrations — little was accomplished by the students • early 19th century was a time of great change in all European states and it has been suggested that the political changes of the time can be partly explained by an understanding of the cultural developments of the time. **Other factors:** **Economic factors:** • urbanisation and industrialisation of the German states — political fragmentation — can be argued to be the most important obstacle to German economic development • middle-class businessmen called for a more united market to enable them to compete with foreign countries. They complained that tax burdens were holding back economic development • Prussian economic expansion — drift in power away from Austria and towards Prussia as the latter began to build on rich resources such as coal and iron deposits • Prussia's gain of territory on the River Rhine after 1815 meant it had good reason to reach an agreement with neighbours to ensure relatively free travel of goods and people between its lands in the east and the west • Prussia created a large free-trade area within Prussia itself • railway and road development — post-1830s, the development of railways and roads ended the isolation of German states from each other. This enabled the transport and exploitation of German natural resources. Economic cooperation between German states encouraged those seeking a political solution to the issue of German unity • Zollverein — the 'mighty lever' of German unification. By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic free-trade area (Austria excluded) • members of the union voluntarily restricted their sovereignty (even if only for selfish interests) to allow for economic gain through joining the Prussian-led Customs Union • German nationalists in the late 1830s saw it as a step towards a wider political union.

	Effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars: • ideas of the French Revolution appealed to the middle classes in the German states • impact of Napoleonic wars — many Germans argued that Napoleon/France had been able to conquer German states pre-1815 due to their division as separate, autonomous territories. German princes had stirred national feeling to help raise armies to drive out the French, aiding the sense of a common German identity with common goals. **Role of the Liberals:** • 1848 revolutions in Germany raised consciousness greatly even though they failed • many Liberals were middle-class and were also receptive to nationalist ideas. **Military weakness:** • the French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the German states were weak • French troops had marched across Germany for over 20 years, and had humiliated Prussia, the strongest 'German' state at Jena and Auerstadt. Germany had been carved up by Napoleon, the North Sea coast being incorporated into France itself, and the Confederation of the Rhine set up as a puppet state. Divided, the German states could not defend their territorial integrity • Germany had been used as a recruiting ground by Napoleon: Germans had died to protect France. Even the enlarged post-Vienna states would be powerless, with the exception of Prussia, to prevent this happening again. **Any other relevant factors.**

26.	**Context** Between 1815 and 1850 there was a growth in German nationalism across the German confederation made up of 39 separate states with their own rulers and systems of government. As well as a variety of internal divisions ranging from religious to political, there were other outside influences such as resentment of Austria. **Austrian strength:** • the states within 'Germany' had been part of the moribund Holy Roman Empire, traditionally ruled by the Emperor of Austria • post-1815 the chairmanship of the 'Bund' was given to Austria on a permanent basis, partly as Austria was considered to be the major German power • Metternich opposed liberalism and nationalism. He used diplomacy and threats of force, for example, Karlsbad Decrees and the Six Articles. He made use of the police state, repression and press censorship • Austrian controlled the administration and management of the Empire, stamping authority on the Bund • Treaty of Olmutz, 1850, signalled the triumph of Austria and humiliation of Prussia which showed that Austrian military strength was an important obstacle. Although Austrian military strength was in decline, this was not apparent until the 1860s. **Other factors:** **German princes:** • the leaders of the German states obstructed unification and were protective of their individual power and position. They wanted to maintain the status quo which would safeguard this for them • particularism of the various German states — autonomous and parochial in many ways • self-interest among German rulers led to opposition to the actions at Frankfurt. **Divisions among the nationalists:** • nationalists were divided over which territory should be included in any united Germany; grossdeutsch and kleindeutsch arguments • failure of the Frankfurt Parliament — lack of clear aims and without an armed force to enforce its decisions; lack of decisive leadership; divisions among the 'revolutionaries' regarding aims and objectives. **Indifference of the masses:** • popular apathy — most Germans had little desire to see a united Germany; nationalism affected mainly the educated and business classes • lack of coincidence between political boundaries and ethnic or linguistic ones • however, politically-based literature and propaganda also reached the masses, helping to bond their ideals and strengthen their resolve for both reform and unification. **Religious differences:** • religion — northern German states were mostly Protestant and southern states mainly Catholic; thus the north looked to Prussia for help and protection while the south looked to Austria.

	Economic differences: • the smaller states of the west had more advanced economies than the Prussian heartlands • even within Prussia there were significant social differences between the industrially-advanced territories on the Rhine and the largely agricultural areas in the east, which were dominated by the Junkers (although less so than in the 18th century), who were adversely affected by the agricultural depression of the 1820s • Austria failed to join the Zollverein and created a separate customs union. **Resentment towards Prussia:** • smaller states, particularly in the south, resented the economic and political predominance of Prussia • there was a reluctance to accept unification within the Prussian state, which had a significant non-German population and which contained a large conservative/reactionary landed class. **Attitudes of foreign states:** • France had been able to dominate central Europe for centuries due to its lack of unity. Although most of Germany had been united by Napoleon into the Confederation of the Rhine, it was not in French interests for Germany to be united, particularly as that would present a barrier to France achieving a frontier on the Rhine. **Any other relevant factors.**

27.	**Context** In 1933, Hitler had become chancellor of Germany. A number of factors contributed to Hitler and the Nazis' rise to power, which was in part due to the weakness of the Weimar Republic which failed to deal with the hyperinflation crisis of 1923, the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression. **Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic:** • 'A Republic without Republicans'/'a Republic nobody wanted' — there was a lack of popular support for the new form of government after 1918 • 'Peasants in a palace' — commentary on Weimar politicians • divisions among those groups and individuals who appeared to be supporters of the new form of government, for example, the socialists • alliance of the new government and the old imperial army against the Spartacists. There was a lack of cooperation between socialist groups — petty squabbling was rife • the Constitution/Article 48 ('suicide clause') — arguably Germany too was democratic. 'The world's most perfect democracy — on paper' • lack of real, outstanding Weimar politicians who could strengthen the Republic, with the exception of Stresemann • inability (or unwillingness) of the Republic to deal effectively with problems in German society • lukewarm support from the German Army and the Civil Service. **Other factors:** **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. **Appeal of Hitler and the Nazis after 1928:** • Nazi Party had attractive qualities for the increasingly disillusioned voting population: they were anti-Versailles, anti-communist (the SA took on the Red Front in the streets), promised to restore German pride, give the people jobs • 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 were 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 • 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. **Economic difficulties:** • over-reliance on foreign loans left the Weimar economy subject to the fluctuations of the international economy • 1923 (hyperinflation) — severe effects on the middle classes, the natural supporters of the Republic; outrage and despair at their ruination

