

Example Candidate Responses

Cambridge
Pre-U

Cambridge International Level 3
Pre-U Certificate in
HISTORY (9769)



UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE
International Examinations

Example Candidate Responses

History (9769)

Cambridge International Level 3
Pre-U Certificate in History (Principal)

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Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate

History

9769

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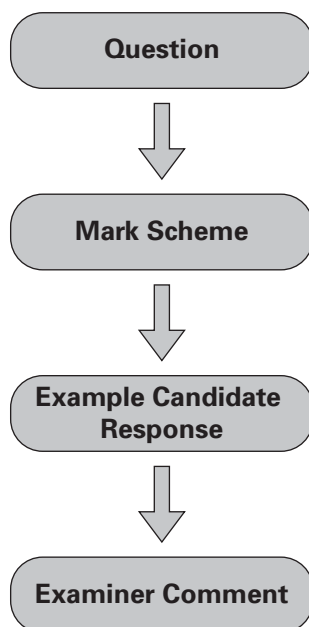
Introduction

The main aim of this booklet is to exemplify standards for those teaching Cambridge Pre-U, and to show how different levels of candidates' performance relate to the subject's curriculum and assessment objectives.

Cambridge Pre-U is reported in three bands (Distinction, Merit and Pass) each divided into three grades (D1, D2, D3; M1, M2, M3; P1, P2, P3).

In this booklet a selection of candidate responses has been chosen to illustrate each band (Distinction, Merit and Pass). Each response is accompanied by a brief commentary explaining the strengths and weaknesses of the answers.

For ease of reference the following format for each paper of the subject has been adopted:



Each question is followed by an extract of the mark scheme used by Examiners. This, in turn, is followed by examples of marked candidate responses, each with an examiner comment on performance. Comments are given to indicate where and why marks were awarded, and how additional marks could have been obtained. In this way, it is possible to understand what candidates have done to gain their marks and what they still have to do to improve their grades.

Teachers are reminded that a full syllabus and other teacher support materials are available on www.cie.org.uk. For past papers and Examiner Reports please contact CIE on international@cie.org.uk.

Components at a Glance

Component	Component Title	Duration	Weighting (%)	Type of Assessment
Paper 1a	British History Outlines c. 300–1547	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 1b	British History Outlines 1399–1815	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 1c	British History Outlines 1689–2000	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 2a	European History Outlines c. 300–c. 1516	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 2b	European History Outlines c. 1378–c. 1815	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 2c	European History Outlines c. 1715–2000	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 3	US History Outlines c. 1750–2000	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 4	African and Asian History Outlines c. 1750–2000	2 hours 15 minutes	25	Written paper, externally set and marked
Paper 5	Special Subject	2 hours	25	Written Document based and Essay paper, externally set and marked
Paper 6	Personal Investigation	–	25	Externally marked long Essay

Papers 1–4 Mark Scheme Bands – Outlines

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4 and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.

Introduction

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and must be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

Band 1: 25–30

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

Band 2: 19–24

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

Band 3: 13–18

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

Band 4: 7–12

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

Band 5: 0–6

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge,

concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

Paper 1a British History Outlines, c. 300–1547

Question 15

How considerable were the achievements of Henry I as King of England?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. A narrative of the reign is not required; good, embedded explanation would be needed to score tolerably well. Good analysis and evaluation are needed. There is plenty here to assess and the level, extent, nature and substance of achievements should figure, mindful of the contrasts between 1100 and 1135 as of the consequences of his reign in the unrest of the next reign. The nature of his inheritance, the efforts to re-unite England and Normandy, the success of 1106, the dominance of the needs of the Duchy, the problems of the succession after 1120, Matilda, the rise of Stephen, all will feature. Henry's activities with regard to laws, administration, finance, the Church, baronial attitudes (patronage, punishments, rewards, possible 'ins' and 'outs') can be expected in coverage: for example, the reforms of c.1108-14; the extant Pipe Roll; the development of a new aristocracy; the settlement with the Church; the prevalence of gifted administrators; the development of itinerant justice. Candidates may judge the centrality of the reunion of England and Normandy and the relationship with the baronage as two key areas, around which so much turned.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and with differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. The question formulation ('How considerable ...') opens up argument and debate; a sense of substance will be important. There is scope for assessment of Henry I's reputation and status, always high, set in the context of the reign's politics, Anglo-Norman connections and longevity but with significant contrasts between the start and the end. The king's qualities will be a significant feature.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

Henry I (1100-1135) is the third Anglo-Norman ruler of England, becoming king after the death of William Rufus in 1100 following his hunting accident, or possible murder by Walter Tyren. Henry I is perhaps most famous for his legal reforms - the first Anglo-Norman king to make real changes (or additions) to the established Anglo-Saxon systems of Government. Also relevant are his dealings with the church and with Robert, Duke of Normandy.

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The actions of William II during his thirteen-year reign had annoyed many of his subjects. He exploited his feudal rights, such as by keeping church positions vacant and then taking their revenues. The problems of his reign can be seen by the issuing of Henry's Coronation Charter at the beginning of his reign, in which he essentially promised to be fair to the barons, of which many did not support him (Robert of Normandy, now returned from crusade, had a claim to the throne and so was a threat). However, Henry was successful in subduing these threats, from these magnates in particular. He dealt with them in various ways, for example Robert of Belleme was forced to flee by Henry's constant

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legal cases against him. The promises made in his Coronation Charter also helped Henry appease many nobles who may have thought of rebelling. Henry also achieved this by providing scapegoats for the previous reign - he naturally blamed William Rufus, and he quickly blamed and imprisoned his (William's) closest adviser, Ranulf Flambard, making it clear to the nobles that Henry was going to rule differently. This relatively quick removal of threats was an impressive achievement by Henry, and ensured that he faced little opposition to his rule during his lengthy reign. However, his legacy did also have problems for his successor, Stephen, such as Henry's excessive use of bribes which hindered Stephen's ability to purchase political support. The fact that Henry can partly be blamed for the problems in Stephen's reign somewhat takes away from his other achievements.

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In 1045, Robert of Normandy had gone on the First Crusade, allowing William Rufus to claim his territory of Normandy. However, on his return, Robert reclaimed his lands and Henry was unable to recover them to unite England and Normandy. This could be seen as a failure on Henry's part, as he was unable to take Normandy or defeat Robert. He was also

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invaded by Robert, although there was no actual fighting and a truce was worked out. This could be seen as an achievement of Henry, partly as he was able to resist Robert's invasion (although Archbishop Anselm can also take credit for this), and also as fighting was avoided on English lands.

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Henry's reign is most famous, however, for the legal reforms that he made - and it is these that could be regarded as his greatest achievements, as they were important changes to the systems of government in England.

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The first change was his introduction of Justices and eyns. 6. Soons or Bishops, representatives of the king, were chosen to travel round the country, dispensing royal justice. This had two main benefits - firstly, it allowed the extension of royal authority, and it allowed ~~that~~ royal justice to function in the absence of the king - important as Henry was not always in England during his reign. It also helped consolidate Henry's position as king, as royal authority was increasingly present throughout the kingdom. The increase in the number of cases being seen by royal justice also increased revenues for the crown.

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This relates to Henry's other great achievement - his introduction of the exchequer. The exchequer was a checkered piece of cloth that acted as an adding board. This whole system, which included

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The use of sticks and pipe rolls, enabled the king to more efficiently take in royal revenue - This system kept a record of who owed the crown what, and so it was harder to escape payment, and easier for the crown to find out what they were owed. This increased efficiency raised royal revenues without exploiting feudal rights - a considerable achievement for Henry.

[illegible]

Henry I achieved much as King of England, not least his consolidation of power which included subduing threats from his opponents, getting barons and "raising men from the dust", that is, bringing people from positions of obscurity to higher power - most evident with the Chancellor, Bishop Roger of Salisbury - the most famous of Henry I's "new men". Henry's governmental reforms, ~~or~~ most important importantly the introduction of statutes and the curia regis, were also great achievements.

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Examiner Comment

The candidate identifies some possible achievements in a relevant introduction. The context of the legacy of William II is established and there is explanation of the way that Henry dealt with threats, addressing the question directly, and there is some attempt to assess the achievements by referencing to the problems that Henry himself bequeathed, but the support is not very developed. There is some tendency to rely on description, though the candidate does keep the question in mind and refers to achievements. There is knowledge shown of the legal reforms and their outcomes are explained, but there is not really a developed assessment. There is not enough evaluation of the reforms or developed analysis of why they were achievements, but the answer is generally relevant. Description and explanation are more in evidence than sustained analysis and evaluation, but the focus on the question is sustained and this is a Merit level answer.

Paper 1b British History Outlines, 1399–1815

Question 11

‘A sterile interlude.’ How valid is this judgement on the reign of Mary I?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. No set response is to be expected, it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that should be rewarded. A descriptive account of Mary’s reign should not score highly. An argued, evaluative and thematic approach is required. Candidates should show a clear awareness of the sense of ‘sterile interlude’ – a reign lacking in lasting achievement or, in short, a failure whilst a more extreme view would see it as a temporary interruption to the almost inexorable and natural progress of liberal and Protestant England. This question should be seen as being not primarily concerned with Mary’s ‘Bloody’ reputation although this may well form part of the discussion. A balance sheet of the successes and failures of the reign might be attempted. On the credit side Mary succeeded in her main aim of restoring papal authority and Catholic worship. Once the Church land question had been dealt with then Parliament was not uncooperative. Cardinal Pole began a programme of Catholic reform. The Queen secured the marriage she wanted, there are strong arguments in favour of a Spanish match and her personal intervention had much to do with the failure of the rebellion which had opposed it. There were important administrative reforms, the management of the affairs by the Council was more effective than has been supposed, Paget provided continuity, there was a new Book of Rates and a partial restoration of the currency. On the debit side, it might be argued that the marriage meant some subordination to Spain and involvement in war was disastrous. Although there were no serious risings on religious grounds (unless Wyatt’s rebellion is seen in this light) the persecution of heretics caused some deep religious divisions. It might be argued, too, that Wyatt’s rebellion came close to succeeding. In a literal sense Mary’s reign was ‘sterile’ in that she failed to produce an heir and her early death prevented a wide ranging and constructive Catholic or Counter Reformation.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative importance of factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered set of judgements. Attempts to deal with historiography and with differing interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses. Candidates may well be expected to explore the historiography here including the view that Mary’s reign was in stark contrast to the achievements of the ‘great’ Tudors, Henry VIII and Elizabeth. The views of Pollard and Elton may be rehearsed and the partial rehabilitation of Mary by, say, Tittler. Some of the big questions are: How constructive were Mary’s domestic policies? How much opposition was there to her restoration of Catholicism? How damaging was the war with France? The significance of Mary’s early death might be more fully explored. Was there a chance of a real Catholic revival, for example? Also relevant might be an awareness of factors beyond Mary’s control- inflation, bad harvests, epidemic disease, her own infertility.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

~~The conclusive note~~ "Sterility was the conclusive note of Mary's reign": they wrote the historian A.F. Pollard in 1910. For much of the twentieth century this has been the prevailing verdict on her reign; her marriage to Philip produced no heirs, her foreign policy was disastrous, her dealings with government were unsuccessful and her religious policies were both monstrously tyrannical and vehemently opposed. Yet more recently an argument has been posed by Mr. Davies that "luck ran against the Queen"; as A.F.R. Smith agrees, this is perhaps a more fitting verdict.

The first major policy which Mary I pursued was to marry Philip II of Spain; a marriage treaty was signed in 1554 legitimising the offspring of the marriage and prohibiting the appointment of foreign officials to English posts. ~~As for~~ This met with resistance in the form of Wyatt's rebellion led by Sir Thomas Wyatt from Kent, and

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was one of the most dangerous revolutionaries of the period 1547-58. As Wyatt himself said, the aim of the rebellion was not to depose the queen but to achieve "better council and counsellors". Critically, Wyatt diverted his forces away from London and the revolt failed; however, it ^{seems to} show that the English people regarded the marriage as a disaster.

The main reason for this was that Philip was both a foreigner and a Catholic; H.C. Dickson argues that "hatred of the Spaniard" was a pervasive sentiment among the lower orders.

May feared ~~that~~ ^{the} ~~marriage~~ ^{marriage} that England would be absorbed into the Catholic Holy Roman Empire. ^{One of the} marriage's central aims - to produce children - also failed, though Mary at one stage believed herself to be pregnant. Furthermore, Philip, after just three months, left the country for three years before returning. Therefore, there seems to be a strong argument that May's unwise marriage is a key reason for the rise of a sterile.

Secondly, May made the mistake of allowing her husband to persuade her to go to war against France in 1557; this ultimately resulted in the loss of Calais. The war was unpopular in England since memories of the war in Boulogne and Sutherland - and particularly their disastrous economic repercussions - were

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were still fresh Henry VIII would have been heartbroken to see the last English continental stronghold fall to his great enemies. Therefore, foreign policy seems an indication of the reign's "sterility".

Mary's nickname of "Bloody Mary" represents what she is remembered for the most — the ruthless persecutions of 1555-8. Among those she burnt in the name of the revival of Roman Catholicism are Thomas Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley and Latimer, as well as hundreds of ordinary men and women, such as the charitable and upright Rowland Taylor. A.C. Dickens ~~is a writer~~ believes this to be the ~~consequence~~ worst aspect of Marian religion. Also, Mary's Archbishop from 1555, Reginald Cardinal Pole, could be criticised for having a 'sterile' attitude to religion; Dickens agrees that he "failed to discover the Counter Reformation", and that his reforms — chiefly the establishment of a legatine system for the training of bishops — really amounted to very little, and given that this was perhaps his big reform, this is again a strong argument.

Yet here there are other interpretations of Mary's 'sterile' and harsh religious policies. Some say that Pole in fact ~~he~~ instigated his reforms in the spirit of the Counter Reformation, suggesting a much happier

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more vibrant programme than Dickens does; although he does not deny that his actual reforms were minimal, he mainly blames their failure on a lack of time and, most of all, money.

Further, in ~~the~~ his *The Stripping of the Altars*, Eamon Duffy poses the argument that the English people embraced Catholicism with ~~vigour~~ "energy" and "even enthusiasm". Although Dickens condemned Bishop Bonner, another key figure in Marian religion, as a "zealous, coarse-grained" individual who was much to answer for the brutality of the burnings, Eamon Duffy cites his various writings of the period frequently, using them to prove that the reforms – especially to the interiors of churches, where communion tables were replaced by altars at the east end – were often carried out willingly and enthusiastically. Finally, Dickens' argument of Marian religion relies heavily on Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which is an extremely biased account of the burnings, duplicating them in the account wherever possible. Therefore, there is much evidence to suggest that, in fact, Marian religion was far from 'sterile'.

Another aspect of the reign which can only be described as successful is the dealings of government with social, financial and military affairs. A. L. Smith agrees that the

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comparative favour of Elizabeth's reign has much to do with Mary's government's reforms; the extent of the change had been an issue since the latter years of Henry VIII's reign, and the reforms drawn up by the Privy Council only were only prevented from being carried through by "sheer failure of nerve" (Dr. Challis).

Furthermore, Mary was not of course responsible for the appalling harvest and influenza epidemic which created such an adverse economic climate to dissuade the Council from putting these reforms into practice.

Furthermore, the Marquis of Winchester, William Paulet, was a very important figure in the reform of the position of Lord Treasurer; the County of Augmentations and First Fruits and Tenths were come under his directorship during the Marian period. He is also responsible for the advances in the militia. ~~As~~ The navy was expanded considerably, ~~during this~~ allowing it to perform well in the war against France - indeed, more tonnage was built in a single year of Mary's reign than in the five years before the Armada, as John Guy points out. His 'Arms act', making sure the army was properly provided with suitable weaponry, and 'Militia Act', attacking for example absence without leave, were hugely important in Winchester's reform of the military, and may not be classified as 'stale'.

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AF Pollard's accusation of Mary's reign as 'sterile' is described by A.R. Smith - writing ~~toward~~ nearly 10 years later - as "cruel and too-celebrated". This opinion is an entirely valid one regarding Mary's reign. Her religious policy was in fact met with considerable support from the English people and possessed more Counter-Reformist zeal than has traditionally been allowed; ~~and~~ ^{the} financial policies of her government were beneficial and of lasting consequence, ~~and~~ as the new Book of Rates illustrates; ~~and~~ ^{Windsor's} reforms of the military were far-reaching. Although Mary herself cannot be excused for such governmental reforms, and her marriage to Philip and foreign policy were ^{largely} successful, it is, overall, invalid to judge her reign as 'sterile in its life'.

Sharply analytical & strongly argued - wide-ranging

Summed up

Examiner Comment

The candidate's introduction focused on the question and showed an awareness of the issues. There is a strong sense of argument that the marriage, by provoking discontent and failing to produce an heir, meant that the reign was sterile. There is then a focused explanation of the sterility of the loss of Calais. A section on the religious persecutions is focused on the questions and explains Dickens's view. Thus the case for sterility is made succinctly and with supporting detail. The candidate then challenges the view – there is some well-phrased evaluation. There is knowledge of a counterview and the evidence is explained, so that the essay is not merely a historiographical survey and Dickens's view is challenged in a supported way. Different aspects of the reign are considered and evidence used succinctly. Overall, there is a good coverage of the reign and a sense of control in the deployment of information and reference to different views. The candidate comes to a clear judgement at the end. The answer has been analytical throughout with some strong and well-informed argument which deals with different aspects of the reign. This is a Distinction level answer.

Paper 1c British History Outlines, 1689–2000

Question 20

‘The failure of Chartism was, in essence, a failure of leadership.’ Discuss.

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Chartism and its leaders, with special emphasis on the factors which prevented it from achieving its aims. The predominant focus should be on leadership and candidates should have knowledge about some of the leaders, especially, perhaps, William Lovett and Feargus O’Connor, although Chartism had many other prominent figures, including Bronterre O’Brien, George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. Some candidates may have knowledge of local leaders and this should certainly be accepted within the general framework of leadership. The ‘in essence’ part of the question permits knowledge on other factors which contributed to the failure to achieve the ‘Six Points’. See AO2 below.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about why Chartism failed in its central democratic objective. Candidates should present a discussion about the nature of leadership and may concentrate on both ideological and personality disagreements. Many will discuss ‘physical’ and ‘moral’ -force Chartism as epitomised by Lovett and O’Connor. Those who wish to argue against the proposition in the question are likely to note how well organised Chartism was in many areas, with many lectures, educational ventures and links with religious organisations, particularly nonconformist ones. Such candidates may argue that other factors were much more important. These might include the growing power of an increasingly confident national state (including logistical factors such as the development of railways to move troops) and the ‘unthinkability’ of democracy for most men of property, not least those sitting in parliament. A few might wish to challenge the view that Chartism failed at all, given its impressive political legacy to later nineteenth century political activism. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of attempts by Dorothy Thompson and Jay Epstein to rehabilitate Feargus O’Connor as a leader of substance and of interpretations which stress the extent to which Chartism (making every allowance for both its structural and its economic disadvantages) succeeded in alarming the authorities, not least in 1848.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effective of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

Chartism - serious political movement or hunger politics. 1838 - 1852

- Radical Background: Name, Radical Press, Open Air Meetings Placard 1848.
- Practical ideas - NCA - 50000 members by late 1840s, Fergus O'Connor's Land Plan
- ~~18~~ Economic Factors
- Asking too Much - all eventually achieved, but seemed to Radical at the time.
- Corn Laws Repealed 1846, Poor Law - became clear wasn't going to be heavily enforced, Factory Reforms 1847, 1850
- Middle class = felt the Government was Reforming enough. Contemporary View.
- Economic Factors - 1835 - 50 real wages, support significantly + price of bread flour fell
- flourished - ~~the~~ Real links between rise in the support of Chartism + Economic Factors

- Chartism = strong radical background - undoubtedly influenced by its upper class leaders etc.
- Similarly Practical ideas as well as ideals. Fergus O'Connor.

However, died down without achieving any of its aims - but was this to do with leadership or other circumstances
 • other circumstances Conclude.

~~During the period 1838-1858 Chartism~~

The Chartist Movement is a controversial issue, whilst it enjoyed mass support in the 20 years for which it existed, it achieved none of ~~the six points~~ its aims and quietly died ~~away~~ down in 1858. Many historians have asked the question how could the Chartist movement have failed so badly? ^{And} as it did fail so ~~a~~ spectacularly was it really a viable Political Movement or just mere hunger ^{Nature} politics? ~~Or was it in fact due to some other factor~~ ~~There of~~ The answer to why Chartism failed is a complicated one, and still much disputed - was it, indeed due to a ~~lack of~~ ^{lack of} shortcoming in leadership, ~~or was it~~ or was it the case that it was a movement ^{debate} based entirely on economic factors - and as a result died down as ~~with~~ the situation improved?

~~It is certainly true that Chartism~~ It is certainly the case that The Origins ~~of Chartism were based~~ and background of Chartism ~~were~~ ~~showed~~ ~~that~~ are proof of a strong radical background, and understanding of ~~political~~ politics. The name alone suggests a certain level of awareness - drawn from two ^{Nature} great great Radical inspirations. First the Magna Carta, or Charter, ~~is~~ ^{is} a throw back to ~~the~~ very early British radicalism, and secondly to the French Revolution in which the people fought in defence of their Charter. This suggests

that, certainly, the leaders and founders of Chartism must have been aware of their Radical Heritage and how important it was.

The name - Chartism - is not the only evidence of Radical Traditional Radical influence either, the Chartists were also keen to carry on the Radical Proud, something that had grown up during the 17th period 1815-1822. The 'Northern Star' was just ~~just~~ ^{one of} very Papers like The 'Northern Star' were particularly important in spreading the political aims of Chartism to the public. Similarly the Chartists also drew on the examples of other Radical heroes as Henry Hunt and O'Connor and made full use of Mass Meetings to spread their ideals. It is to their credit that on the whole these meetings were peaceful and well-organised, in fact only one, in Newport, turned violent. Finally, there is evidence that the Chartist leaders were not only ~~more~~ dedicated to spreading Radical Ideals to the people, they were also willing to give practical support. With organisations ~~such~~ such as the NCA, which had 10,000 members by the late 1840s, and Fergus O'Connor's Level Plan Chartism sought to make a lasting impact on Britain ~~and~~ and British politics.

However, despite this evidence in favour of the birth of Chartism as a political movement, and its leaders' ability to really affect the public, it is an inescapable fact that Chartism

Not getting in failure yet

Lebanon

achieved nothing. Many have accused the movement of being too radical - in that it demanded too much too soon - we know now that each one of the six points in the Charter were eventually achieved. However, it is interesting to note that what the Charter did not ask for, for instance there was no mention of female suffrage, which suggests that the leaders of the Chartist Movement were aware that they could not be too radical. Unfortunately ~~this movement~~, if this was the case it did them no good, only preventing them from being able to take the vague moral high-ground. ~~It was this that Chartism failed in its~~ It seemed that ~~at the time~~ by ~~major~~ the early 1850s ~~as much of the~~ public viewed Chartism as too radical - in particular the middle classes. By 1846, the Corn Laws had been repealed, and it soon became clear that the Poor New Poor Law was not going to be heavily enforced. Two major grievances had been righted ~~by the Government~~, whilst in 1847 and 1851 important Factory Reforms had been made. ~~Thus~~ In light of these actions the majority of people felt that the Government had done enough - and Chartism was asking too much.

~~There is also a very strong link between~~ Not only was ~~the~~ was the Government dealing with the issues that had fired up Chartism, the economic situation was also improving. It

counts against Chartism how strong this link is between Radical support and Economic downturns. During the period 1835 - 1850 real wages dropped significantly and the price of bread flew up heavily, suggesting that Chartism ~~was~~ failed because it was indeed only a 'knife and fork' issue. This is certainly how it was viewed at the time - some contemporary writers, such as Elizabeth Gaskell, failed to even mention it that it was a political movement at all.

So, the question remains; ~~was~~ Why did Chartism fail? Was it indeed due to bad leadership, or was it in fact due to the economic circumstances of ~~and of~~ the time.

Whilst there is evidence that shows how the Chartist leaders attempted to inject their political ideas into the public movement, the fact that it is quickly faded away - soon after ~~some~~ only a small amount of political Reform and an improvement in economic circumstances - suggests that the problem was two-fold. First much of the support the movement enjoyed did have a lot to do with 'hunger politics' and second the leadership of Chartism was not strong enough to sustain it.

all
Chartism.

Not
Strong

little
on
leadership

Examiner Comment

This question required a focus on Chartist leadership and a judgement about the relative importance of its failings. This answer offered a general introduction which raised the issue of the nature of Chartism – a viable movement or merely protest politics, and made a relevant comment about leadership or economic factors being a key reason for failure. Thus there was some indication that the question had been understood, but the key issue was not dealt with very firmly. Instead of engaging with leadership, the answer talked generally about the nature of Chartism. Comments on leaders were not closely linked to the question. There was some attempt to argue that the leadership had good qualities, but this was not very strongly supported or developed. It was argued that Chartism seemed too radical and that grievances had been met – but again this was not strongly developed as an alternative explanation to the failure of leadership as an explanation for the overall lack of success. There was an attempt to argue that Chartism arose only because of a fall in real wages between 1835 and 1850 – but again this was not well linked to the issue of leadership. A brief comment on the failure of leadership was not explained. The answer failed to make clear why the Chartist leaders have been thought to have contributed to the failure of the movement, so discussion was limited. There was some attempt to argue but this was not developed and the focus on the question was not consistently maintained. This is a Pass level response.

Paper 2a European History Outlines, c. 300–c. 1516

Question 17

How far did Louis VI and Louis VII strengthen the French monarchy?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. A narrative of events will not succeed much here. Analysis and evaluation are needed, possible based on key themes. A sequential approach would have some value; after all, Louis VII built on what Louis VI did. But a more comparative approach, based around key themes, would be even better. Consideration could be given to such areas as the development of the royal demesne, relations with towns and the nobility, the values of a close alliance with the Church and Papacy, the role of key advisers, defence and security, diplomacy, the success levels in warding off aggressive neighbouring rulers, the value from the royal (and feudal) powers as a king and suzerain; the careful development of both administrative structures and the husbanding of vital resources. Relations with the Emperor and with the Dukes of Normandy and Counts of Anjou – thence with the Angevin dynasty – may figure quite prominently though there are other areas to consider as well. A contrast between the royal position in 1106 and 1180 could be instructive. For Louis VI, possible or likely reference areas are: his relations with the Dukes of Normandy; his development of close ties with towns, the Church and the Papacy (eg in 1130); his use of the truce of God against rebel vassals, his intervention in Flanders (1127); the role of Suger and other able advisers; the careful management of resources.

For Louis VII, possible or likely areas are: the Aquitaine marriage and issues, 1137–52 and after; relations with the Angevin rulers; his temporary departure from his father's policies, 1137–43; the Second Crusade; his support from the Church and towns and from the Papacy; the title 'The Most Christian King'; patronage of culture; building work; the further development of administration and resources; the degree of strengths bequeathed in 1180.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. The question allows for argument and counter-argument, around their respective roles, continuities and changes, the balance between personal skills, luck, favourable circumstances, on-going royal enhancements. There is scope for debate, not least as to personal roles and injection of skills (etc.), set against problems of powerful rivals.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

Marc Bloch described the period during which France was under Capetian rule as 'the second feudal age'. It witnessed the rise of the written word, the development of a centralized government, and increasing economic prosperity. None of these were prevalent in the Ile-de-France that Louis VI became king of. Louis VI's most obvious aim as king was to increase communication. In the 1110s, he began attacking and razing the castles of the petty nobles that controlled the major trading routes; the first recorded destruction of such a castle is in 1114. The first half of the twelfth century saw an increasing birth rate combined with an increasing life expectancy, causing an increase in population in Western Europe. The clearance of land for housing was accompanied by increasing agricultural production, and the selling of surplus encouraged long-distance trade. Louis VI sought to end the castellans' domination of such trade, and weaken the nobles who were attempting to compete with the king.

evid.

some
LTQ

As trade became less restricted, the wealth began to spread from the nobility. Those who owned the land, down to those who worked the land. This was happening to such an extent that some began to pay a champart; instead of a day's work, they would pay money for their land. With this increasing freedom came the realisation of the tyranny of these nobles that owned the land, and

eg of
gain

justice was demanded. Louis III responded with the establishment of free towns, or communes. Such grants were often then reapproved by Louis VII, as at Vissers in 1155. This removal of the nobility, and the connection directly between the king and those at the bottom of the feudal system led to its 'flattening', in Baldwin's term.

LTA

The Abbot of St Denis, Suger, was one of the king's closest advisors, and he was careful to maintain the king's status as the top of the feudal system. His concept of divine kingship ^{was} reinforced by the revolutionary architecture at St Denis, ^{which} Panofsky describes as not only the origin of the Gothic style, but also as a use of light and space that could only emphasise the king's supposed divinity. Suger's providential history of the early Capetian kingship emphasises the role of the king's patron, St Denis as a protector of the French monarchy, and in this we can see the roots of the ideology of a united France that Philip II Augustus built on, and Christopher Brooke describes as appearing in the mid-twelfth century 'somewhat mysterious'. In 1124, facing an attack from Henry V of Germany, Louis went to the abbey of St Denis and, placing the saint's relics on the altar and flying the saint's banner, summoned the feudatories of France. Whether it was the oaths they had made to their king, or the image of the monarch backed by his patron saint, they came; even the Count of Blois, who was at war with the king, joined him against Henry.

factor

evid.

Louis VI and VII ~~were~~ did not develop the advanced governmental practices of their successor Philip. Their control of their kingdom depended on two major concepts: that of a united France, and Baldwin's 'flattening' of the feudal system. These would hardly have been evident to their contemporaries and advisors, however; when Louis VII announced that he wanted to go on crusade, Suger especially feared for the stability of a kingdom. It is a testament to all that Louis VII and his predecessor, Louis the Fat achieved in strengthening the French monarchy that Philip inherited a kingdom perhaps even stronger than that which Louis VII left ^{for the East}. That he was received ~~upon~~ ^{doing penance for the fire at Vitry,} his return as a pilgrim, as Grubis notes, and not as a defeated crusader, as most of his ~~contemporaries~~ contemporaries were, is further evidence of the ideological strength of the monarchy. It is easy to see the success of Philip II Augustus' reign ^{all} as his own doing; he built on the work of Louis VI and VII.

expl.
as
control.

evid
for
a power

Examiner Comment

The opening paragraph set the strengthening of the monarchy in context but was not all focused on the question, and dealt with France in general. There was some description of Louis VI's actions and some explanation of the kings' reduction of the power of the nobles. However, there was limited assessment or evaluation of the importance and extent of success. There was some analysis of the role of the concept of divine kingship and the link with St Denis. There was some reference to both primary and secondary evidence. There was some support offered for the strengthening of the monarchy and some attempt to compare with the greater impact of Philip, and some limitation was suggested by reference to Suger's fears, when Louis VII wished to go on crusade. On the whole, the answer focused on the question and offered explanation and some analysis rather than description, but the argument was not fully substantiated and the evaluation was not fully developed. There was understanding and focus but some lack of depth, development and sustained assessment. This is a Merit quality answer.