	• the Great Depression — arguably without this the Republic might have survived. Germany's dependence on American loans showed how fragile the recovery of the late 1920s was. The pauperisation of millions again reduced Germans to despair • the Depression also polarised politics in Germany — the drift to extremes led to a fear of communism, which grew quickly with the growth of support for the Nazis. **Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents:** • splits in the left after suppression of Spartacist Revolt made joint action in the 1930s very unlikely • roles of von Schleicher and von Papen. Underestimation of Hitler • weakness and indecision of Hindenburg. **Any other relevant factors.**

28.	**Context** The origins of Italian nationalism can be traced back to the Renaissance and the writings of Machiavelli who urged Italians to seize Italy from the 'barbarians'. However, the ideas of Mazzini and his anti-Austrian views led to the development of more political nationalism in the 19th century. **Cultural factors:** • the Risorgimento was inspired by Italy's past. Poets such as Leopardi glorified and exaggerated past achievements, kindling nationalist desires. Poets and novelists like Pellico inspired anti-Austrian feelings among intellectuals, as did operas such as Verdi's 'Nabucco' and Rossini's 'William Tell' • there was no national Italian language — regional dialects were like separate languages. Alfieri inspired Italian language based on Tuscan. The poet and novelist Manzoni wrote in Italian. Philosophers spread ideas of nationalism in their books and periodicals • moderate nationalists such as Gioberti and Balbo advocated the creation of a federal state with the individual rulers remaining, but joining together under a president for foreign affairs and trade. Gioberti's 'On the moral and civil primacy of the Italians' advocated the Pope as president while Balbo, in his book 'On the hopes of Italy', saw the King of Piedmont/Sardinia in the role • radical nationalist Mazzini not only inspired dreams of a united, democratic Italian republic through his written works, but also formed an activist movement — 'Young Italy' — whose aim was to make these dreams a reality. **Other factors:** **Economic factors:** • economic factors were not important directly. Wealth lay in land (landowners were often reactionary) and trade (where the educated bourgeoisie were more receptive to ideas of liberalism and nationalism) • the election of a new, seemingly reformist Pope, Pius IX, in 1846 inspired feelings of nationalism particularly among businessmen and traders as he wished to form a customs union • tariff walls between the Italian states and the disorganised railway system prevented economic development of Italy, which led businessmen to be interested in unification. **Military weakness:** • the French Revolution led to a realisation that, individually, the Italian states were weak. The fragmentation of Italy in the Vienna Settlement restored Italy's vulnerability to foreign invasion. **Effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars:** • Italian intellectuals had initially been inspired by the French Revolution with its national flag, national song, national language, national holiday and emphasis on citizenship • Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest inspired feelings of nationalism — he reduced the number of states to three; revived the name 'Italy'; brought in a single system of weights and measures; improved communications; and helped trade, inspiring desire for at least a customs union. Napoleon's occupation was hated — conscription, taxes, looting of art.

	Resentment of Austria: • after the Vienna settlement in 1815, hatred of foreign control centred on Austria. The Hapsburg Emperor directly controlled Lombardy and Venetia; his relatives controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Austria had strong ties to the Papacy and had alliances with other rulers. Conscription, censorship, the use of spies and the policy of promotion for only German speakers in the police, civil service and army, was resented • Austrian army presence within towns like Milan and the heavily garrisoned Quadrilateral fortresses ensured that Italians could never forget that they were under foreign control and this inspired growing desire for the creation of a national state. **Secret societies:** • the growth of secret societies, particularly the Carbonari, led to revolts in 1820, 1821 and 1831. Also Young Italy and their revolts in the 1830s. **Any other relevant factors.**

29.	**Context** By 1850 the forces of nationalism had grown in Italy. The revolutions of 1848 showed this. However, there were many obstacles which prevented unification from happening before 1850 such as the dominant position of Austria and its dependent duchies. **Dominant position of Austria:** • following the Vienna Settlement, Austria Emperor Francis I had direct control of Lombardy and Venetia. Relatives of the Austrian Hapsburg Emperor controlled Parma, Modena and Tuscany (Central Duchies). Austria had agreements with the other states • Lombardy and Venetia were strictly controlled — censorship, spies, conscription (8 years), policy to employ German speakers (Austrian) in law, police, army civil service to control others (non-Austrian) • Austrian Army was a common sight in major cities and in the Quadrilateral fortress towns on Lombard/Venetian border (Verona, Peschiera, Legnano, and Mantua). The Austrian Army was sent in by Metternich to restore order following the Carbonari-inspired revolts in 1820, 1821 and 1831 • Austria had first class commander, Radetsky. In 1848 Charles Albert's army won two skirmishes but Radetsky awaited reinforcements then defeated Albert at Custozza forcing an armistice. Radetsky re-took Milan in August • after Albert's renewal of war, Radetsky took just 3 days to defeat him again (Novara). He then besieged Venetia until the Republic of St Mark surrendered on 22 August 1849. Austrians re-established control across north and central Italy. **Other factors:** **Political differences within the nationalists:** • secret societies lacked clear aims, organisation, leadership, resources and operated in regional cells • moderate nationalists feared extremists like Mazzini • the 1848–1849 revolutions showed that nationalist leaders did not trust one another (Manin and Charles Albert) or would not work together (C. Albert and Mazzini) • failure to capitalise on Austrian weakness in 1848 • there was division between those desiring liberal changes within existing states and those desiring the creation of a national state. **Economic and cultural differences:** • geographical difficulties hindered the spread of nationalist ideas. **Indifference of the masses:** • patriotic literature inspired intellectuals and students but did not reach the vast majority of the population who were illiterate (90% in some areas). The mass of the population were indifferent to nationalist ideas. **Italian rulers:** • individual rulers were opposed to nationalism. They feared for their position within a united Italy. **Attitude of the Papacy:** • Pope Pius IX denounced nationalism in 1848. **Any other relevant factors.**

30.	**Context** By 1925, Mussolini and the Fascists had gained power in Italy. A number of factors contributed to the Fascist rise to power in Italy, such as Mussolini's personality and oratory skills. **Appeal of Mussolini and the Fascists:** • 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 and kept support of fascist extremists (Ras) • he relied on strong nerves to seize power and to survive the Matteotti crisis • he promised strong government. This was attractive after a period of extreme instability • violence showed fascism was strong and ruthless. It appealed to many ex-soldiers • Squadristi violence was directed against socialism so it gained the support of elites and middle classes. **Other factors:** **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 a wider support base threatening the existing political system • Word War I worsened the situation; wartime coalitions were very weak; 1918; universal male suffrage and 1919 Proportional Representation; relied on 'liberals' — unstable coalitions. Giolitti made an electoral pact with Mussolini (1921); Fascists gained 35 seats then refused to support the government. Over the next 16 months, there were three ineffective coalition governments • Fascists threatened a 'March on Rome' — king refused to agree to martial law; Facta resigned; Mussolini was invited to form coalition; 1924 Acerbo Law. **Resentment of 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 its government. **Social and economic divisions:** • membership of trade unions and PSI rose — strikes, demonstrations, violence. 1919–1920; 'Biennio Rosso' in towns — general strike 1920; army mutiny; occupation of factories • Industrialists and middle classes were fearful of revolution. Governments failed to back the police so law and order broke down • in the countryside, there was seizure of common land — peasant ownership increased.