Paper 2b European History Outlines, c. 1378–c. 1815

Question 22

To what extent, and why, were Jews treated as outcasts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. No set response is to be expected, it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that should be rewarded. Answers need not necessarily cover the whole chronology but a sound and balanced treatment should be expected with a good range of examples. Candidates may well choose to begin with the ‘why’ element of the question. As far as the Church was concerned Jews had been declared ‘outcasts’ by St Augustine and were regarded as ‘Christ-killers’. In canon law Jews were tolerated but were liable to prosecution for heresy if they were lapsed converts. Thus, the Church presented Jews as a spiritual danger. Meanwhile, in society more widely Jews were regarded as a social and physical threat and in popular superstition, represented as ritual murderers and poisoners of wells. Generally speaking, Jews were forbidden to own land, to become full citizens or be members of guilds. Thus Jews concentrated on commerce and money lending. Their role as bankers afforded them some protection but were liable to their loans being reneged upon and to expulsion. At times of social distress and natural disaster, famine and plague Jews were especially vulnerable to persecution. In fifteenth-century Spain conversos were less disadvantaged than marranos but were nevertheless, subjected to popular persecution in Toledo and Ciudad Real. Before 1492 conversos were not persecuted on religious grounds, although ‘secret Jews’ were. Segregation was decreed by the Cortes of Castile in 1480 and there was systematic persecution after the fall of Granada with the resulting expulsion and destruction of Spanish Jewry. A similar diaspora took place from Portugal. Elsewhere Jews were expelled from Cracow and Lithuania in the 1490s, there were expulsions from many German cities in the early fifteenth century and from some Italian cities in the late-fifteenth century. Local circumstances played an important part. In the sixteenth century ghettos were created, for example in Venice in 1516. Answers may also be expected to discuss the mixed response of Lutheranism to the Jews, at first broadly favourable but later hostile and, ironically Charles V protected Jews in a number of German cities. The impact of the Counter/Catholic Reformation on Jewish communities might also be assessed, persecution was especially severe under Pius V (1566–72) an example followed by some lay rulers. The inflation of the sixteenth century contributed to economic insecurity for which Jews were sometimes blamed.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative importance of factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered set of judgements. Attempts to deal with historiography and with differing interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses. Here answers might be concerned with differences in treatment of the Jews according to place, chronology and particular events. Although it failed, there was an attempt at dialogue, for example in the Jewish-Christian debates at Tortosa (1413–14). Again some Jewish communities remained active in business and commerce, during the sixteenth century, for example, in Ancona, Livorno, Genoa, Naples.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

22 In the fifteenth & sixteenth centuries there is no doubt that the Jews were considered outcasts. The reasons for this were mainly either religious differences or social reasons. In Central Europe the famine, epidemics, like plagues & wars all lead to reasons to find scapegoats for these problems & to punishing & outcasting others was popular. But in areas such as Spain where the Inquisition took place the motives were more religiously based, although this is an extreme example.

different regions
religion

One of the key reasons for the Jews being considered outcasts was the social problems in Europe. In the sixteenth & fifteenth centuries, there were huge like plagues, France in 1411 & 1413, as well as this there were wars, diseases & even more people had been accused of poisoning the wells. For all of the problems that

people were having in Europe they wanted people to blame for them. This theory is known as the 'brain-gauge' theory. It advises that people just wanted any minority & in this case the Jews to persecute for the problem they depicted but & blame them on the Jews. The Social Segregation stated in TV at the Latvian Concentration camps the Jews were made to wear clothes with the Jewish sign on them, or where hats & horns. When this continued with them being denied to mix with others through fear of making them impure & having impure children.

The religious reasons are also a large factor to why the Jews were outcasted in the twelfth & fifteenth centuries. Jews & Christians had always had issues, but during this period this issue was brought up with the claim of the ~~second~~ second coming of Christ. With this in mind, general the Christians believed that all Jews needed to be converted or expected to let this second coming occur. This is why, especially in areas such as Spain, with the Inquisition many numbers of Jews were outcasted. With this in mind in Spain further measures were taken &

according to Henry Kamen around 31,000
 were expelled & 1,000 burnt. This clearly shows
 the extent to which the Jews were considered
 outcasts of the time, although this is the
 most extreme example.

In conclusion it would show that
 the reasons for the Jews being outcasted were
 both social & religious, & this came to
 general the extent that they were ~~segregated~~
 segregated & in cases expelled or burnt.

Examiner Comment

There was some explanation offered for Jews being scapegoats and some distinction made between areas, with persecution in Spain being seen as more motivated by religion. The answer seemed to be discussing the impact of disease on mediaeval France. There was a reference to a general 'strain gauge theory'. A reference was made to the importance of the Lateran Council. The religious explanations were generalised, with few precise references to the period. Kamen was used to support the impact of the inquisition in Spain but this was not developed or set into the context of events and developments in Spain. The final paragraph suggested different motives but the whole answer was generalised, lacking in examples and not well rooted in the period. There was some attempt made to answer the question and a basic argument. This is a low Pass level response.

Paper 2c European History Outlines, c. 1715–2000

Question 26

How far can Austria-Hungary be held responsible for bringing about a European war in 1914?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A simple narrative of events will not work here. Analytical and evaluative content are needed. Although Austria will figure strongly here, reference to other nations (e.g. Britain, France, Russia, Germany) is expected. Indeed, a strong linkage of Austria-Hungary and Germany is likely. Good answers are likely to compare respective roles and so responsibilities as well as consider long- and short-term causes. Causal narrative could work; clear analytical and evaluative themes will work even better. However, this is not a broad, overview question on the causes of the First World War. Knowledge of such (as of debate areas) needs to be related to the needs of the question as set. Austria-Hungary faced growing threats and challenges in the Balkans, (contrasts between 1908 and 1912–13 can be drawn here) and felt pressure from Russia; increasingly, it looked to, and was encouraged by, Germany (culminating in the ‘blank cheque’); its military power needed to be deployed, no matter fears as to its efficacy. The Balkans will figure: the assassination of 1914 as a trigger or Balkan issues as a deeper, underlying cause; German interests and ambitions there, especially on Mitteleuropa and Turkey; the Russian factor in posing a possible threat to economic political expansion in the area. That can provide a link to German-Russian tensions. German overseas ambitions; Anglo-German naval, imperial and commercial rivalry; German fears of French-led encirclement; German-Austrian tier and domestic pressures – these are other elements. The role of the German elites and Kaiser will figure (1912, 1914). Beyond, reference can be made to (e.g.) the Alliance and Entente system, the arms rivalries and armed camps of Europe, the Moroccan crises (1905, 1911). The roles of Russia, France and Britain merit assessment as to positions, strategic thinking, proximity (1894, 1904, 1907) and definition of interests.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and with differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. ‘How far ...’ invites debate. There is good scope here for argument and counter-argument and candidates are likely to be aware of the plentiful debate here, not least as to Austrian and German motivations, perceptions, ambitions. For example, there is an offensive line of interpretation: the deliberate encouragement of Austria and the ‘blank cheque’; expansionist war aims; the concurrence of military and political personnel and thinking on a ‘will to war’ and the famous 1912 War Council. Then again, there is a defensive line: diplomatic hostility engendered since the 1890s; growing Russian military power; the blocking of German imperial and naval ambitions; the need to preserve Germany as a major power against other perceivedly hostile or ambivalent countries. As in AO1, candidates need to consider Russian and French motives and thinking; so, too, Britain’s role, growing involvement in European diplomacy and entry in 1914. Germany is still regarded as a key player, albeit in conjunction with Austria-Hungary. But the position of Russia and strategic-political thinking there as well as military planning might well be viewed as significant – and the ever-closer ties with France could be seen as significant in turn.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

WWI started when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia during the summer of 1914, triggering into action a whole sequence of events that would ~~give~~ culminate into a general European war. While not entirely blameless, Austria-Hungary was also not the sole causation of the war, as to argue this would be to ignore the various ~~politics~~ ~~before~~ ~~before~~ ~~before~~ conflicts by all the powers that led to conflict.

Austria-Hungary's guilt ~~was~~ ~~as~~ ~~as~~ with regards to the war was, according to the post-war Tey Commission, that she lit set the entire set of events in motion by declaring war on Serbia, ~~but~~ ~~also~~ by needlessly provoking, by an ultimatum that was so harsh that Serbia ~~would~~ was compelled to reject, a war ~~without~~ that she knew would drag all the nations of Europe in. However, this view discredits the Austrian perspective which saw Serbia as engaging in "provocative activities" within Austria, particularly with regards to Bosnia, and thus seeing war as more as self-defense rather than aggression. It has to be remembered that Serbian officers were not likely following with Princeps to assassinate the Archduke. In the long-term, however, Austria's guilt also stems from its continued provocation of Serbia through a fear of Pan-Slavism: in the London conference of 1913, for example, Austria insisted on an independent Albania so as to deny the Serbs a

frontline, thus causing much bad blood between the two. They Austria and Serbia cannot be solely held responsible for ^{the} war. ~~This~~ ~~from the~~ ~~last~~ ~~Edward~~ The British Foreign Minister, ~~Lord~~ ~~Edward~~ Curzon, himself said that "had the war nearly broken out between Austria and Serbia then he could have *afforded to stay neutral."

Germany is another oft-named culprit of WWI. The Tey Commission saw Germany as willingly pushing Austria towards a policy of escalation and not of conciliation. It was Germany, indeed, that brought the war to Western Europe by declaring war on Belgium and France. The Fischer thesis goes one step further and argues that Germany ~~willfully~~ actively pushed for war, via actions such as the "blank check" to Austria and ~~ultimately~~ the ultimatum to Russia, as a way of breaking out of its "Burgfrieden" (castle peace) and achieving hegemony over Europe.

There is merit to such argument - the ~~Potsdam~~ ^{Wilhelmine} German state, ~~under~~ ⁱⁿ its policy of Welt-politik, but prior to this regarded Germany's position as vulnerable given its being surrounded by the Triple Entente. The meeting at Potsdam in 1912 came to the conclusion that by 1917 Russia would have become too strong for Germany to defeat and thus German hegemony would have to be secured by war before then. German actions ~~on the eve~~ of war were also highly belligerent, giving a "blank check" to Austria, ~~and~~ giving an ultimatum to Russia demanding that if Russia mobilized Germany would declare war, and also demanding that Belgium give it military access to invade France.

In the long run Germany can be construed as the main country which created the diplomatic situation in

1914 that allowed a general European war to take place. ~~Wilhelm~~^{Bismarck} Germany's ~~ideological~~ diplomatic created the "Triple Alliance" of Germany, Italy and Austria in the 1880s and, in particular with the Dual Alliance of 1879, emphasised Germany's perceived obligation towards Austria. Wilhelm's Germany's ideological goals of ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~imperialism~~ ^{imperialism} and ~~well~~ ^{well} ~~politic~~ ^{politic} led to the formation of the Franco-Russian ~~alliance~~ ^{alliance} in 1892 and the ~~Triple~~ ^{Triple} Entente in 1904. Germany's belligerent attitude prior to ~~these~~ 1914, as signified in the Moroccan Crises of 1906 and 1911, both led to its "Burgfrieden" and perceived diplomatic isolation, and also to an arms race both on land and at sea, which itself led to a tense atmosphere and the development of ~~new~~ ^{new} strategic plans and tactics which, once set, could not be easily turned back.

German actions, however, seem to discredit the ^{Some} theory. On the eve of war, for example, German industrialists were petitioning the government not to go to war as it would jeopardise their business, especially with their biggest trading partner, Britain. The Socialist Democratic party, the largest party in the Reichstag, was itself ~~so~~ ^{so} deeply split over the issue of war. More damaging is Bethmann-Hollweg's telegram to ~~Britain~~ ^{Britain} ~~Germany~~ ^{Germany} stating that Germany would "give every assurance" so long as the UK did not enter the war. This does not seem like the actions of a determined country preparing for war.

Russia as a culprit in WWI ~~is~~ ^{is} also plausible. It

was determined to support Serbia even when its guilt in the Archduke assassination was accepted in most other countries. Tsar Nicholas went so far as to call Austrian actions "a heinous crime against an ally" in a telegram to Wilhelm II. Russian support for France was also what encouraged the latter to adopt a more judgemental attitude against Germany. In the long run, the Russian support for Pan-Slavism was ~~also~~ the major culprit in heightening Austrian suspicions of Serbia and also for the increased tensions in the Balkans prior to 1914 that created such an explosive tinderbox. However, again there is little evidence that Russia actually would war, as evidenced in the "Willy-Nicky" telegrams where the Tsar plots with the Kaiser to avert conflict.

Britain's guilt in the WWI was ~~also~~ judged in the Trenchard Commission as "a failure to restrain her allies" most evidently France. Britain's seemingly solid backing of France & in a European crisis seems questionable in the face of the fact that the Entente was more a colonial declaration than an actual alliance. Indeed, there is evidence that Britain actually sought war in 1914 that Edward Grey rejected a plan from the City of London to going for a peaceful solution to the conflict, rejected Balfour-Hollands' prior telegram pledging "every assistance", and finally entered the war on the basis of an obligation to assist Belgium that dated back to 1830, an obligation which was not met in any case. Britain's contribution to the increased tension in the long run-up to war could also be argued that by building HMS Dreadnought

in 1906 she launched a new phase of the arms race which was to ~~bring~~^{create} more tension into the European situation.

A final reason for war stems from the David Lloyd George's quotation that "all the nations of Europe slid over into the boiling cauldron of war". This theory argues that no one country caused the war; instead each acted according to its own self-interest which, via events that were not controllable, resulted in war. ~~The~~ A common culprit would be to blame mobilization timetables, which were so precise and ~~exacted~~^{exacted} for on such narrow lines that there was little room for a reassessment of the situation. Schlieffen's Plan, for example, argued for an immediate attack on France as soon as possible and thus left little room for an appraisal of British attitudes. Thus by initiating one act countries would force others to react, a cascade which would eventually lead to war. Another related version of this theory sees that by industrializing, ~~at~~^{the} European powers ~~are~~^{have} begun to compete more aggressively with each other for resources, which, again, had as its final result war.

Thus, while Austria-Hungary certainly deserves blame for starting WWI, the war was not of its own doing; other countries, or maybe even just underlying socioeconomic forces, can be blamed in allowing this to happen.

Examiner Comment

The answer maintained a good focus on the question and there was a direct introduction. The case for Austria's responsibility was clearly set out but with some evaluative comment which discussed Serbia's role. There was a clear sense of argument and judgement from the start and there was reference to evidence and historical views well integrated into the analysis. The role of Germany was discussed in a clear and economical way, with well chosen knowledge and there was a good link made between Germany and the general alliance system in Europe. Knowledge was sound and the evaluative element was well-developed. Russia's role was analysed and again assessed. The answer was clearly structured and well controlled, balancing the possible responsibility of individual countries with an over-arching explanation, but coming back to the question in the title. Given the considerable amount of material this question involves, the answer kept a good balance between explanation, factual support and judgement. This is a sound Distinction level answer.

Paper 3 US History Outlines, c. 1750–2000

Question 29

How accurate is the view that President Johnson's achievements on the domestic front have been underestimated?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required: an informed knowledge of Johnson's 'Great Society' legislation is required. In this respect it will be important to look at the major achievements in the fields of health, education, economics, environment and poverty. The Economic Opportunity Act, Medicare and Medicaid and the Education Acts are probably the most important. Simple chronological narratives should be avoided but analysis may well proceed in chronological order. Stronger answers will explore whether Johnson's reputation has been unfairly diminished by a war which he inherited and which was not, at the beginning of his presidency, his priority.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, such as the meaning of the 'Great Society' and the general idea of an American welfare state. A comparative approach, for example contrasting Johnson with JFK or Nixon, might allow a wider discussion of reputations. Candidates should present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. This question lends itself to a revisionist answer which might seek to rehabilitate Johnson, although equally he may be seen as a president who made serious mistakes in allowing Vietnam to escalate and failing to win the debate at home. Stronger answers will capture the complexity of the situation Johnson confronted.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

President Johnson's story is a tragic one.

Kentleton describes how Johnson's domestic legislation was "the most creative burst of domestic legislation since the heady days of the New Deal." However, it remains to be said that Johnson's ultimate failure in the Vietnam War overshadowed Johnson's domestic record at home. On the other hand, Leman agrees that Johnson's War on Poverty did not live up to his rhetoric on the Great Society.

Johnson's Great Society was a vision that advocated "abundance and liberty for all."

His 207 piece of landmark legislation undoubtedly fulfilled this vision to an extent. His childhood poverty made him a 'prophet' (Dallin) in facing poverty on the agenda. To gain support for his War on Poverty, ~~therefore~~ he applied the Johnson Treatment described by Barbara Kellerman as his "highly intense, personal, and sometimes overwhelming effort to win friends." He made poverty a 'hot' topic through selling it to the media. His strength and force made the public realise it was their moral duty to help poverty.

For all that he did however, it does seem that LBJ was underestimated. He spent \$1 billion dollars on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

What helped directly poor regional places such as in the Appalachia Regional Development Act of 1964.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1965

counter
point

trained poor people for jobs, enabling them to get better jobs. From 1958 to 1968, the decrease of 40 million million families in poverty to be 28 million illustrates how much LBJ helped the poor. Yet despite his numerous human concerns have been an widespread perception that poverty had in fact worsened. Dallek also notes how there was "a negative perception of the positive reality" that underestimated LBJ's huge success in his War on Poverty.

In terms of healthcare, LBJ "dwarfed" his success Kennedy, and managed to win over the political elite and pass Medicare and Medicaid which gave insurance to the elderly and poor specifically. In education he passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and also funded schools with federal money for the first time ever. This shows his political expertise in getting his policies passed. He had, as Kennedy's Vice-President, advised Kennedy to refrain from proposing Medicare to the Congress because he was not in the mood at the time, Kennedy would not have been able to pass it. ~~Kennedy~~

In terms of the economy, perhaps LBJ did not excel so much. He inherited a great economic situation thanks to the Age of Optimism and also Kennedy's huge impact on the economy. He did pass the Gold Standard Act that avoided a run on the dollar, and he also set

employment schemes for the poor. Kettleton describes the reforms of Johnson as "Liberalism's finest hour," which is a huge statement that supports LBJ's success in domestic policy.

In Civil Rights, though LBJ passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, some historians argue that there are more or less ~~the~~ "John-Kennedy" refers, since Kennedy had in fact ~~start~~ began to draft the Civil Rights Bill which was never put through due to his assassination and "unfinished life". Unfortunately for LBJ, his huge spending in Vietnam caused some problems in the Civil Rights Movement. A Black movement arose in the 60s during the Vietnam War due to the fact that they felt it unfair ~~that~~ that middle class students ~~that~~ evaded the military draft. It meant that ^{African Americans} ~~black Americans~~ were being drafted to fight for purposes of democracy when some of them felt that they certainly did not have democracy in their own country. Interestingly, the money in taxes that funded the Vietnam War, and the ^{of the} ~~the~~ Great Society due to the Vietnam War meant that ^{African Americans} ~~black Americans~~ were generally the most poor, and were in fact not being helped by the Great Society.

This area is what LBJ excelled at
environment. And this is illustrated partly by
the fact that the National Geographic named

President Johnson the favorite President.

He passed the Clean Water Restoration Act and spent billions of dollars on environment protection. However some people agree that his money was 'wasted' money and it should have been used to help the people more. LBJ showed that he was innovative and ahead of his time, and therefore he should not be underestimated in terms of his domestic policy.

In conclusion, LBJ's Presidency was a paradox. ~~The~~ One historian says "Neither FDR nor Truman can compare" in terms of domestic legislation passed. His huge vision of the Great Society however was undermined by "that bitch of a war" (Johnson) or the other side of the coin which Martin Luther King famously described as "a devouring and destructive suction tube" of men, money and women. The Great Society was supposed to make America a better place yet the sheer divisions created through the enigma of an anti-war movement and the conflict

between the Black Power movement and white ^{Life = better after war} undoubtedly left America in a mess. People do underestimate LBJ's domestic record simply because of the Vietnam War, and it is accurate to say that chants such as "Hey! Hey! LBJ! How many kids did you kill today" make people underestimate and ignore

Johnson's ~~enormous~~ vast domestic success and his political expertise that made it possible to get so much legislative passed in a fairly brief 6 years.

Some
assessent

Examiner Comment

This answer begins with a sense of differing perspectives on Johnson, with an estimation that compares his domestic policy with the New Deal and views which argue that it was overshadowed by Vietnam and did not live up to expectations. There is a good focus and some support for judgements and the references to policies are well-informed. There is reference to the question and an understanding of the gap between achievements and perception. A distinction is drawn between healthcare and the economy. There is some evaluation of the success of the Civil Rights policies. Generally, there is coverage of a range of internal policies and there is a concluding analysis. There is some explanation of why Johnson has been underestimated and the answer is well-organised and clear. This is not a perfect answer, but it is analytical and supported, and is of Distinction quality.

Question 20

Account for the rise of an expansionist approach to American foreign policy between 1890 and 1912.

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required: the stronger answers will require a multi-factoral approach but should arrive at a synthesis involving a hierarchy of factors rather than just a list. A narrative of events should be avoided but the analysis may be set out in a chronological fashion. The factors involved include the following: the end of frontier; the demand for raw materials and markets; rivalry with European imperial powers; the importance of naval power and need for naval bases; the ‘civilising mission’; social darwinist beliefs; the influence of the yellow press and the role of key individuals such as Teddy Roosevelt. Examples of expansionism must be used to support the analysis, such as the acquisition of Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, but the stronger answers will focus on developing a synthesis of factors, showing connections between the various forces at work and arriving at a hierarchy of factors, rather than putting forward a list.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, such as imperialism, and its supporting ideological elements such as the ‘civilising mission’ and social darwinist attitudes. The ‘end of frontier’ also requires some explanation. It is vital that candidates present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, and arrive at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Interpretations will vary in terms of the placing of emphasis but the stronger answers will convey the complex nature of the history.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

American foreign policy took a expansionist approach after they could no longer expand further westward. This was due to influence from Europe and ~~the~~ economic reasons. David Ryan argues that ~~they were~~ a difference, must be noted, between new American 'informal' imperialism and hardline European colonialism. ^{which} ~~the~~ ^{had} ~~the~~ ^{been} ~~the~~ ^{expansion} Historian O. Borch argues that America ~~was~~ were classical imperialists. It appears that they were more about internationalism rather than ~~gaining~~ territorial seeking nation.

Economically the US. ~~to~~ believed they needed to expand due to their saturated markets. ~~they~~ ^{the} However, due to the constitution stating it's anti-imperialist beliefs

they wanted to avoid any sort of headline expansionism. ~~They~~ They were heavily influenced by the European 'scramble for Africa' and therefore believed they had to look towards North America. Sure and

After the Boxer Rebellion in 1898 McKinley opened up ~~new~~ markets through the 'Open Door' policy, with China. ~~This was left as an act of expansionism, and none so of~~ not developed ~~this act of~~ interventionism and economical benefit to become a greater power.

Furthermore it appears that the American ideology was another reason for its expansionist approach as it wanted to govern the world with its own morals. With each individual president and the events that fall under them, it is evident, Philosophy that they wanted to become a 'great power' for their 'sphere of influence'.

President Cleveland intervened in ~~the~~ Hawaiian affairs and left the country in turmoil after they hit a huge economic crisis. The only nation to benefit was America, as they gained

control over Hawaii. This is act ~~at~~ is one of the first acts of economic expansionism through intervention. Yet, they were not gaining a colony in concrete, but more an informal empire.

ee benefits
not
explains

Similarly in the 1898 Spanish-American war, the U.S. acted as a liberator for Cuba with their own underlying interests. They freed Cuba from the oppressed Spanish Catholic regime and in doing so, acquired an 'informal colony'. They signed a Treaty with Cuba stating that although Cuba were their own state, the U.S. had the right to intervene. Perhaps as argued by Ferguson the U.S. were 'an empire in denial', yet however it is more probable that they were informal as they simply wanted Cuba to follow their ideology of protestantism and democracy and therefore being a 'soft power'.

not v.
clear why
US intervened

~~Furthermore~~ Furthermore, President Roosevelt wanted to expand America more than any other President. Due to his upbringing as an ascetic, he believed in

not
not enough

'Healthy body, healthy mind'. He believed
Henry O. Borch argues that Roosevelt
was a classic imperialist, whilst
Burton believes 'his speeches and
writings' were ~~empty~~ ^{tough} ~~on his~~
~~hand~~ mindedness'. This seems most
probable as he failed in overblown
rhetoric and seemed to be more
of a peace monger than a war
monger, after winning the noble
peace prize for the Russo-Japanese
War.

America did expand under Roosevelt ^{especially} after 1907 when the US were on the road to becoming a 'two ocean power'; once the building of the Panama Canal began. Furthermore his 'Great White Fleet' ^{made?} their intervention in relations in Japan, when they docked there, to intimidate the Japanese is a clear sign of U.S. interventionism ~~in~~ ^{not} ~~in~~ ^{not} global affairs. This was due to Roosevelt's aim of joining the power club, therefore, expansionism was in his rhetoric. When he was leaving office in 1909 and the Great White Fleet arrived back in America, he stated how he could not ask for a 'better

concluding scene. Therefore it appears he was more expansionist in his rhetoric, but the navy did double under his reign therefore America became a greater power.

In conclusion, America ~~became~~ did rise, rise to gain an expansionist way, however, not in the same way as Europe did.

It gained an informal empire and began its journey in joining the power club, by acting as a 'soft power' to places such as Hawaii, Samoa, the Philippines and Cuba. ~~Even yet, they appear to be none of interventionist~~ even after Roosevelt that intervened in Nicaragua, therefore furthering the list of their ^{new economic} expansionist ways.

Conclusion
looks good.

Examiner Comment

The focus in the introduction is less clear in this answer but some explanatory factors are isolated. There is a comment on the difference between US and European expansionism which might have been developed. Economic reasons are referred to in terms of the US experiencing 'saturated markets' but there is not enough support and development of explanation. There is reference to idealistic motives and the US gaining an informal empire. Cuba is given as an example of ideological motivation. The personal influence of Teddy Roosevelt is seen as an explanation. There is some awareness of different motives and generally the answer is explanatory rather than descriptive. It is aware of some ideas about US expansion and seeks to put it into context, but exemplification is rather thin and there is little attempt to assess relative importance of any explanation. This achieved a Merit level.

Question 24

How is the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s best explained?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required: although the depression clearly had multiple causes, this question demands that a hierarchy of causes is established and that an effort is made to establish the overriding cause. A narrative approach should be avoided but a close understanding of changes between 1927 and 1929 would be helpful. The factors involved should include some of the following: excessive speculation; under consumption and over production; the impact of tariff wars; structural problems in the world economy; failure of European powers to pay full reparations; irresponsible government policies which encouraged speculation, such as low capital gains tax and the decentralised nature of the US banking system. Stronger answers will develop an argument that supports the idea that one particular area was the dominant problem, whilst acknowledging that it was a complex period of interacting difficulties.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical and economic concepts, such as under-consumption and over-production, protectionism and under regulation of business and banking. It is vital that candidates present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, and arrive at a well-considered judgement. Where appropriate, attempts to deal with historiography, critical evaluation of source material and of differing historical interpretations may enhance responses. Interpretations may vary considerably but the stronger answers will avoid the temptation to produce a list of factors and instead build up a thesis which, whilst allowing for complexity, nevertheless arrives at a well supported answer to the question.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

loans
 \$3.5 billion 1927
 \$4 billion 1929
 interest rate
 4% → 3.5%

200,000 bought on margin
 2nd month '29 2nd Sep '29 13th Dec '29
 radio 94¢ 50¢ 28¢

500,000 shares listed 1925 1,127,000 1929

The onset of the Great Depression can be best explained by looking at the causes and the eventual crash in the 1930s. Looking and comparing at what was spent, share prices, types of people who bought on the margin and other factors. Looking at what had occurred and brought the eventual crash in October 1929 best explains the Great Depression.

With the economic boom, confidence or moral of the people grew and people became confident in the government. President ("silent-al") Harding, President Coolidge and President Hoover (begin to "normalise") believed in a non-interventionalist government. In Wall street the selling of stocks

and shares grew, 500,000 shares were listed in 1925 and grew to 1,127,000 in 1929. The way to buy them was to "buy on the margin" paying a fraction of the price and the rest borrowed from a broker, who borrowed from a bank (\$3.5 billion loaned 1927² and grew to \$4 billion 1929). Brokers managed to persuade people, saying prices would never be this low again and they could "buy now and pay later", 800,000 people bought on the margin. Also the change of interest rate 1925 from 4% to 3.5% helped attract more buyers.

Three types of people bought shares, those who believed in the government and kept shares for a long time, those who were speculative (also who artificially rose the prices by cartels) and those who wanted to "get rich quick" (also known as "innocenti" and suffered the most from the crash). Looking at typical share prices that rose and fell do help best explain the rise and fall of the US economy, Radio shares cost 94¢ on the 3rd of March 1928, then rose to a high 505¢ on the 3rd September 1929 and fell dramatically to 28¢ on the 13th December the same year.

the share market

fully described

not demonstrated

However, only 1% of the US population owned stocks and shares. This 1% owned 32% of the nation's wealth in 1925, which rose to 38% in 1929. The groups that did not benefit were women, immigrants, farmers, trade unionists, old industrialists and African Americans, even though they had no part in the boom they were badly affected when the crash occurred. "Most blacks did not even know of the Great Depression. They ~~were~~ ^{been} always poor and only thought the whites were catching up" H28. When the crash occurred in October 1929, 13 million shares changed hands rather than 3 million and \$30 billion were lost from the crash, the US economy collapsed completely in 1932 when President Hoover said "prosperity was just around the corner". After the 24th October 1929 (Black Thursday) there was an attempt from 6 major banks to restore the crash, putting in \$40 million ~~but~~ ^{but} when it crashed again later on the 29th October 1929 (Black Tuesday) there was no rescue and caused national panic. This lost the moral of the

some answers

WSC

american people and moral was essential during the boom of the 1920s and affected the Great Depression in the 1930s.

The onset of the Great Depression can be best explained by comparing the boom's economy in the 1920s with the economy in the late 1920s up to the Wall Street crash of 1929. Focusing on who bought shares, loans given out, "buying on the margin" and share prices best explain ^{one of the} ~~the~~ causes of the Great Depression. The moral of people was happy and trusting towards the government and they bursted the economic system, spending more than they had and going into huge debt after the crash. Comparing figures from these two key periods best explain the Great Depression in the 1930s.

reiteration
of opening
phrase

Examiner Comment

The opening lacks clarity but implies a link between the Crash and the Depression. Some knowledge is shown about the speculation of the 1920s and some figures are offered to support the idea of speculation, but the vital explanatory link between this situation and the Depression is not made. There is an understanding that the prosperity of the 1920s was not universal but the link with the Depression, again, is not made. There is a description of the Great Crash. The explanation is implicit rather than being clearly formed. The expression is variable and the range of the answer is limited. However, there is some economic knowledge and there is some attempt to answer the question by saying that the general situation of the late 1920s explains the Depression. This is a Pass level answer.