	Weaknesses and mistakes of opponents: • D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume was not stopped by the government • government failed to get martial law to stop fascist threat. Some liberals supported the Acerbo Law • Socialist General Strike, July 1922, failed. Socialists' split weakened them; they refused to join together to oppose fascism • Liberals fragmented into four factions grouped around former Prime Ministers. They were too weak to effectively resist. Hoped to tame fascists • PSI were divided over attitude to fascism — right wing supported fascism. Aventine Secession backfired; destroyed chance to remove Mussolini. **Role of the king:** • the king gave into fascist pressure during the March on Rome. He failed to call Mussolini's bluff • after the Aventine Secession the king was unwilling to dismiss Mussolini. **Economic difficulties:** • World War II 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 — 2 million unemployed in 1919 — firms collapsed as military orders ceased. **Any other relevant factors.**

31.	**Context** Opposition groups were weak in the Tsarist state before 1905. The main reasons for making this possible were the 'Pillars of Autocracy'. Each of these 'Pillars' strengthened the Tsar's position, and made it almost impossible for opposition groups to challenge the state. **Tsar:** • the Fundamental Law stated 'To the emperor of all Russia belongs the supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear'. This was the basis of the Tsarist state. **Army/Okhrana:** • this was controlled by the officers who were mainly upper-class, conservative and loyal to the Tsar • they ensured that the population and the peasantry, in particular, were loyal to the Tsar • they crushed any insurgence and were used to enforce order in the country and loyalty to the Tsar • the secret police was set up to ensure loyalty to the Tsar and expose opposition to the Tsar. They did this by spying on all people of society irrespective of class. Those showing any sign of opposition to the Tsar were imprisoned or sent into exile. Large numbers were exiled. **Role of the church:** • the church helped to ensure that the people, particularly the peasants, remained loyal to the Tsar • the church preached to the peasants that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that they should therefore obey the Tsar. It ensured the peasants were aware of the Fundamental Law. **Russification:** • this was the policy of restricting the rights of the national minorities in the Russian Empire by insisting that Russian was the first language. As a result, law and government were conducted throughout the Russian Empire in the Russian language • this maintained the dominance of the Russian culture over that of the minorities. The state intervened in religion and education and treated subjects as potential enemies and inferior to Russians. **Opposition groups:** • opposition groups, for example, Social Democrats (supported by industrial workers) and Liberals (who wanted a British-style parliament), were fairly weak. However, these groups were not powerful or popular enough to effect change • there were various revolutionary groups like the Social Revolutionaries (supported by peasants seeking land reform). Moreover these groups were further weakened by the fact they were divided and disorganised • the leaders were often in prison or in exile. **Censorship:** • this controlled what people could read, what university lecturers could say, access to schools, and limited the number and type of books available in libraries.

	Civil service: • they mainly employed middle-class people, therefore ensuring the loyalty of that class • the civil service was responsible for enforcing laws on censorship and corruption and controlling meetings which made it very difficult for the revolutionaries to communicate. **Zubatov unions:** • organised by the police, these were used to divert the attention of the workers away from political change by concentrating on wages and conditions in the factories, thus reducing the chances of the workers being influenced by the revolutionary groups. Unions in 1903 became involved in strikes and so were disbanded due to pressure from employers. **Any other relevant factors.**

32.	**Context** After the 1905 Revolution the Tsar had to strengthen his authority and weaken the threat of any opposition. He attempted to restore authority between 1905 and 1914 by introducing a variety of political and economic reforms led by Stolypin. **October Manifesto and Duma:** • the Tsar issued the October Manifesto and the Fundamental Laws which were crucial in strengthening the Tsarist state. He ruled by divine decree which, along with the support of the Russian Orthodox Church, helped the Tsar use religion to secure his power • Stolypin believed that the Tsarist system would only survive if there were some political and social reforms which would reduce social bitterness and therefore reduce opposition. Stolypin wanted middle-class support so he showed respect for the Duma and tried to work with it rather than against it. He changed the franchise in 1907 which prevented many national minorities, peasants and workers from voting although they did still have a say in the Zemstvos. This allowed him to obtain a more cooperative Third Duma which passed his land reforms • Stolypin's work with the Duma helped to strengthen the Tsarist state as he helped secure the support of the middle class and Liberals for the Tsarist state. **Repression:** • Tsar Nicholas II appointed Stolypin to restore order. He used a 'divide and conquer' policy to deal with each of the threats individually. He secured the loyalty and control of the armed forces by promising overdue pay, improved conditions and training • Stolypin was given the job of restoring order after the rural violence, industrial strikes and terrorism during and after the 1905 Revolution. He used measures such as military courts which issued death penalties — 'Stolypin's necktie' — as well as sentences of hard labour in Siberia. He used the Okhrana and censorship to silence the Tsar's opponents • Stolypin also enforced Russification and disenfranchisement to suppress the national minorities. Public order was restored as ringleaders were dealt with severely and this acted as a deterrent, thereby strengthening the Tsarist state. However, there was still discontent in some areas. **Stolypin reforms:** • Stolypin's main plan was preventing another revolution through economic reform, particularly land reforms. He tried to address some of the economic problems facing Russia like food shortages and rural over-population. Stolypin felt that if the peasants and industrial workers were happy then they would be loyal to the Tsar and therefore any revolutions would fail. Stolypin's land reforms included cancelling redemption payments, Kulaks, freedom from commune, Peasant Loan Bank and making more land available. Peasants were encouraged to leave their overcrowded communes and relocate to Siberia or Central Asia • Stolypin also introduced reforms in education which became compulsory and Stolypin hoped this would allow people to get more highly-skilled jobs. He introduced improvements in industrial working conditions and pay, and as more factories came under the control of inspectors, there were signs of improving working conditions. As industrial profits increased, the first signs of a more prosperous workforce could be detected • in 1912 a workers' sickness and accident insurance scheme was introduced. Stolypin's economic reforms tried to strengthen the Tsarist state by improving life and work for the vast majority of the population • however, the land reforms did not modernise as much as had been hoped. Despite the record harvest of 1913, there was an economic slump which made life difficult for people and affected their loyalty to the Tsarist state.

	Fundamental Laws: • the Fundamental Law stated 'To the emperor of all Russia belongs the supreme and unlimited power. God himself commands that his supreme power be obeyed out of conscience as well as out of fear'. This was the basis of the Tsarist state. **Nature of events in 1905:** • Plehve, the Tsar's minister of the interior, believed a short war and victory would distract the people of Russia from their problems. This would unite the Russian population behind the Tsar. However, the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905, was unpopular from the beginning. The Tsar and his ministers were blamed for the defeats in the war. The defeat actually had the opposite effect, convincing many Russians to rise up against the Tsar in 1905 • the events of Bloody Sunday, 22 January 1905, was a response to the discontent of the workers in Moscow and St Petersburg. Father Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest, led a peaceful march to the Tsar's winter palace. The Tsarist Government responded with the use of the army and police. Hundreds of demonstrators were killed. The people of Russia took to the streets to protest against the Tsar • Bloody Sunday was the spark that ignited the 1905 Revolution. There was widespread rural violence, industrial strikes and terrorism from the peasantry, workers, national minorities and middle classes. The Tsar responded by issuing the October Manifesto in the hope that he could divide the revolutionary forces. **Any other relevant factors.**

33.	**Context** After the abdication of the Tsar in March 1917 the Provisional Government took control of Russia. However, they were not an elected body but a provisional government put in place to keep Russia stable and to continue the war effort. Yet, by October 1917 the Provisional Government had been swept from power by Lenin and the Bolsheviks who carried out a successful revolution. **Appeal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks:** • Lenin returned to Russia announcing the April Theses, with slogans such as 'Peace, Land and Bread' and 'All Power to the Soviets' • 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:** **Political discontent:** • the July Days was an attempt by the Bolsheviks to seize power, rising in support of the Kronstadt sailors who were in revolt • the revolt was easily crushed by the Provisional Government but showed increasing opposition to the Provisional Government, especially from the forces • the impact of the Kornilov Revolt which threatened to impose a new military dictatorship in Russia. The revolt led to a greater degree of mistrust in Kerensky's government • Kerensky appealed to the Petrograd Soviet for help, and the Bolsheviks were among those who were helped, which led to an increase in popular support for the Bolsheviks • some Bolsheviks were armed and released from prison to help put down the attempted coup. **Dual power:** • the old Petrograd Soviet re-emerged and ran Petrograd • the Petrograd Soviet undermined the authority of the 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 the Provisional Government that contradicted those of the Petrograd Soviet. **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 their confidence in the Provisional Government • food shortages caused discontent, and they were caught up by revolutionary slogans such as 'Peace, Land and Bread'.

	Decision to continue the war: • 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. **Economic problems:** • the workers were restless as they were facing starvation due to food shortages caused by the war • the shortage of fuel caused problems for the workers • the shortage of food and supplies made the workers unhappy and restless • the Bolsheviks' slogans, such as workers control of industry, appealed to many. **Any other relevant factors.**

34.	**Context** By the 1920s the USA's 'open door' policy on immigration had closed. New laws were introduced to further restrict immigration. The 'red scare' changed many Americans' attitudes towards immigrants. **Fear of revolution:** • attitudes towards immigration changed due to the 'red scare' which increased suspicion of immigrants. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had established the first communist state in Russia which was committed to spreading revolution and destroying capitalism. As many immigrants to the USA came from Russia and eastern Europe, it was feared that these immigrants would bring communist ideas into the USA • in 1919 there was a wave of strikes in the USA. Many of the strikers were unskilled and semi-skilled workers and recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. People opposed to the strikes linked the strikes with communism as it was believed that revolution was imminent • the American public's fear of red revolution appeared to be confirmed when the US Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's house in Washington, DC, was blown up and letter bombs were sent to government officials. The red scare reached a peak of hysteria in January 1920 when, one night, Palmer ordered the arrest of 4,000 alleged communists in 33 cities in what became known as the Palmer Raids. **Other factors:** **Isolationism:** • attitudes towards immigration in the 1920s were in some respects a development of existing attitudes towards immigration apparent in the 19th century. Before the 1920s, the USA's open door policy did not apply to everyone. Before 1900 the USA had reduced Asian immigration. The first significant law to restrict immigration into the USA was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which banned Chinese immigration • the first general Federal Immigration Law in 1882 imposed a head tax of 50 cents on each immigrant admitted and denied entrance into the USA of 'any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge' • the Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 to oppose 'undesirable immigrants' from southern and eastern Europe who, it was believed, threatened the American way of life • the 1913 Alien Land Law prohibited 'aliens ineligible for citizenship' from owning agricultural land or possessing long-term leases. This particularly affected Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Korean immigrant farmers • at the beginning of the First World War, American public opinion was firmly on the side of neutrality and wanted to keep out of foreign problems and concentrate solely on America. When the war ended, most Americans were even more in favour of a return to the USA's traditional policy of isolationism • despite Woodrow Wilson's support of a League of Nations to sort out future disputes between countries, in November 1919 and March 1920 the US Senate voted against US membership of the League of Nations, and refused to accept the terms of the League of Nations covenant. The USA was determined not to be involved in Europe's problems or become dragged into another European war. The USA was now firmly committed to a policy of isolationism.

Prejudice and racism:

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

Social fears:

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

Economic fears:

- attitudes towards immigration changed due to increased fears that the jobs of 'Americans' would be threatened. Due to new production methods, employers realised they could make huge profits by employing immigrants and paying them low wages
- Trade Unions believed that anything they did to improve conditions or wages was wrecked by Italian or Polish workers who were prepared to work longer hours for lower wages
- new immigrants were also used as 'strike breakers' as long hours and low wages in the USA were often better than what they were used to. There was huge resentment towards immigrant strike breakers which led to an increase in the desire to stop immigrants coming into the country.

Effects of the First World War:

- many immigrants during the First World War had sympathies for their mother country which led to resentment within the USA
- a large part of the US immigrant population was of German or Austrian origin. Many of these immigrants had supported the German side in the war and society was split when the USA joined the war against Germany. Anti-German propaganda containing stories of German atrocities increased dislike and suspicion of immigrants from Germany and the old Austrian Empire

	• Irish Americans were suspected of being anti-British • many citizens felt hostile to anything foreign. During the war, many Americans resented having to become involved in Europe's problems. After the First World War the USA was even more in favour of an isolationist policy. By 1918 the USA wanted to leave Europe behind especially after the November armistice, when ships began to bring the wounded back to the US from the European Western Front. Many Americans therefore did not want new waves of immigrants bringing 'European' problems to the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