Paper 4 African and Asian History Outlines, c. 1750–2000

Question 27

How far were the reforms in Japan after the Meiji Restoration motivated by a desire to build Japan's military strength?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Perry's arrival had certainly demonstrated Japan's military vulnerability and an important part of the reforms after 1868 were military and naval modernisation. The interest in expansion in the 50 years after – the war against China, the successes of the Russo-Japanese War and the foothold in Manchuria, the annexation of Korea, the ambitions in Shandong and Siberia and the acquisitions at Versailles – may indicate that military strength as a means of territorial gain was at the heart of the changes. However, that may be to read too much from the later expansionist desires. The changes were wider than purely military. By 1914 Japan had a centralised bureaucracy; a constitution; an improved communication and transport system; an end to feudal Daimyo power; a rapidly growing economy and was much less dependent on European powers. Certain developments of the period – the revival of Shintoism, linked to the Emperor and the growth of the large scale economic concerns, 'the Zaibatsu' were later linked to militarism, but in this period could be seen as part of a national revival which combined modernisation with a desire to maintain traditional cultural values, demonstrating that the latter need not make Japan vulnerable and outdated.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How far...' invites argument and counter-argument. The issue may be one of perspective – because the Meiji period did lead to sustained militarism and expansion, was that its real motivation, or is the desire to escape the problems of an outdated feudal and samurai society, an obscure power sharing between Shogunate and Empire, a highly under-developed economy and a vulnerability to foreign influence more important than merely military growth; or do all these relate quite fundamentally to militarism?

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

2) In 1894, in the ^{Japanese} magazine *Yorozu Shimbun*, a panel cartoon was published which was used to represent the significance, or potential significance, of the Meiji Restoration to Japanese life. In the first cartoon sat a boy oppressed by his foreign, overbearing teacher; in the second, the foreign teacher sleeping whilst the boy grew strong; and in the third, the boy, now a man, dragging the teacher by his beard. The cartoon appeared to summarise Japan's desire for dominance and stronger military power over those who had once ignored Japan's capabilities as a leading world nation. Thus the Meiji Restoration, which began in 1868, seemed to emphasise the need for military strength to achieve greater world status, and this was the reason the Meiji Restoration contained ~~several~~ ^{the need for} However, though the Restoration introduced a number of militaristic reforms, in essence, the ones was placed more on general strength (e.g. political and economic) as opposed to militaristic power. Thus although Japan certainly wanted a greater status within the world, the Restoration was motivated more by a need for thorough-going reform, as is apparent in the sheer number of political and social reforms during the time in which it occurred.

The most significant militaristic reforms ^{ages after the year} ~~of the Meiji Restoration~~ ¹⁹⁰² ~~1868~~ ¹⁹⁰⁵ ~~1868~~ ¹⁹⁰² occurred in ~~1868~~ and ~~1868~~. In ~~1868~~, Japan the Reformer introduced new a new Army and Navy Ministry, designed to strengthen the nation's military power so as to protect itself from Western encroachment such as that which was rife ~~also~~ in China during the same time period. In ¹⁹⁰⁵ ~~1868~~, the Restoration enforced a

total
 swearing of allegiance and commitment to the Emperor and the nation by Japanese sailors and soldiers. This, it was hoped, would prevent any sort of defection or uprising if it so occurred. However, though there were other militaristic regions such as the remodelling of Japanese forces ^{along} German lines (through the use of General Staffs), the regions were largely motivated by a desire to build Japan's overall strength. In spite of strict drill standards along more Western lines - an ostensible attempt to increase military strength - the regions were much more comprehensive in other domains.

Indeed, with the slogan of the restoration being 'fukoku-Kyōhei' (enrich the country; strengthen the military), it seems that the ^{onus} ~~onus~~ was placed on the former. Japan wanted to avoid foreign encroachment and promote internal stability, drawing ^{from} the example of the fall of the Chinese Qing dynasty. In order to prevent internal strife, and the predatory external powers, the Restoration, in turn, largely focussed on constitutional and economic changes. In terms of the constitution, a new bicameral assembly was introduced, and a modern court and legal system swiftly followed. This was implemented in conjunction with the nineteenth century German principle of 'Staatsrecht', meaning 'State over the individual', a far cry from militaristic ideas which usually involves individual extremism.

In terms of the economy, there seemed little emphasis on the drive for military strength, and rather a desire

for ~~compulsory~~ ^{properly functioning} reforms. In ~~the~~ ¹⁹⁰⁷, the Bank of Japan was ~~not~~ ^{with} a centralised currency. The economy did not revolve around the military – far from it. Indeed, ^{eval} the ~~overall~~ ^{continual} ~~was~~ ^{was} firmly upon trade and exports, such as the ~~100%~~ ^{100%} increase in exports from the years 1868–~~1903~~ ¹⁹⁰³. Moreover, the ~~country's~~ ^{national} currency was centralised, which seemed to indicate that there was more of a desire for fundamental fiscal reforms as opposed to a more aggressive course of action. In fact, much of the ^{eval} economic policy was focussed on resolving the ~~landlord~~ ^{landlord} & landlord-peasant dynamics, such as the implementation of a reform which made tax-paying peasants the outright owners of their land.

Thus the reforms in Japan after the Meiji restoration did not necessarily focus on the desire to build Japan's military strength. As ~~the~~ ^{Edwin} ~~Reischauer~~ ^{Reischauer} points out, there was a great impetus to centralised borrowing, and not necessarily an ones in military strength. Though military strength obviously featured in the reforms, it would be far in saying that Japan, for the large part, wanted to continue the Meiji policy of *Junno-jeijo*!

Examiner Comment

The introduction is well-focused on the possible debate – merely military expansion in order to assert dominance and overturn perceived oppression or more general reform. The key issue in the question is dealt with succinctly but the argument is made that the changes had wider significance. The essay focuses on discussion of the relative importance of the military changes and uses, rather than imparts information, to support a thesis. It sees the links between power and internal stability by a deft reference to China. The German-based constitution is seen as being quite distinct from a purely militaristic ethos. This is a direct and economical response to the question, with enough material to support points being made and an obvious understanding of the question. It is analytical throughout, elegantly written and is of Distinction quality.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

27

~~Military Gov Econ Social Educ. Foreign~~
~~Legal~~

The Meiji Reforms in Japan were a series of modernisation changes to strengthen Japan as a whole, not necessarily just military strength. The Meiji Reforms were also motivated by desires to modernise the Japanese government, economy, ~~and~~ society and to raise Japan's foreign status. This can be seen in reforms in all the above aspects but not just military.

After Japan was forced to end her 'sakoku' (close door) policy by foreign military expeditions, it's possible that the Meiji Reforms were motivated by a desire to build Japan's military strength. Such a desire can be shown in the ~~introduction~~ attempts to modernise the Japanese army through universal conscription and modernisation of ~~any~~ weapons and navy. Universal conscription required 3 years of services from samurai and commoners alike. Weapons like artillery were developed and a small navy of 28 ships ~~was~~ was introduced at the start of ~~Meiji~~ reforms. However, these were about all of the actions that were directly linked with building of military strength. ~~Other reforms were motivated by a desire to build Japan into a modern state much like the west but with Japanese characteristics.~~

*

<p>Other changes</p>	<p>Japan was also introduced by the idea of free-trade imperialism when opened by the west through actions like Perry Expedition 1852. In fact, many reforms were aiming at imitating western societies. Government received revolutionary changes when ^{an} parliament was introduced. The idea of <u>elected</u> franchise also appeared as at when initially only top 1% wealthiest citizens can vote. By the end of Meiji period, franchise was extended to all male. The consent Constitution system was also developed with an elected lower house and an appointed upper house which held most powers. Although this was still not a full embrace of democracy, it showed a desire to modern transform the society political system. The <u>Westernize</u> political these Traditional values were retained through revival of monarchy rule with Emperor as the semi-divine figurehead holding powers to conclude treaties, declare war. Shintoism was the religion where worship and loyalty to the emperor was vital. These Feudal system was ended & when Daimyo Lords were forced to return the land. Government reforms showed a desire to modernize and westernize the political system.</p>
<p>disc change</p>	
<p>another element</p>	
<p>and then</p>	<p>Economic reforms further revealed the desire to promote free trade and capitalism. Government-led growth was initiated at first</p>

which saw to the development of railways, telegraph and postal service. Japan transformed into export-led economy with export of silk growing by 60% and total exports growing by 100%. Privatization was also encouraged by the government where huge companies called Zaibatsu emerged under merchants and Samurai. Tax system was also introduced to ~~replace~~ replace payment of rice into money. The National Land Tax became ~~the largest~~ a major government income. Imitating the Western economy, a Bank of Japan and a uniform currency were introduced too. All these economic reforms showed desire to modernize Japanese economy.

Social
Reforms

The Social structure ~~also~~ reforms also symbolize Western elements of equity and fairness. Firstly, Samurai class was removed of their privilege to wear swords whereas conscription required service from everybody. Urbanization also resulted from the growth of population to nearly 60 million in 1925. Educational reforms were also ~~made~~ made similar to the west with western teaching materials included. ~~Compulsory~~ Compulsory education was also introduced (although not free). Traditional values like self sacrifice and loyalty to emperor, country and family were retained in education. Legal reforms were particularly

these

modelled based on French and German systems. ~~Simple~~ Supreme Courts were introduced with a civil code and criminal law ~~was~~ developed in the reforms.

* It's clear that the ~~Meiji refo~~ social reforms were ~~not merely~~ motivated by a desire to modernize Japanese social structure.

As a conclusion, the Meiji reforms were not simply motivated by a desire to build Japan's military strength. It is motivated by a desire to modernize Japan economically, socially, legally, and politically. *follow arguer*

* Foreign policy during the Meiji reforms was mainly to regain Japanese territories and to promote Japan's sphere of influence. Here, some sense of building up of Japan's military strength is required as the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War later revealed the need of armament. However, other than that, Meiji reforms ~~also focus~~ were motivated by other *mid* factors ~~as well~~ aiming to modernize Japan in general.

Examiner Comment

The introduction recognized that the Meiji reforms included not just military strength but broader aspects, but did not offer much in the way of a possible debate or judgement. There followed an outline of military reforms. There was an account of other reforms which did offer some analysis of the extent of democracy and continuity with traditional values, but limited comparison between the importance of different elements of change. The essay tended to be a sequence of reforms reasonably well supported, but explanation more than discussion or evaluation predominated. An answer was provided at rather a limited level – it was not just military reforms, and there was obvious knowledge and understanding of the changes. This is a Merit level answer.

Question 17

Assess the significance of the Boxer Rebellion for China.

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Boxer Rebellion came in the wake of the loss of war against Japan and the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the extension of foreign concessions. It has been said that by 1899 China seemed on the point of partition by Japan and the Great Powers. When Christian missionaries became more active local disturbances broke out and an anti-Western movement spread from rural China to Tianjin and Beijing. The significance can be seen in a resurgence of traditional China against change (railways and clocks were particularly hated). It can be seen as a reaction against loss of war against Japan and foreign domination.

The support of the Empress XiXi adds another dimension and its significance can be seen in the alliance of a failing dynasty with populist violence. Out of the humiliation and violence of defeat can be seen another manifestation of Chinese weakness in the face of overseas military power. It can be seen as fostering Japanese ambitions; leading to the downfall of the dynasty and an upsurge of Chinese nationalism. It was an influence on key figures like Sun Yat-sen and Lu Xun. On the other hand, it could be seen as a symptom of longer term trends rather than the major cause of change.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess the significance...' invites argument and counter-argument. There is no real narrative but candidates should weigh the significance of the supposed elements of great impact. The arguments for the Boxer rebellion as being a turning-point in the development of modern China is compelling, but it can be seen as more of a symptom of long term decline and loss of power to foreign countries. The War against Japan might be seen as the real turning point. The revolution of 1911 was not as strong an expression of nationalism as was thought and depended a lot on key provincial figures and the renegade Manchu commander Yuan Shi-kai.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

17)

Boxer 1900 → anti-Qing → anti-foreigner → killed Christians
 → siege of Beijing

Foreigners flee
 → Wei Jingshan (dies in 1908) → Guangxu → 1911 rebellion
 1898 reforms

Westerners of Qing
 No reform
 sparks conflict in Beijing → Wei Jingshan → anti-Qing
 → 1911 rebellion
 → anti-Manchu

20th Century
 1911 rebellion
 1911 rebellion
 1911 rebellion

The Boxer rebellion of the start of the twentieth century signalled major internal weakness of the Qing as well as dissatisfaction for the Qing. At first significantly it sparked conflict and showed the public that change was needed. However more significantly for China was the forced reform, western involvement and interference of the Qing which ultimately led to the Boxer rebellion. The Boxer was a by-product of longer internal and external problems which would lead to the revolution in 1911. This essay takes the view of Gray who stated that the Boxer rebellion was, "a further mishap" which led to the significant event of revolution in 1911. However JAC Roberts suggests that the Boxer was, "instrumental in shifting the power balance". However Fairbank and Goldhamer suggest similarly to say that the significant events were, "long term events where rebellions only acted as a spark or indicator of displeasure."

Significant factors which would change the course of Chinese history are not three factors, ~~three~~ ^{Foreign} ~~three~~ ^{element}, Chinese Intelligentsia and further of reform.

WTR started

China or Qing interference was also more significant than the Boer as it frustrated China's internal ~~weakness~~^{presented} and ~~presented~~^{presented} Nether Sig from modernizing. The failure of reforms in the 1850s which included military, social, economic and political reforms failed due to interference with by the cont. Similarly

the failure of the Qing to listen to the West and caused greater problems leading to the Taiping, Nian and Boxer rebellions. The Qing's failure to unite the country meant that provincial local untrained officials had real power allowing outbreaks and outbreaks linked in the rebellions such as the Boer to gain support.

The reforms put the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 led to the 1898 reforms leading into the Hundred Days Reforms.

This further failure of reforms by Guangxu, Kang Youwei, Zou Taofeng and Tan Sitong which were fairly mild were the start of "renaissance" suggests Guang and not the Boxer Rebellions. Cixi's interventionist nature and her loyal subjects were perhaps the most significant factor in the evolution of the reforms as reform was seen as possible by 1911. China had the base for industrialisation similar to Japan" suggests Guang yet the reluctance of the Qing to change during a time when the population had doubled since the 18th century, corruption and famine.

However the Boxer Rebellion certainly was a significant factor which made it perhaps no impetus to the Taiping Rebellion. The latter showed further weakness of the Qing where the Boxer Rebellion managed to take Beijing. Not only this it also led to Cixi fleeing with Guangxu as a prisoner letting Li Hongzhang in charge of it expelled great anti Qing sentiment and effectively was the end which led to Cixi's reforms of 1901 and 1906. However this is significant for China it was the last time before of the failed reforms and evidence of the West's views on China which set up the

more on background

Why was the Rebellion significant?

Significant

problems in the first place. Centring rebelliousness like as far
 Yut fan and Yuen Shuei were new spirits when
 the Boxer Rebellion on its own would not have
 delayed much making it less important. *Chinese very really
 establish a firm case
 for the significance
 of the
 Boxer
 attempt
 to
 commit
 an act.*

Examiner Comment

There is some focus on the significance of the Rebellion and an attempt to put it into context in the introduction. However, there was also reference to causes. There are references to historical views and supporting quotations, but the explanation could have been clearer. The use of quotations was not very helpful in establishing different arguments about the significance and seemed rather 'bolted on'. Instead of developing ideas about the significance, the answer offered information about the background of foreign intervention. There was an attempt to argue that the war against Japan was more significant than the Boxer Rebellion, but this was not developed and the answer needed to establish more firmly the ways in which the Boxer Rebellion was significant, before comparing it to other factors. The factor of Qing intrigue again was compared, but this led to more background information rather than establishing why the Rebellion was significant. There was comparison with the Taiping Rebellion, which was more successful in establishing significance and there was some link with later developments. Overall, the points were not well enough developed and supported and there was a lot of reliance on general comment and background information. This is a Pass quality answer.