35.	**Context** Although the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in October 1929 symbolises the start of the US economic crisis which in turn led to a worldwide Depression, problems in the American economy went beyond the stock market, and began before 1929. The weakness of the American banking system, for example, was highlighted in the autumn of 1929 when many banks failed to cope with the sudden rush to withdraw savings. **Weaknesses of the US banking system:** • a major problem was the lack of regulation of banks • the US banking system was made up of hundreds of small, state-based banks. In hundreds of small communities, local people put their money into the banks for safe keeping and a small amount of interest. Banks then used that money to make investments that made some money for the banks. As the economic boom grew, banks invested savers' money in stocks and shares in the hope of making a large profit • when people began to withdraw their savings, the banks could not cope with the demand as funds had been invested elsewhere. The collapse of one bank often led to a 'run' on other banks, resulting in a banking collapse. By the end of 1932, 20% of the banks that had been operating in 1929 had closed down. The normal banking system almost ceased to exist and without an efficient banking system, the economy could not function. **Other factors:** **Overproduction of goods and underconsumption:** • new mass-production methods and mechanisation meant that the production of consumer goods had expanded enormously creating a consumer boom in the 1920s. Items such as irons, ovens, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, radios and telephones became very popular. The production of automobiles rose from 1.9 million in 1920 to 4.5 million in 1929 • by 1929 those people who had the money to buy consumer goods, even on credit, had already bought them. Cars, radios and other electrical goods had flooded the market and more were being made than people could buy. The USA was experiencing the serious problem of overproduction. Radios, telephones, washing machines, refrigerators and other goods were piling up in warehouses across the country • the enormous output of goods required a corresponding increase of consumer buying power (higher wages). However, workers' income in the 1920s did not rise with the increased productivity. The purchasing power of farmers had also declined. Between 1920 and 1932 the total income of farmers dropped by approximately 70%. Many small farmers lived in appalling conditions and many lost their farms due to outstanding debts • throughout the 1920s business had benefited from low tax policies. The result of this was that the bottom 40% of the population received only 12.5% of the nation's wealth. The economic boom of the 1920s was not a good time for everyone. In 1928 it was estimated that 42% of Americans did not earn enough to buy adequate food, clothing or shelter. Many American people were too poor to afford the new consumer goods • in contrast, the top 5% of the population owned 33% of the nation's wealth. Only a wealthy minority of the US population could afford the new consumer goods that rolled off factory production lines • therefore, domestic demand never kept up with production. By the end of the 1920s the market for the new consumer goods was saturated. By 1929 automobile factories had to lay off thousands of workers because of reduced demand.

Republican government policies in the 1920s:

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

International economic problems:

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

Wall Street Crash:

- during the 1920s many people were encouraged to buy shares in American companies. As the share prices went up, the demand for shares increased further as people saw the chance to make easy money. The boom of the 1920s however was very fragile and the rise in share prices was based on the confidence that prosperity would continue
- by the late 1920s ordinary people, banks and big businesses were buying shares 'on the margin', paying only a fraction of the full price at the time of purchase, intending to sell on the shares at a profit before the rest of the payment became due. This meant that share buyers were forcing up share prices with money they did not really have
- during the late 1920s, the economic boom started to slow down. There was an atmosphere of uncertainty in October 1929 and some shareholders began to sell their shares, believing that prices were at their peak
- on 21 October prices began to fall. On 24 October 1929, Black Thursday, the Wall Street Crash began. On 29 October 1929, Black Tuesday, the US Stock market collapsed completely. As hardly anyone wanted to buy shares, the shares were sold for very low prices. The share collapse caused panic. Many firms went out of business and thousands of Americans were financially ruined
- the stock market crash played a role in the Depression but its significance was more as a trigger. The Wall Street Crash led to a collapse of credit, and of confidence. It revealed how fragile and unstable the economic boom of the 1920s really was.

Any other relevant factors.

36.	**Context** Despite modest progress in Black Americans' civil rights, a number of events highlighted the continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination in post-war America. While these events publicised the full horrors of segregation, they also demonstrated that segregation could be challenged and changed which was a significant factor in the development of a more organised mass movement for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. **Prejudice and discrimination:** • continuing racial discrimination pushed many Black Americans to demand civil rights. The experience of war emphasised freedom, democracy and human rights yet in the USA Jim Crow laws still existed and lynching went unpunished • the continuing problem of prejudice and discrimination was highlighted when Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Black boy from Chicago, was murdered in Mississippi. The Emmett Till case had a big effect on the development of the civil rights movement due to the publicity of the trial. Despite being virtually unrecognisable due to being beaten up so badly, Emmett's mother insisted on showing her son's corpse in an open coffin which shocked both local people and the nation • the US Supreme Court's 1954 decision to end segregation in schools (Brown versus the Topeka Board of Education) followed by the protest at Little Rock High School, Arkansas in 1957, encouraged civil rights campaigners. The sight of Elizabeth Eckford being bullied and threatened for attending a white school made national and world news headlines • the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama (over the arrest of Rosa Parks, who refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus) was one of the first successful protests and showed the effectiveness of united peaceful, non-violent protest. **Other factors:** **Experience of Black servicemen in the Second World War:** • despite the US Army being segregated, Black servicemen in Europe had freedoms they had never experienced in America. Even in prisoner of war camps, Black airmen were treated as officers regardless of their colour • as a result, Black soldiers, sailors and airmen supported the 'Double-V' campaign: victory against the enemy abroad in the war and victory for civil rights at home in America • Philip Randolph is credited with highlighting the problems faced by Black Americans during World War II which planted the seeds that grew into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a mainly Black union. The porters, who travelled on long-distance overnight trains, could carry news between Black communities in the rural south and those in northern cities • during the Second World War, A. Philip Randolph threatened a mass protest march in Washington unless discrimination in defence industry jobs and in the armed forces was ended. In 1941 Randolph and other Black leaders met President Roosevelt with three demands: an end to segregation and discrimination in federal government jobs, an end to segregation of the armed forces, and government support for an end to discrimination and segregation in all jobs in the USA • as the USA was fighting against Hitler's racist policies in Europe and unwilling to highlight the USA's own racism, Roosevelt gave in to some of Randolph's demands and issued Executive Order 8802 which stated that there would be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defence industries and in government on the basis of race, colour or religious beliefs • Roosevelt also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination

- not all Randolph's demands were met. Segregation in the armed forces and in jobs in the USA continued
- a positive outcome of the Double-V campaign was the creation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942 which was the beginning of a mass movement for civil rights. CORE was to play a large part in the civil rights protests of the 1950s and 1960s.

Role of Martin Luther King:

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

Emergence of effective Black leaders:

- the civil rights campaign was also inspired by the ideas of the Black activist, Malcolm X. Malcolm X was an articulate although confrontational speaker who became a preacher for the Nation of Islam and spoke against King's belief in non-violence. Malcolm X believed non-violence meant being defenceless and stated that Black people had to work out their own futures without relying on white help. Malcolm X was one of the first Black civil rights activists to draw attention to the problems of crime, and unemployment in the ghettos of American cities
- many young Black Americans living in the ghettos were attracted to the more extreme ideas of Stokely Carmichael and 'Black Power'— a direct ideas descendant of Marcus Garvey and his 'Back to Africa' movement. Many Black Americans no longer believed that non-violence was the way forward
- the Black Panthers attracted attention and headline news contributing to the civil rights campaign. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The Black Panthers represented the opposite of Martin Luther King's ideas and supported the anti-white, Black separatist ideas of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The Black Panthers became very popular among young Black Americans in the big cities and gained a lot of publicity. On the other hand, even at the height of their popularity, membership was relatively low and they lost support due to their confrontational tactics
- the civil rights leaders were all effective in attracting media coverage and large followings although other leaders and organisations were eclipsed by media focus on the main personalities
- the Black radicals attracted support for the civil rights campaign but also divided opinion across the USA.

	Role of Black civil rights organisations: • in 1960 a group of Black and white college students created the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to help coordinate, support and publicise the sit-in campaign. Their first target was segregated lunch counters and their use of non-violent protest in the face of provocation gained the civil rights movement support across the country • the SNCC joined with young people from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in boycotts, marches and freedom rides. TV news coverage of attacks on the Freedom Riders, for example, shocked the American public • the combined actions of these organisations breathed new life into the civil rights movement and ended discrimination in many public places including restaurants, hotels, and theatres. These successes further encouraged the development of the civil rights campaign to demand more. **Any other relevant factors.**

Part H — Appeasement and the road to war, to 1939

37.	**Context** Fascist belief was founded on the idea of national unity. It totally opposed the idea of internal class division. In the cases of Italy and Germany it was also expansionist in outlook. Mussolini looked to create a new Roman Empire while Hitler sought living space for the 'excess' German population. A number of factors led to this. **Fascist ideology:** • Fascism was nationalistic in nature; emphasising the importance of loyalty to country (and superiority over others) • Fascism is often defined by what it dislikes. One fundamental belief was a pathological hatred of communism which led to an anti-Soviet crusade as well as contempt for the 'weak' democracies • Fascism as seen through Nazism was racist. This belief in the superiority of the 'German/Aryan' people (through a crude Social Darwinism) allowed Nazis to perpetuate the idea of a racial mission to conquer the world and cleanse it of 'weaker' races • Fascism was militaristic in nature — fascist glorification of war; Prussian/German military traditions; harking back to the glories of the Roman Empire in Italy • fascist foreign policies were driven by Hitler's and Mussolini's own beliefs, but also their personalities and charismatic leadership • irredentism or the intention to reclaim and reoccupy lost territory, for example, Hitler's commitment to incorporation of all Germans within Reich • Fascism between the wars was expansionist. Mussolini's 'Roman' ambitions in the Mediterranean and Africa; Hitler's ambitions for lebensraum or living space in eastern Europe and Russia. **Other factors:** **Economic difficulties after 1929:** • in 1929 the US economy crashed leading the world into economic recession. This had a particularly dramatic effect on Germany as unemployment soared to 6 million • by 1929 Italy's fascist economic policy was failing; an aggressive foreign policy was useful in distracting the people at home • an aggressive foreign policy was also useful in gaining resources for the fascist powers, for example, Italian invasion of Abyssinia and Hitler's obsession with lebensraum • Germany also developed policies to use their economic and political power to make the countries of southern Europe and the Balkans dependent on Germany. Germany would exploit their raw materials and export manufactured goods to them. It was not a big step to invasion. **Peace Settlement of 1919:** • determination to revise/overturn Paris Peace Settlement — German resentment of Article 48 which made Germany accept guilt for starting the war; hatred of the reparations bill of £6,600,000,000; disarmament clauses were also a cause of resentment as the German Army was reduced to 100,000 men and was not allowed heavy weaponry. Lost territory, in particular in the east to Poland, was bitterly resented • German desire to get revenge for defeat in World War I. Hitler called the treaty a Diktat; a dictated treaty forced on a helpless Germany

- Italy came into the war on the side of the Allies in 1915. Italy suffered during the war, but hoped to gain land at the expense of Austria-Hungary, in particular the Dalmatian coast. In fact Italian territorial gains were small scale. It was felt that the Italians had suffered and gained little
- Mussolini in Italy promised to make Italy great again and wipe out the embarrassment of the peace treaties when he gained power in 1922.

Weakness of the League of Nations:

- purpose of the league was to ensure world peace through collective security and disarmament. The league conspicuously failed to do this, allowing fascism to grow unchecked
- the league was divided politically. Its main supporters had their own domestic audiences which dictated their policies, leading to confusion and inconsistency in the international response to aggression
- British policy of appeasement and concerns over their Empire
- French political divisions between the left and right
- the USA retreated into isolationism
- there was suspicion of communist Soviet Russia from the democracies
- the peace treaties created many small states in eastern Europe which were difficult to defend
- determined aggression worked as the league failed to stop the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Even when the league acted by putting mild sanctions on Italy, they were too little, too late.

British policy of appeasement:

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

Any other relevant factors.

38.	**Context** Appeasement is the policy of making concessions to another power in order to avoid conflict. Historically, the term is frequently associated with the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The context to the policy is more long term, but the failure of the League of Nations and collective security in the aftermath of the First World War, known at the time as the war to end all wars, forms the backdrop to the policy. **Military weakness:** • run-down state of armed forces following World War I as Britain disarmed • army: conscription ended post-World War I, scaled right down in size. This, plus the demands of Empire, meant that the British Army was stretched. There was also a lack of investment in developing military technology • navy: not so run-down as other military arms due to the Empire, but not fully maintained. There were many obsolete ships, plus a disturbing lack of awareness of the power of aerial attack • air force: lack of adequate air defences and fear of aerial bombing. However, there were technological innovations that would save Britain in 1940 such as the development of radar and effective fighter aircraft, but time was needed to develop military strength. Some believe that appeasement gave Britain that time • exaggerated assessments of German military strength. **Other factors:** **Economic difficulties:** • in common with other world economies Britain was affected by the 1929–1932 economic crisis. Unemployment rose as businesses struggled. This led to the belief that Britain could not sustain a war against the European dictators and maybe Japan in the Far East • there was an understandable reluctance to further damage international trade and commerce by threatening war. Commerce thrived on stability and peace • difficulty of financing any large-scale rearmament in the face of other economic commitments. At a time when many people were anti-war it was difficult to justify increased military spending. **Lack of reliable allies:** • failure of the League of Nations to police world conflict through disarmament and collective security as well their lack of action in Abyssinia • France was considered to be unreliable with severe political divisions between the political left and right • US isolationism after World War I meant a previous powerful ally could not be relied on to help in the event of war • suspicion of Soviet Russia and their reliability due to the fact it was communist • the relative weakness of successor states in eastern Europe. Many were small, militarily weak and susceptible to German economic influence • Italy was also appeased in a vain attempt to prevent alliance with Germany, but after Abyssinia closely allied itself with the Nazi regime.