Paper 5 Mark Scheme Bands – Special Subject

Special Subjects: Document Question

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.

Introduction

This question is designed largely to test skills in the handling and evaluation of source material but it is axiomatic that answers should be informed by and firmly grounded in wider contextual knowledge.

Examiners should be aware that the topic on which this question has been based has been notified to candidates in advance who, therefore, have had the opportunity of studying, using and evaluating relevant documents.

The Band in which an answer is placed depends upon a range of criteria. As a result not all answers fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases, a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.

In marking an answer examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

Question (a)

Band 1: 8–10

The answer will make full use of both documents and will be sharply aware of both similarities and differences. Real comparisons of themes and issues will be made across the documents rather than by separate treatment. There should be clear insights into how the documents corroborate each other or differ and possibly as to why. The answer should, where appropriate, demonstrate a strong sense of critical evaluation.

Band 2: 4–7

The response will make good use of both documents and will pick up the main features of the thrust of the argument (depending upon whether similarity or difference is asked) with some attention to the alternative. Direct comparison of content, themes and issues is to be expected although, at the lower end of the Band, there may be a tendency to treat the documents separately with most or all of the comparison and analysis being left to the end. Again, towards the lower end, there may be some paraphrasing. Clear explanation of how the documents agree or differ is to be expected but insights into why are less likely. A sound critical sense is to be expected especially at the upper end of the Band.

Band 3: 0–3

Treatment of the documents will be partial, certainly incomplete and possibly fragmentary. Only the most obvious differences/similarities will be detected and there will be a considerable imbalance (differences may be picked up but not similarities and vice versa). Little is to be expected by way of explanation of how the documents show differences/similarities, and the work will be characterised by largely uncritical paraphrasing.

Question (b)**Band 1: 16–20**

The answer will treat the documents as a set and will make very effective use of each although, depending upon the exact form of the question, not necessarily in the same detail. It will be clear that the demands of the question have been fully understood and the material will be handled confidently with strong sense of argument and analysis. Good use of supporting contextual knowledge will be demonstrated. The material deployed will be strong in both range and depth. Critical evaluation of the documents is to be expected. The argument will be well structured. Historical concepts and vocabulary will be fully understood. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations is to be expected. English will be fluent, clear and virtually error-free.

Band 2: 11–15

The answer will treat the documents as a set and make good use of them although, depending on the form of the question, not necessarily in equal detail. There may, however, be some omissions and gaps. A good understanding of the question will be demonstrated. There will be a good sense of argument and analysis within a secure and planned structure. Supporting use of contextual knowledge is to be expected and will be deployed in appropriate range and depth. Some clear signs of a critical sense will be on show although critical evaluation of the documents may not always be especially well developed and may well be absent at the lower end of the Band. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations may be expected. The answer will demonstrate a good understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary and will be expressed in clear, accurate English.

Band 3: 6–10

There will be some regard to the documents as a set and a fair coverage, although there will be gaps and one or two documents may be unaccountably neglected, or especially at the lower end of the Band, ignored altogether. The demands of the question will be understood at least in good part and an argument will be attempted. This may well be undeveloped and/or insufficiently supported in places. Analysis will be at a modest level and narrative is likely to take over in places with a consequent lack of focus. Some of the work will not go beyond paraphrasing. Supporting contextual knowledge will be deployed but unevenly. Any critical sense will be limited; formal critical evaluation is rarely to be expected; use of historical concepts will be unsophisticated. Although use of English should be generally clear there may well be some errors.

Band 4: 0–5

The answer will treat the documents as a set only to a limited extent. Coverage will be very uneven; there will be considerable omissions with whole sections left unconsidered. Some understanding of the question will be demonstrated but any argument will be undeveloped and poorly supported. Analysis will appear rarely, narrative will predominate and focus will be very blurred. In large part the answer will depend upon unadorned paraphrasing. Critical sense and evaluation, even at an elementary level, is unlikely whilst understanding of historical concepts will be at a low level. The answer may well be slight, fragmentary or even unfinished. English will lack real clarity and fluency and there will be errors.

Special Subject Essays

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative mark schemes for each question.

Introduction

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and must be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

Band 1: 25–30

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

Such answers may be expected, where appropriate, to make use of relevant primary sources. Nevertheless, where the answer is strong in all or most of the other criteria for this Band, limited or no use of such sources should not preclude it from being placed in this Band.

Band 2: 19–24

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

Such answers may be expected, where appropriate, to make use of or refer to at least some relevant primary sources. Nevertheless, where the answer is strong in all or most of the criteria for this Band, very limited or no use of these sources should not preclude it from being placed in this Band.

Band 3: 13–18

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some

lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

Use of relevant primary sources is a possibility. Candidates should be credited for having used such sources rather than penalised for not having done so.

Band 4: 7–12

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

Use of or reference to relevant primary sources is unlikely at this level but credit should be given where it does appear.

Band 5: 0–6

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

Use of or reference to relevant primary sources is highly unlikely at this level but credit should be given where it does appear.

Paper 5 Special Subject: Reformation Europe, 1516–1559

Question 1

Study all the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside and to make use of your own contextual knowledge.

A *Calvin seeks to enlist the support of Francis I of France.*

When I first set my hand to this work, nothing was further from my mind, most glorious King, than to write something that might afterwards be offered to Your Majesty. My purpose was solely to transmit certain rudiments by which those who are touched with any zeal for religion might be shaped to true godliness. I undertook this task especially with our French countrymen in mind. But I perceived that the violence of certain wicked persons has dominated your realm and that there is no place in it for sound doctrine. For this reason, I ask you in justice to undertake a full enquiry into the case which until now has been handled without due process of law. They do not cease to attack our doctrine and to defame it with names that make it hated and suspected. And we are unjustly charged, too, with intentions of a kind which we have never in the least encouraged, namely that we contrive the overthrow of kingdoms.

Preface to Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1535.

C *Calvin writes to the French Protestant noble Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre.*

Sire, the sighs and groans of so many true believers deserve your attention. You should be courageous and come to their aid. Many will think it repugnant, I know, that you should try to sustain the cause of Jesus Christ. But if you, Sire, who ought to be the instrument of all the children of God, keep silent, who else will be bold enough to open his mouth and say a word? If the circumstances do not allow you to stand up for what is right with entire freedom, and condemn what is evil, the least that you can do is to ask for an investigation so that many poor people are not condemned without good reason.

Letter, 14 December 1557.

- (a) How far does Document C corroborate Calvin's expectations as to the role of lay rulers in defending religious reformation as expressed in Document A?

Mark Scheme

The answer should make full use of both documents and should be sharply aware of both similarities and differences. Real comparisons of themes and issues should be made across the documents rather than by separate treatment. There should be clear insights into how the documents corroborate each other, or differ, and possibly as to why. The answer should, where appropriate, demonstrate a strong sense of critical evaluation. In both documents Calvin draws attention to persecution, in A of 'sound doctrine' and in C of 'true believers' and in both there is an appeal to the lay ruler to act in defence of those who are being persecuted. Persecution is condemned as 'evil' (C) and as 'the violence of certain wicked persons' (A). Although in both Calvin appeals to the rulers for intervention, there are some differences in that in A Calvin asks for 'justice' and 'a full enquiry' whereas in C Bourbon is asked to 'be the instrument of all the children of God' and 'to stand up for what is right'. In accounting for similarities and differences, candidates should be aware of the 'audience', that is the King of France himself in A and a great French Protestant noble and

prince of the blood in C. It might be argued that Bourbon, as a leader of an important faction and clientage, is being called upon to oppose the King of France. Some comment upon the differences in chronology would also be helpful. By 1557 levels of persecution had increased, battle lines were already drawn and the outbreak of civil war was only five years away.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

(1)	A	C	agree
	destroy them asks king our French unjustly charged attack doctrine asks for protection Unjustly charged	help them to ask Bourbon Justice	disagree knowledge come

a) In both sources A and C Calvin is writing to a lay leader in France urging them to protect the Reformation. ~~and~~ In C he asks Antoine of Navarre to "come to their aid" (reformers) and in A he asks king Francis I to protect Calvinists from violence from churchmen as "as there is no place in it for sound doctrine". Calvin encourages Antoine and Francis to use Peace as he is not suggesting in C that Antoine take up arms but instead "open his mouth and say a word". In both sources you can tell that Calvin calls for justice, that people are not to be prosecuted for taking part in the Reformation for untrue reasons. In A he states that Calvinists are "unjustly charged" and in C he asks

explicitly for an investigation so that people are "not condemned without good reason". He asks both leaders to take an active and personal interest in the "issue, and flatters them "most glorious king" (A),

The sources differ in the way Calvin addresses the rulers to get them to help. He flatters Francis "most glorious king" and gives rise to nationalistic as he talks of France as a whole "our french countrymen in mind". With Antoine he is more direct, telling him ~~was~~ what he ought to do, almost being bossy and putting pressure on him "you ought to be the instrument of all the children of God". In C he also only mentions the 'true believers' and not the nation as a whole. The reason for these differences stems from the fact that Francis was Catholic whereas Navarre was Protestant. If Calvin wanted Francis's support he would have to be careful in the way he addressed him and talks about the french countrymen as a whole so that Francis feels more pressure to help him. With Francis he also has to justify his faith constantly, denying charges

diffs

expl. diffs

that they plan the 'overthrow of kingdoms', with Navarre, he can afford to go straight to the point and doesn't have to step around the fact that only 'the true believers' need help.

Source C was written during the French wars where there was deep religious instability in France. At this time Calvin would have felt a more pressing need to protect Calvinists. ~~and~~ In his letter to Francis I the monarchy was still strong so the ~~the~~ religious division wasn't as obvious. There are just allegations that Calvinism was "hated and suspected".

cf.
prev.

Although Calvin does encourage peace and justice as has been previously seen he is still harsh as he bluntly says in C that Navarre should "condemn what is evil", and in A Francis should undertake a "full enquiry".

sim

The sources ~~are similar~~ corroborate each other in Calvin's aim that there be no violence, justice and that the rulers should

help the reformation. However they differ in the urgency of the address and the intensity of the issue. In C Calvin is much more specific and to the point whereas in A he is more careful so as to get Francis's support which he doesn't already have.

Examiner Comment

This is a well developed comparison of similarities and differences which deals not only with the thrust of both passages but also their tone, and offers an explanation based on contextual knowledge. It sets the passages in context and offers a sound judgement on the extent of corroboration. The answer is very sharply focused and offers clear insights and was awarded full marks. It is of Distinction quality.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

Ultimately Calvin's aim in writing both of these sources is to gain some sort of support from lay powers from his religion. In ~~part~~ source A, Calvin calls for Francis Ist to investigate the "violence of certain wicked persons" against Calvinists in France. ~~Re~~ Document C, however, goes a little further on the same line of argument. As a Calvinist leader, King of Navarre ought to support and protect ~~his~~ the people of his religion. On this basis we can say that ~~this~~ document C is supportive of the view presented in A.

sim

However, document A also has another aspect to it. At the end, Calvin mentions how his ~~religion~~ ^{doctrine} is not encouraging overthrowing kingdoms. Considering this document was written in 1535, the same year when the Münster Rebellion was put down and ten years after the Peasants' War, we can conclude that here, Calvin is trying to prevent being associated with radical Reformers which would make all authorities go against him. Source C has none of that, because a Protestant noble would already be aware of that. Source A is also a preface to the Institute of the Christian Religion which means that Calvin wanted Francis to know more about his doctrines.

expl
A

diff.

The fact that Source C corroborates ~~with~~ source A is understandable because both of them were written by Calvin himself and addressed to a highly powerful figure. Calvin was known for his ideas of lay authorities being important as a means of protecting and supporting the reformed Church, but they weren't supposed to be involved in ecclesiastical matters. Main features but not well developed.

Examiner Comment

This answer offers some comparison of the aims of the two passages. There is some explanation of passage A and some contrast with C. The overall comparison and contrast are not well developed and the degree of corroboration is not well assessed. The main features of the documents are considered but there is some lack of depth and development. This is of Merit quality.

Paper 5 Special Subject: Germany, 1919–1945

Question 1

Study all the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside and to make use of your own contextual knowledge.

A *Hitler, while in Landsberg Prison, sets out a new direction for the Nazi Party.*

'From now on,' he said, 'we must follow a new line of action. It is best to attempt no large reorganisation until I am freed, which may be a matter of months rather than years. When I resume active work it will be necessary to pursue a new policy. Instead of working to achieve power by armed conspiracy, we shall have to hold our noses and enter the Reichstag against the Catholic and Marxist deputies. If outvoting them takes longer than outshooting them, at least the results will be guaranteed by their own Constitution! Sooner or later we shall have a majority and after that we shall have Germany. I am convinced that this is our best line of action now that conditions in the country have changed so radically.'

Hitler, as reported by Kurt Ludecke, 1924.

B *Hitler issues instructions to the new leader of the SA.*

The SA must not meet in secret but should march in the open air and thereby be channelled into activities which conclusively destroy all legends of a 'secret organisation'. The individual SA man does not see his mission in the elimination of some crook or other, whether big or small, but in helping to build a National Socialist racialist state. Thereby the struggle against the present state will be raised above the atmosphere of petty acts of revenge and conspiracy to the greatness of an ideological war of extermination against Marxism. What we need is hundreds of thousands more fanatical fighters. We have to teach Marxism that National Socialism is the future master of the streets, just as it will one day be master of the State.

Hitler, letter to Captain von Pfeffer (SA Order 1), 1 November 1926.

C *Hitler makes a statement to clarify a part (Point 17) of the Nazi Party Programme of 1920.*

In view of the false interpretations on the part of our opponents of Point 17 of the Programme of the NSDAP, it is necessary to make the following statement: Since the NSDAP accepts the principle of private property, it is self-evident that the phrase 'confiscation without compensation' refers simply to the creation of possible legal means for confiscation, when necessary, of land acquired illegally or not managed in the public interest. It is, therefore, aimed primarily against Jewish companies which speculate in land.

Hitler, 13 April 1928.

D *A leading Nazi and critic of Hitler debates with him aspects of the Party's political strategy.*

'All that is very simple for you, Herr Hitler,' Strasser continued, 'but it only serves to emphasise the profound difference in our revolutionary and Socialist ideas. The real reason is that you want to strangle the social revolution for the sake of legality and your new collaboration with the parties of the Right.' At this Hitler grew violent. 'I am a Socialist, and a very different kind of Socialist from your rich friend Reventlow. But your kind of Socialism is nothing but Marxism. The mass of the working classes want nothing but bread and games. They will never understand the meaning of an ideal, and we cannot hope to win them over to one. Those who rule must know they have the right to rule because they belong to a superior race.'

From an interview between Otto Strasser and Hitler in 1930.

E Two modern historians comment on the growth of the Nazi Party in the later 1920s.

During Hitler's imprisonment the banned Nazi Party disintegrated into rival factions. In Landsberg Prison, Hitler was working out his plans for the Party after his release. The putsch had proved unsuccessful. A new policy was necessary. Although now ready to participate in elections and to enter Parliament, Hitler did not in any way give up his hostility to it. The putsch attempt made it much easier for him to pursue a constitutional course. By 1928, the Weimar Republic had superficially acquired a degree of political stability and economic prosperity. Yet, although these years 1928–29 are often seen as the high point of economic prosperity before the Wall Street Crash and ensuing slump, this view requires qualification. The economic difficulties of peasants and Mittelstand groups [in 1927–28] imposed increasing strains on the political system. The growing awareness of this led to further disillusionment with the whole political system, a disillusionment which the Nazis were quick to exploit. A change of emphasis by the beginning of 1928 led the Party, while continuing to try to attract workers, to concentrate increasingly on the middle class, now recognised as more responsive.

J. Noakes and G. Pridham, *Nazism, Volume I*, 1983.

- (a) How far do the views expressed in Document C support Strasser's argument in Document D that Hitler wanted to 'Strangle the social revolution for the sake of legality'?**

Mark Scheme

The answer should make full use of both documents and should be sharply aware of similarities and differences. Real comparisons of themes and issues should be made across the documents rather than by separate treatment. Where appropriate, the answer should demonstrate a strong sense of critical evaluation and awareness of provenance by use not only of the text, but of headings and attributions. Note should be taken of the dates and the provenances, in context; also of the tone of language used, the ideas expressed. C is from 1928, the year when the Nazis made some, albeit limited, breakthrough in Northern Germany; D from the year (1930) when that breakthrough broadened and the Nazis became a national party. In D Otto Strasser, a growing critic of Hitler's political stance and tactics, points up the divergence in thinking, the preference for tactical opportunism and pragmatism. C is a demonstration of that, as Hitler played down the overt socialist ideas of much of the original Party Programme; Hitler explains away such a shift by referring to a target group in the Jews. Strasser elaborates that Hitler was wooing the Right by playing down socialist ideas. Hitler rejected the criticisms by identifying Strasser's thinking as little better than Marxism and by emphasising the inability of winning over the working classes; he puts an emphasis on a master race of leaders. What part of D does point up is the prevailing inner Party tensions, pitting a perceived Left-wing (with the Strassers as spokesmen) against a more Right-leaning Party leader. The documents raise the issues of the reorientation of the Party – a tactical move – away from its earlier socialist roots, but also the unease of some in the Party about that shift of attitude and thinking. Comments on the tone of C and D will be useful to evaluation here.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

When Otto Strasser is complaining that Hitler wants to strangle the Social Revolution for the sake of legality.

Document C does seem to agree with the argument in document D. It seems as if Hitler is very carefully making sure that the party remains within the policy of legality. He is putting down the argument ~~however~~ that the NSDAP does not do anything illegal despite what opponents say making it clear that there is always a legal justification for their actions 'and acquired illegally'.

It is obvious that he is trying to stop the more violent and thugfish side of the SA of destroying his facade of legality.

However it does not seem as if Hitler really is trying to strangle the social revolution as such just make it more subtle. He comes up with many reasons why confiscation without compensation is technically 'legal'. It is very ambiguous as well when he says in document C that 'not managed in the Public interest' it does not seem as if he is strangling the social revolution.

Also Otto Strasser was part of the most extreme socialist wing of the party therefore his demands for social revolution and his idea of Social revolution being strangled are likely to be quite extreme exaggerated views.

~~Hitler was not giving~~ ~~the~~ ~~a completely free~~
~~step leading to the goal of~~ Whilst Hitler is
obviously concerned to maintain ~~at~~ the idea of
a policy of legality during this period to

general

not clearly explained

gain respectability. Document C shows that ~~whereas Document D~~ he still will allow parts of the Socialist revolution to take place. *Which part?*

However on balance it seems that he is trying to maintain equality and therefore the SA and their demands for social revolution would have to be diluted for Hitler to gain the support of the élites.

Examiner Comment

The comparison or contrast between the documents is not very sharply brought out and the key issue is not always the focus on the answer. When the candidate writes 'Document C does seem to agree with the argument in Document D' this is not supported by a close examination of the passages, or well linked to the issue of the question. The reference to Document C in the penultimate paragraph is not supported by a clear explanation from the text and the answer is not really closely focused on corroboration. This is a Pass level answer.

(b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that a 'new line of action' (Document A, line 1) was mainly responsible for the emergence of the NSDAP as a major national movement by 1930?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E).

Mark Scheme

The answer should treat the documents as a set and make effective use of each although, depending on the exact form of the question, not necessarily in the same detail. It should be clear that the demands of the question have been fully understood and the material should be handled confidently and with a strong sense of argument and analysis. Good use of supporting contextual knowledge should be demonstrated. The material deployed should be strong both in range and depth. Critical evaluation of the documents is to be expected. The argument should be well constructed. Historical concepts and vocabulary should be fully understood. Where appropriate, an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations is to be expected. Answers will need to assess the argument that the Nazi breakthrough of 1930 was founded on a change of direction in policy and so political strategy set against other factors. In that sense, E has value in raising a number of factors. Reference can be made to the difficulties of the early 1920s (a small, regional party; limited appeal and membership; the more socialist meaning; the failed Putsch) and then the changes in and after 1924–5 (the trial, the publicity, the emergence of a national figure). It is likely that more coverage will be given to the period 1925–30, the founding of the 'second' (new) Party and the application of the lessons of the failed Putsch. A will be valuable here and can be linked to the new tactical (constitutional) direction pursued after 1924–5 – though Hitler's disdain for democracy is echoed in E, where that new approach is put into context. B and C demonstrate aspects of that new tactical approach, part electoral, part appeal; again E points up the strategic shift towards the lower middle-classes; the make-up of that range

is featured there and in C and, implicitly, indirectly, in D. In the latter (D), Hitler defends the new emphasis against criticisms from the Left of the NSDAP, of whose number Otto Strasser (and his brother Gregor) was a prominent spokesman. In D, Hitler delivers a defence grounded in part in semantics – again, there is a link to part of E – while the value of B lies in the idea of a re-vamped S.A. as a propaganda tool, with appeal to those who would value order and discipline. Via contextual knowledge, reference can be made to key events and features between c. 1924–5 and 1930, including the reorganisation, the Führerprinzip, the reorientated messages, the electoral gains of 1928, 1930, set against the very limited developments of the early 1920s, electorally, regionally, etc. In addition, some reference can be expected to economic and political context factors (of E, some of A): the Weimar economic system and its highs-and-lows (agricultural problem by 1927–8: as in E); the effects of the P.R. system, weak coalition governments, indecisive leadership; anti-democratic trends and forces (there are links here to aspects of A, C, D and E).

Example Candidate Response – Pass

Refer to source A
Refer to source C
Refer to source B

b) The Idea of the "new line of Action" suggested in source A, is backed up by all the sources though E does start to suggest other reasons. Firstly Source A was Hitler telling a reporter whilst he was in Landsberg Prison, that when he was freed " it will be necessary to pursue a new policy. instead of power by armed conspiracy". this is supported by source C "with the creation of Legal means" and in source B "the SA must not meet in secret but should march in the open Air". This idea that the new Line of Direction was through legality, this is again proven in source A "and enter the Reichstag " and they do, when Hitler leaves Prison he changes the whole approach to reachign power form a seizing power to a legal route, with sitting elections. Hitler realised that he could not win volilently, so source C supports this idea when he clarifies a point written before he was put in prison to, suit the new policy ideal of a legal way to reach power buy stating " phrase 'confiscation with our compensation' refers simply to the creation of possible legal means of confiiscation". This route

totally supports this idea on a new line. Source D also puport sthe claim along with the other sources as it shows that people do not like the new change in direstion but does prove that it is a new policy, by the quote "strangle the revolution for the sake of legality". This definatly supports the Idea of a new policy though suuggest that this was stifling the revolution.

Hitler New policy change lead to a small faction in munich grow to become a huge national movement. He changed from having and failiing int he munich putch to creating a legal revolution. the Legal revolution and them gaining seats in the reichstag, it was a major this new policy change, lead them to change the party structure, and lead to become a movment in which x cross party support occurred. As before it was an violent revolution this meant that they did nto have cross party support really, but mainly workign class. With the change in to a legality system fo getting power it lead to a more cross party support, this meant that actully gained the support more of big buisness, and the middle class. Which is supported in source E " while still continueing to attract the workers...[while allowing] to concentrate increasingly in the middle classes" this did prove to be more responsive and Though he did have soem support, he gained more support throught he legal way. though there our other factors as to why it become a national movement.

in what sense?

Source E does start to suggest a another way in which, they became a national movement by 1930, it was partly to do with the new policy direction but also to do with the economic crisis caused by the wall street crash in 1928 and the effect it has on the german population but also on the disatification of the people with the Wiemar republic. The econmic situation by 1930 was horrific, there was mass unemployment, which lead to the discontent witht he wiemar republic and the start of peopel to start looking to another means of leadership, and the ideals of the NSDAP was there, witht he talk of german national pride. They promised a new germany, with idea of strong german nationalism, pride, but also jobs for people. This was another key reason as to why the party became a national movment.

but not independent just in relation to source E

Though the above was important, properly the most important factor as to why it become a national movement was Hitler Himself. His chraismatic leadership of the party, the starting of the Idea of Fuhrrprinzip. He became the driving force behind the movment and why it became a national movement. He created the organisation, so that there would be offices and groups in all major areas, but also he travledd around the country giving speeched, that drew people in, these speeches whirled the Audiences mind. Hitler Himself as an amaixng orator was one of the reasons as to why it become a national movement. so the new policy route was extremely important, Hitler himself was why the party became a national movment, but also the effective properganda.

given

Examiner Comment

The answer is a Pass level which failed to keep sufficient focus on the documents, which tended to be used merely to illustrate, or, when analysed, were not effectively linked to the issue in the question. Some conclusion was reached, but the use of the documents A - E was limited and the answer should have focused a lot more on linking the documents to the key issue and using them critically in relation to the argument attempted.

Paper 5 Special Subject: China under Mao Zedong, 1949–1976

Study all the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside and to make use of your own contextual knowledge.

Question 1

- A** *A foreign visitor is impressed by progress in China. The author was the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, noted for his socialist sympathies. The area visited was in Northern China, close to the border with Russian Kazakhstan.*

We heard the story of the state farm from the Political Commissar. It started in 1951, in a desert like the Gobi; it was winter and 1000 men came to lay the foundation of the settlement; no food, no shelter, no machinery. The advance party set up hay tents and dug caves. Some 50 skilled workmen from Urumchi trained the soldiers, who proved apt pupils. They took great care with the seed; one soldier had cultivated a single bean; in 1952 he had thirty beans; in 1954 he had 1,845, an increase due to irrigation. Wolves, foxes and other animals were a hazard. The comrades began construction with their own hands. By 1951, 32,000 mou* were sown. In 1957, 72,000. The soldiers, now civilians, are proud that they have 200 births a year. Not only are there trees growing and fields of cotton and maize and fruits, but there are brand new creches full of rosy-cheeked healthy babies.

Hewlett Johnson, *The Upsurge of China*, 1961, published in Beijing.

[*1 mou= 0.1647 acres]

- B** *An official US report analyses Communist China's achievements after 1949.*

The economy inherited by the Communists was a shambles. Extensive areas of China had been wrecked by revolution, war, landlordism, civil war, foreign invasion, flood and famine. In a remarkably short time the new government had suppressed banditry; restored the battered railway system; repaired dykes; replaced the corrupt bureaucratic system of local government with apparently incorruptible Communist cadres; introduced a stable currency and enforced a nationwide tax system; begun an extensive system of public health and sanitation; provided a tolerably even distribution of available food and clothing. In the First Five Year Plan after 1953 policy was directed to the rapid expansion of basic industrial commodities – steel, coal, electrical power, cement and the rest. There was a reliance on large ministerial bureaucracies which ran each branch of industry from offices in Beijing.

A. G. Ashbrook Jr., *A Report on the Chinese Economy to the US Congress*, 1968.

- C** *The daughter of leading party officials in Sichuan describes events in 1955 following a national campaign against enemies of the people, including her mother.*

Like other detainees my mother was assigned companions who followed her everywhere, even to the toilet, and slept in the same bed. Each companion had to file a report on my mother every day. She was put in the impossible position of having to prove her innocence. She was asked about her uncles' connection with the Guomindang, even though Mao himself had once been a senior official in the Guomindang. She was kept in detention for six months. She had to attend mass rallies in which 'enemy agents' were paraded, denounced, sentenced and led away to prison. Among the 'counter revolutionaries' there was a friend of my mother's. After the rally, she committed suicide. Seven years later the party acknowledged that she had been innocent all along.

Jung Chang, *Wild Swans*, 1992.

- D** *Mao reflects on progress and problems since 1949. His speech was edited into an article in *The People's Daily*.*

The cooperative transformation of agriculture has been successfully accomplished. There are people saying Cooperation is no good. There are indeed some faults, but these are not serious. Take the Wang Guofan cooperative in Hebei. This is in a hilly region which was very poor in the past. In 1953 when it was set up, it was called the 'pauper's cooperative'. But after four years of hard struggle, most of the households have reserves of grain. What was possible for this cooperative should also be possible for others to achieve. In 1956 small numbers of workers or students in certain places went on strike. The immediate cause was the failure to satisfy some of their demands for material benefits. But a more important cause was bureaucracy on the part of the leadership. Another cause was the lack of ideological and political education. The same year there were also disturbances in some agricultural cooperatives. Among the masses some are prone to pay attention to immediate, partial and personal interests and do not understand long term collective interests.

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People, June 1957.

- E** *A modern historian gives a picture of violence and disruption in rural areas after 1951.*

In 1950-51 a 'rectification' campaign was launched against people identified as class enemies, counter-revolutionaries and 'spies' – 28,000 were estimated to have been killed in Guangdong alone. More than 100 million acres of land were redistributed. The crop area held by poor peasants doubled to 47 per cent. Neighbours were encouraged to inform on one another. Village dwellers were put into more than a dozen classifications ranging from landlords to landless labourers. Class enemies became non-people, excluded from the bonds of kinship. Rankings could be arbitrary – a teacher who rented out a little land he owned could be put down as a 'landlord'. The property of those found guilty was confiscated. Peasants whose family had lived on or below the margin got their revenge on those who had simply been better off. The exact number of people who died in the countryside and cities during this period will never be known; estimates run from 800,000 to 5 million. Millions were deported to prison camps. The prison system contained perhaps 15 million people.

Jonathan Fenby, *The Penguin History of Modern China*, 2008.

(b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that the benefits of Communist rule between 1949 and 1956 for the Chinese people outweighed the disadvantages?

In making your evaluation you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E).

Mark Scheme

The answer should treat the documents as a set and should make effective use of each although, depending upon the exact form of the question, not necessarily in the same detail. It should be clear that the demands of the question have been fully understood and the material should be handled confidently with a strong sense of argument and analysis. Good use of supporting contextual knowledge should be demonstrated. The material deployed should be strong in both range and depth. Critical evaluation of the documents is to be expected. The argument should be well constructed. Historical concepts and vocabulary should be fully understood. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations is to be expected. From contextual knowledge candidates should be aware of context and broader issues, some of which are reflected in the documents. The debate here is whether, given the terrible conditions, a firm but fair regime offered progress and hope; or whether for all its achievements, the repression and violence of the regime set China on a disastrous path which outweighed any temporary advantages in the countryside. It is interesting that the foreign source acknowledges a higher level of achievement in B than Mao himself. There may be some implied criticism of the central control in B but Congress was told of considerable achievements which candidates may accept or challenge by reference to their own knowledge. High inflation, many war torn areas, a weakened infrastructure and problems of localism and law and order can be confirmed; the new regime controlled inflation; there was substantial land redistribution and some social improvements. However, there was also a high level of repression, wasteful use of resources on military spending and the pursuit of international power status and personal dictatorship. A might support B but it is from one small area and from an unreliable source, dependent on its information from a local official. D generally stresses achievements, but by 1957 Mao was not content with the pace of change, particularly the balance between industry and agriculture and the productivity of the farms. He gives a mixed picture, stressing the success of collectivization but identifying some discontents and having to admit that not all collectives achieved the success of the example he quotes. As in Russia, collectivization brought mixed results and Mao's stress on population growth (hinted at in A) was short-sighted. E suggests a more bitter local land redistribution with winners and losers and a great deal of Post QPEC violence, repression and class hatred. A lot depends on a view of the period beforehand – despite all this, many peasants were better off than under the landlords and despite the repression there was a genuine sense of participation. However, the human costs cannot be denied and they are brought home by the family memoir in C. The repression of loyal party workers is all too reminiscent of Russia – but the level of control here is chilling and accords with the view in E. Was China driven by a paranoid dictator towards excessive arms spending, war in Korea, violent class hatred in the villages, a vicious system of repression and control; or was a backward and ravaged country put on the road to progress and given more social justice and reform than ever before in its history by a genuinely ideologically motivated party, unfairly criticized by the west and given limited aid by Russia.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

Documents A-E portray different aspects of Mao's consolidation of power, however they particularly focus on the social and economic changes and campaigns that took place.