Public opinion:

- the fear of another world war had an impact on public opinion. Even though the war had been fought on mainland Europe, casualties meant that everyone knew someone who had died and there were visible reminders of the effects of war with injured veterans
- the memories of losses/horrors of World War I were vivid and had a real impact on many politicians, especially Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister from 1937
- Isolationist feelings, summed up in Chamberlain's pre-Munich speech where he made the famous statement about, 'how horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing'.

Beliefs of Chamberlain:

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

Attitudes to the Paris Peace Settlement:

- even though Britain was a signatory to the 1919 Peace Settlement, it was seen as too harsh on Germany by many and there was sympathy for what were seen by many as genuine grievances. Reasonable discussion and careful concession would ensure that such grievances would be addressed
- this led to beliefs such as, 'they are only going into their own backgarden' (Lord Lothian) when remilitarising the Rhineland and even sympathy for the Anschluss between Austria and Germany from people like John Buchan who was Governor-General of Canada who stated, 'I do not quite see what the fuss is about'.

Pacifism:

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

Concern over the Empire:

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

	Fear of the spread of communism: • to many in Britain, communism was the greater political threat to Britain: there was suspicion of Soviet Russia as a result • Nazi Germany was also seen as a buffer against communism by some and destabilising the Nazi regime might lead to questions over communist revolution in Germany • fear of spreading communism into western Europe; distrust of French popular Front government; alarm at actions of the left (more than of the right) in Spain. **Any other relevant factors.**

39.	**Context** Czechoslovakia was created after World War I. It contained 3 million German speakers in the Sudetenland. It had a good army and native arms industry. The Czechs had created strong defences along their border with Germany. These Sudeten Germans had not fitted into the successful Czech democracy and were fired up by the Sudeten German Party which was financed and controlled by the German Nazi Party. The ensuing crisis was managed by the British Prime Minister through a series of meetings with Hitler. This culminated in the Munich agreement which gave the Sudetenland to Germany. The Czechs were not consulted on this agreement. **Czechoslovakia:** • Munich agreement was a betrayal of Czechoslovakia and democracy. The Czechs had not been consulted and were forced to give up significant resources and their border defences • Czechoslovakia was left wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939 • there was further augmentation of German manpower and resources. Germany now controlled the important Skoda works as well as significant coal deposits and other industries • furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in eastern Europe • 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 • French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia. To his surprise, the French Premier was mobbed by enthusiastic supporters of the agreement on his return • attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. **Britain:** • Munich agreement was a humiliating surrender to Hitler's threats • another breach in the post-World War I settlement. Duff Cooper was the only government minister to resign over Munich and he commented on the way Hitler had continually broken the Treaty of Versailles over the years • 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. This seemed to be true from public reaction to the agreement. Chamberlain was mobbed on his return and spoke to cheering crowds outside 10 Downing Street. He received gifts and thousands of letters of support • Britain was militarily unprepared for a wider war. The navy was large and airforce growing, but the army was small and poorly equipped. Britain could not practically intervene on mainland Europe even if it wanted to • lack of alternative, unified international response to Hitler's threats. Britain could not go it alone in the circumstances • British were suspicious of Soviet Russia in terms of communism and possible actions in the event of conflict • there were strong reservations of the rest of the British Empire and Dominions concerning support for Britain in event of war • Munich bought another year for rearmament which Britain put to good use • much of the British media was supportive of Chamberlain's actions. There was support from abroad as well with some foreign commentators saying Chamberlain should receive the Nobel Prize for Peace

- further alienation of Soviet Union from the Allies. The Soviets were very suspicious of British and French motives and saw appeasement as giving in to Germany. They could not be trusted. This would have repercussions in 1939
- a British, French, Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative
- public opposition was greater than was reported at the time. For example; 15,000 people demonstrated in Trafalgar Square against the agreement
- significant political opposition to the agreement from Labour leader Attlee, Liberal leader Archibald Sinclair, and Conservatives like Winston Churchill
- cartoonists such as David Low made pointed comments about Chamberlain and the Munich agreement.

Germany:
- Munich agreement was a humiliating surrender to Hitler's threats
- Hitler had continually broken the Treaty of Versailles over the years
- Czechoslovakia was left wide open to further German aggression as happened in March 1939
- further augmentation of German manpower and resources. Germany now controlled the important Skoda works as well as significant coal deposits and other industries
- furtherance of Hitler's influence and ambitions in eastern Europe
- further alienation of Soviet Union from the Allies. The Soviets were very suspicious of British and French motives and saw appeasement as giving in to Germany. They could not be trusted. This would have repercussions in 1939
- Czechoslovakian defences were effectively outflanked following the Anschluss
- Britain and France were not in a position to prevent a German attack on Czechoslovakia in terms of difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia.

France:
- a French, British and Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative
- France and Britain were not in a position to prevent a German attack on Czechoslovakia in terms of difficulties of getting assistance to Czechoslovakia
- French doubts over commitments to Czechoslovakia. To his surprise, the French Premier was mobbed by enthusiastic supporters of the agreement on his return.

International context:
- further alienation of Soviet Union from the Allies. The Soviets were very suspicious of British and French motives and saw appeasement as giving in to Germany. They could not be trusted. This would have repercussions in 1939
- a British, French, Soviet agreement could have been a more effective alternative
- lack of alternative, unified international response to Hitler's threats
- failure of League of Nations in earlier crises so there was no alternative to discussion
- US isolationism meant that no help could be expected from the Americans if conflict broke out
- attitudes of Poland and Hungary who were willing to benefit from the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Any other relevant factors.

40.	**Context** The wartime alliance had always been one of convenience owing to the common enemy of Nazism. America had not recognised the Soviet Communist government's legitimacy until 1933. As the Second World War came to an end, the inherent tensions between a capitalist America and its allies and communist Russia became all too clear. **Tensions within the wartime alliance:** • World War II: suspicion of USSR by allies because of Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Tensions within the wartime alliance as the defeat of Nazism became clear. Soviet Union felt they had done the bulk of the land fighting and wanted security for the USSR • USSR suspicions of the USA and Britain over failure to open a second front before 1944 • Yalta Conference: Stalin determined to hang on to land gained and create a series of sympathetic regimes in eastern Europe. The USA wanted to create a free-trade area composed of democratic states. Soviet actions in, for example, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, in creating pro-communist regimes and Allied actions in western Europe and Greece further increased tensions. **Other factors:** **Arms race:** • Stalin was determined to make the Soviet Union a nuclear power as soon as possible; the development of the arms race • British and French were also developing their independent nuclear deterrents which, realistically, were only aimed at the USSR • development of technologies to deliver nuclear weapons. **Ideological differences:** • impact of 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia on relations with the western powers: Soviet withdrawal from World War I, involvement of west with anti-Bolshevik Whites: ideological differences between communism and capitalism • fears in the west that communism was on the march led President Truman to the policy of containment. British power was in retreat: World War II had been expensive so the British aimed to reduce their world commitments, specifically in Greece where civil war raged between Communists and Royalists. Fear of similar problems in Italy when allied troops left; activities of Mao in China • Truman acknowledged world dividing into two hostile blocs in his speech to support free peoples and proposals to oppose totalitarian regimes, exemplified by the Marshall Plan. Fulton speech by Churchill. Creation of competing military alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact further polarised the world. The Soviet Union rejected the western economic model and set up its own economic bloc: Comecon. **Disagreements over the future of Germany:** • the Potsdam Conference and policy over Germany whereby the allied sectors remained free as compared to Soviet sector which was stripped of assets as reparations. The economic status of Germany: creation of Bizonia in west. Contrast between the developing capitalist west and centrally-controlled east: introduction of Deutsche mark in west led to the Berlin Blockade in 1949.

	Crisis over Korea: • Stalin encouraged communist North Korea to invade capitalist south. This led to American-led United Nations intervention on behalf of the south, and resultant Chinese intervention. Soviet and American pilots fought each other across Korea. Stalemate along 38th parallel. The Cold War had been sealed with a Hot War. **US decision to use the atom bomb:** • one aim of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to impress the USSR and make them ready to make concessions in eastern Europe • Stalin knew about the Manhattan Project and refused to be intimidated and in fact it made him even more suspicious of the USA. **Any other relevant factors.**

41.	**Context** In the years before 1959, Cuba was ruled by a military dictatorship led by General Batista. Batista's government was corrupt and inefficient. A revolution led by Fidel Castro successfully overthrew Batista. Castro eventually moved into the communist sphere of influence. **US foreign policy:** • the presence of a communist country so close the US mainland was objectionable to the US governments who feared the spread of communism • the US had placed their Jupiter missiles in Turkey and now the USSR felt very threatened. Kennedy had originally placed the Jupiter missiles in Turkey in 1961 because the US had feared the possible nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union. These missiles became a major threat to the Soviets because they were capable of striking anywhere in the USSR • in order to defend themselves, and let the US know what it was like to be surrounded by a deadly threat, the Soviets placed missiles in Cuba. Counter view that the missiles were obsolete. **Other factors:** **Castro's victory in Cuba:** • Castro had come to power in 1959–1960 after overthrowing the corrupt, American-backed Batista regime in a communist revolution • Castro was not liked by the US who objected to his policies which redistributed wealth and took over large sugar plantations controlled by US business interests. Castro increasingly pushed towards the USSR, who, for example, bought Cuba's sugar crop when the USA did not • Khrushchev was sympathetic to Castro. Some historians argue that he wanted to use Cuba as a launch-pad for revolution in Central America. Missile deployment would provide protection for the revolution • argument that Bay of Pigs incident forced Castro to start preparing to defend himself against another attack and drew him closer to Khrushchev and the Soviet Union. Castro asked for significant conventional military aid. **Khrushchev's domestic position:** • criticism of Khrushchev at home over cuts in the armed forces, economic failures and the issues surrounding de-Stalinisation. He believed a foreign policy coup would help improve matters for him at home • foreign policy criticisms: ongoing deadlock over Berlin; shadow of events in Hungary 1956, etc • rise of China as a rival for leadership of the communist world; pressure on Khrushchev from influential circles within USSR to assert Soviet leadership. **Khrushchev's view of Kennedy:** • Khrushchev felt that Kennedy was a weak president after the Bay of Pigs; June 1961 summit in Vienna to discuss Berlin; East Germany's unopposed construction of Berlin Wall. He felt that Kennedy was weak and inexperienced and would make concessions during the Cold War.

	Arms race: • America was very sensitive about the presence of communism so close to Florida. It might be used as a launch-pad for further communist risings in Latin America, which the US regarded as its own domain (Monroe Doctrine). The huge inequalities in many Latin American countries made such risings seem possible • Cuba was one of a series of flash-points between communism and capitalism around the world, as part of the wider Cold War. This was played out at a number of levels, such as espionage and the arms race, all of which increased international tension • the Soviets wanted to place nuclear missiles in Cuba because they were trying to balance out the number of nuclear arms between themselves and the US. Khrushchev underestimated the US reaction • Kennedy's use of the media played well in the US, and to an extent in the wider world, but it meant that international diplomacy was being conducted in the full glare of the world. It made it much more difficult for either leader to back down without a major loss of face. **Kennedy's domestic context:** • US interests and investments in Cuba had been lost in the revolution • Cuban exiles in Florida were vocal in their demands for US action against Castro • background of attempts by the CIA to destabilise Cuba. Kennedy inherited a plan to invade Cuba by exiles in order to overthrow Castro's regime. Bay of Pigs incident, 1961, where 1,400 exiles landed and were defeated by Castro's army • American aggression seemed to be confirmed by the US practising the invasion of a Caribbean island with a dictator named Ortsac: Operation Mongoose overseen by Robert Kennedy. **Any other relevant factors.**

42.	**Context** The danger of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) 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. **Danger of Mutually Assured Destruction:** • the development of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons from 1945 by both superpowers as a deterrent to the other side; a military attack 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. **Other factors:** **Economic cost of arms race:** • developments in technology raised the costs of the arms race • the development of Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) technology and costs of war led to SALT 1, and the ABM treaty • limiting multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (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 1950s and 1960s 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, for example, Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, December 1987. **Dangers of military conflict as seen in the Cuban Missile Crisis:** • 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. **Development of surveillance technology:** • 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. **Development of 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 such as Ostpolitik. **Any other relevant factors.**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]

Published: September 2019

Change since last published:

Minor edits to general marking principle marking grids.

Published: August 2024

Change since last published:

Updated to meet 2024 House style

Removed use of justified text throughout

Page 02 Added blank page

Page 03 Changed page numbers to account for blank page

Page 03 Change to Section 1 — British Part C title (The trade in enslaved African people)

Marks header moved above text on pages 05, 06 and 07

Minor formatting amends

PART C — The Atlantic slave trade

QP

Page 04 Part C title Changed to ‘The trade in enslaved African people’

Page 04 Q7 wording change to ‘trade in enslaved Africans’

Page 04 Q8 wording change to ‘of Africans’ resistance to their enslavement’

MIs

Pages 27–33 Changes to language about slavery in the related questions 7, 8 and 9

Minor formatting amends to marking instructions