The 1950 Agrarian reform act accelerated land reformation with the redistribution of 40% of land benefiting 60% of the population. Minor Documents A and D imply that there were overwhelming benefits of collectivisation, Document E portrays some of the more brutal aspects of the campaign. Documents A and D both refer to cooperatives that made

significant differences to people's livelihoods and wellbeing increasing the amount of food available and functioning by cooperation. The implication here is that Mao's policies have allowed the poorest in society ^{advantage} to redefine their lives. Document A talks about the benefits of specialisation, the strength of military allegiance and the improvements in health standards in the commune. It provides a great story of hope to those mentioned in Document D who are dissatisfied with the process of collectivisation. The production benefits are phenomenal, in 1954, 42,000 ^{tonnes} are said. Moreover, the material benefits of cotton, increased yields ^{in A.} all aid the civilian's commune. Document D does refer to the struggle of achieving these benefits but generally views collectivisation as an overwhelming benefit for the Chinese people. However, both the commune mentioned in Document A and the Wang Gue'an commune are perhaps propaganda to try and stimulate ^{since 1954.} public support of collectivisation which was running dry by ~~1954~~ 1954. Moreover, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Marxist~~ ^{Marxist} ~~writer~~ ^{writer} Hewitt

Context

Johnson appears never to have seen this commune in the remote parts of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{far} ~~far~~ ^{west} Northern China and as the book is published in Beijing in 1961 there would certainly be no room for actual criticism of Mao's regime. Document D is ~~also~~ a speech by Mao talking about the successes of the past 8 years. These 2 documents therefore represent a viewpoint ^{naturally} heavily supportive of collectivisation. On the other hand, ^{Compton} document E is far more critical of the process suggesting that arbitrary accusations and the losses to landlords were unacceptable. Although the majority benefited by land redistribution, Kerby portrays this process as 'revenge' as opposed to rational economic decisions. Moreover, even though the peasants gained this land in 1950 it was quickly extracted from them through collectivisation. The landlord classes certainly lost during this process, however it would be naive to ignore the gains of so many others. Although the extent to which land reform accrued was ultimately regional the 'masses' became better off and were liberated from their oppressors. On the other hand,

critical of benefits of redistribution

collectinisation did face much resistance and had to be forcibly introduced after 1955, however, from the view of the document collectinisation greatly benefited the majority.

From a social perspective, Honbrook, in Document B, firmly upholds the benefits of Mao's regime. Although printed in 1968 and therefore probably with little or unreliable data, Honbrook, makes a case for the transition China made up to 1956 from a 'chaos'. Mao and his party were quick to suppress banditry, improve infrastructure and ensure public health, food and clothing were distributed. These are undeniable benefits of the regime. Document B does question the 'incomparable' nature of new officials rigging on a local level systems were still prone to bureaucracy. The first 5 year plan was extremely successful focusing on heavy industries, it brought inflation under control from 1000% to 15% and increased grain production rates and GDP by 16.1%.

There is no doubt in Honbrook's report that Mao had ~~never~~ improved

living conditions incredibly from ^{the} 1949 era. On the other hand, documents C and ~~E~~ portray the more negative elements of social change. ~~Tung Chang~~ in document C refers to the terrorising of suspected 'counter-revolutionaries'. The use of the Danwei and lao gai intensified the fear of accusation in society. The mass rallies referred to in document C ~~corroborate~~ and imprisonments corroborate Penty's description of the average prison of 1960s with innocent people. The public executions used to brutalise society can be assessed in impact by the sheer number who were either executed, worked to death or committed suicide, '28,000 in Guangdong alone'. This kind of repression and terror in society ^{had} overwhelms the increased social facilities and economic growth mentioned in the other sources. Even Mao's advocacy of 'struggle' in document D questions the nature of Chinese society at time. However, ~~Tung Chang as a historian~~, as a historian, Tung Chang has a reputation for personifying her views ^{Some eval}

and 'sources' to the point that an impression is portrayed that is no longer objective. On the other hand, given that it is an extract from 'Wild duars' not 'Mas' one would be inclined to give the document more weight as a biographical extract.

In conclusion, from an economic perspective ~~E~~ the documents appear to corroborate that Mao's policies were successful, however, the nature of Chinese society at the time portrayed by C and E create the impression of a brutalised, terrorised society. Therefore from a social perspective they probably gained very little although arguing that the people lost more than they gained would be to summarise that GMD rule was more successful than Mao's policies in the later pages which would be difficult to qualify.

balance

Some attempt made

Examiner Comment

This answer shows some critical use of evidence, with the document explained and linked to the question, some factual knowledge used and a comparison made with two linked sources. This is the approach that, if developed, would lead to a Distinction level answer. The concluding paragraph offers a view which demonstrates a balanced judgement and is consistent with the answer's focus on using the passages and going beyond a descriptive approach.

Paper 5 Special Subject: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA, 1954–1980

Question 1

Study all the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside and to make use of your own contextual knowledge.

- A** *In a speech at Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, Martin Luther King makes the case for non-violent protest.*

I want it to be known throughout Montgomery and throughout this nation that we are Christian people. We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. The only weapon that we have in our hand this evening is the weapon of protest. And secondly, this is the glory of America with all its faults. This is the glory of our democracy. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a Communistic nation we couldn't do this. If we were trapped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime we couldn't do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right. My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we ought to be compared with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens' Councils. There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out to some distant road and murdered.

Speech, 5 December 1955.

- B** *President John F. Kennedy supports the case for equality in a televised address to the nation.*

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world – and more importantly to each other – that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes? Now the time has come for this nation to fulfil its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

Televised address, 11 June 1963.

- C** *In a speech in Cleveland, Ohio, to members of the Congress of Racial Equality, Malcolm X suggests that violence should be met with violence.*

So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag waver – no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, non-violently as long as the enemy is non-violent, but violent when the enemy gets violent.

Speech, 3 April 1964.

- D** *One of the students involved in the Greensboro sit-ins in 1960 records his experience in a published interview.*

After selecting the technique, then we said, 'Let's go down and just ask for service.' It certainly wasn't titled a 'sit-in' or 'sit-down' at that time. 'Let's just go down to Woolworth's tomorrow and ask for service, and the tactic is going to be simply this: we'll just stay there.' We never anticipated being served, certainly, the first day anyway. What's going to happen once we sit down? Of course, nobody had the answers.

Franklin McCain in *My Soul is Rested*, 1977.

- E** *A modern historian reflects on Dr King's role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.*

He led the boycott with skill and intelligence. Aware of his own inexperience, he was receptive to advice. When it came to organising an alternative transport system, for example, he sought the help of T.M. Jemison, who provided details of the car pool he had set up during the Baton Rouge boycott. King had the administrative ability to handle the huge volume of mail that flowed into the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)'s office, replying to well wishers and critics in the appropriate way. He became the MIA's ambassador, representing its cause throughout the nation before white and black audiences, and, in doing so, he acted as the MIA's chief fundraiser. He had the education and self assurance to cope with the press, and he developed a keen sense of public relations. Calm and articulate, he handled reporters well, presenting the boycotters' case reasonably and persuasively. He also displayed cool intelligence in moments of crisis. When his home was bombed he acted decisively to avert a riot.

Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 1987.

- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that Martin Luther King was not the most important influence upon the movement for greater African American rights?**

Mark Scheme

The answer should treat the documents as a set and should make effective use of each, although some will need more attention than others. It should be clear that the demands of the question have been fully understood and the material should be handled confidently with a strong sense of argument and analysis. Good use of supporting contextual knowledge should be demonstrated and critical evaluation of the documents is to be expected. Historical concepts and vocabulary should be fully understood. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations is also to be expected. Most of these documents can be used to argue that the view that Dr King was not the most important influence is quite convincing. Document B can be used to stress the importance of the Presidency and background knowledge might help strong candidates mention the crucial role of President Johnson as well. Document C also shows that other black leaders, such as Malcolm X, offered a very different sort of leadership which led eventually to the Black Power movement. Document D can also be used to show that Dr King was not dominant as it shows how grass roots activism was spontaneous and not directed by King. Even Document E seems to show that King was dependent upon the advice of others and part of a team rather than above the team. However, the documents can also be used, to some extent, to show King as a very powerful leader. The skill and strength of his oratory is evident in Document A. Document E is clearly extremely useful in substantiating the view that King certainly came to dominate the Montgomery Boycott. Also, it might be argued that Kennedy's intervention shown in Document B was prompted by King's strategies in Birmingham. Malcolm X in Document C may be rejecting King's approach but it is also clear that much of what he is saying is in direct response to King.

Background knowledge might be used to argue that King was more influential than Malcolm X, although this is debateable. The grass roots activism of the sit-ins, shown in Document D, might also be said to have been inspired by King's non-violent methodology. All sorts of conclusions are possible but the stronger candidates will focus sharply on the precise words in the question in order to shape their final judgement.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

Answer

Dr. The sets of documents remarks that Dr. King was a main factor ~~in the~~ influence in the struggle for civil rights. ~~However~~ these documents, however, also remark the importance of other factors ^{WHICH SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED.}

Martin Luther King was, in fact, the main driving force behind the SCLC; as Gairdner points out in his book "To redeem the soul of America". Indeed, King provided the leadership necessary to organise and direct the work for civil rights embodied in the US black American community. Outside his role as leader of the SCLC, his oratory proved to be fundamental in attracting support for the struggle. The power of his words and his outstanding skills are evident in document A, where his capacities as a speech writer and speaker are evident. *A 1: support*

~~However~~, Document B provides an example of the importance of his leadership and of his association in attracting presidential attention, and in directing and organising ^{THE MOVEMENT} ~~protests~~ like such as the 1963 Birmingham protest mentioned ^{in B} by SCLC in his speech. *He should*

document & also ^{clear} ~~provided~~ an example of the vital role that MLK's influence and activity played in the movement's success. The document remarks that King "led the (Montgomery) boycott with skill and intelligence". His role in the success is therefore evident. Through his direction the Boycott ~~also~~ proved to be successful in desegregating transport. Part 2
E

Dr. King was then a ^{key} ~~vital~~ influence on the movement. He provided the leadership necessary to organize protests and direct actions. His actions attracted support and attention, and his pacific ideas meant that the movement remained a legal and civilised protest group under his leadership.

It should be remarked, however, that MLK cannot be seen as the ~~more~~ most important influence upon the Civil Rights movement. As Ella Baker pointed out: "the movement made MLK, MLK did not make the movement". Other factors influenced the movement, and the mass support was the main driving force of the struggle, as it provided the ^{vital} support base necessary to create a strong protest group.

While document (b) gives an example of another factor that was fundamental in bringing legislative success (i.e. ... incidents), and document (c) evidences that other ~~the~~ leaders such as Malcolm X also influenced the struggle, it is document (d) that provides an example of ~~the~~ mass ~~act~~ support's key role and influence. Indeed, sit-ins are an example of direct action (which also included freedom rides) that deeply influenced the movement, and finally resulted in its success with the 1964 and 1965 Acts.

In fact, while MLK provided guide and ~~best~~ leadership to the quest for equality within the black American community, his ~~actions~~ ~~could~~ actions could have not taken place without mass support. This has to be seen therefore as the most important influence in the movement for civil rights.

not much ref

limited comparison with key

Mass support provided the base on which the movement was built, and all the other problems resulted from it. Leaders would not have existed without it, and Presidents would have not taken action without mass pressure on the issue. This view is indeed supported by historians such as R. Coak ("Sweet land of liberty") and Sitkoff ("the struggle for black equality").

As MLK remarked himself, "the people wanted to do something, they would have done so with or without me". This is perhaps the ^{EVIDENCE} most clear ~~example~~ example that ~~shows~~ the vital role of mass support in the movement for social equality in the US. Mass backing was, in fact, the most important influence in the struggle. ~~The rest of the~~

She argues for mass support.

Support
me OK

Examiner Comment

This answer shows an attempt to use documents A – E, but with little critical sense and limited support from the documents themselves. There is some awareness of context and some explanation. The documents are treated separately throughout this candidate's response. There is some attempt to offer an argument about the role of a King and some contextual knowledge to reach a judgement, but the documents in this answer were not used fully and there was limited evaluation. This is a Merit level answer.

Paper 5 Special Subject: The Crusades, 1095–1192

Question 2

How is the success of the First Crusade best explained?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a sharp response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required, that is a set of explanations for the success of the First Crusade rather than, say, a narrative of events or an account of its causes. The issue of recruitment, while relevant, is not central to the argument and candidates should not be sidetracked onto this. The best answers are likely to provide some sort of hierarchy of reasons or emphasise the centrality of one reason over others. Factors which need to be considered include: the military strengths of the Crusaders, in particular their ability to learn new techniques as the Crusade progressed; the importance of strong leadership at crucial times (Bohemond at Antioch, Raymond at Jerusalem); the disunity of the Muslim world at the time; Alexius's (albeit reluctant) help at Constantinople; the piety and devotion of the crusaders; and the importance of luck, not least at Antioch. Candidates might also point out the Crusade overcame a number of obstacles, not least the failure of the first wave, Alexius's reluctance to help, and tension within the leadership.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography, and with differing interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses. In this essay, the work of Jonathan Riley-Smith, John France and Thomas Asbridge may be cited. Candidates may be expected to sharpen the argument by evaluating the relative importance of the issues.

AO3 – [not applicable to Special Subjects]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance, and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However, the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

Jerusalem fell in July 15th 1099, as the Crusaders were "up to their ankles in blood" by the end of the siege. Historians find it remarkable that the Crusades was a success, and it is clear that as well as the skill of the second wave, there were other factors which contributed to the Christian success. However, one will have to see to what extent these factors contributed in order to 'best explain' the success of the first Crusade.

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Religious piety played a large role in the crusader success, as though-out there is evidence of their piety. After the councils of Clermont and Piacenza in 1095 Pope Urban had introduced not just the idea that the crusade was a penance, but that it was also an Indulgence - where one ~~act~~ single act would repent all one's sins. This was very attractive to the crusaders, although it is unclear whether Urban meant all sins up to that point or never more, suggesting that perhaps some would use it as an excuse to sin afterwards. It was a Christian duty to relieve Jerusalem from the infidels, and it has been documented that 'some men openly wept' when they came in sight of the city. Urban described it as the 'land of milk and honey', questioning whether the ~~best~~ moral overall came from piety, or a desire for material gain. However, several cases take this further making piety seem a more likely reason for their success, such as the holy lance discovered at Antioch, how God supposedly multiplied the crusader army and how when the crusaders broke out of the city 'white

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hordes' rode beside them. All these beliefs which seem ludicrous, perhaps show the sincerity of the crusaders' belief in God, and that this strong sense of religious piety elevated their morale to such an extent, so that they even copied Joshua from the bible by walking around Jerusalem in the belief it would aid them, and that it helped in the success of the first crusade.

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Military tactics were a factor, partly because it was at a time of Muslim disunity, but also because of the skilled leaders that commanded the second wave. At Antioch, the crusader army was led by just Bohemond, so so their was enough trust in his military leadership to exit the city in six waves, enabling to surround the Muslims, showing they had learnt the tactics of the Muslims and took advantage of their fragmented stance. However, the disunity in Kerbogah's army caused by Ridwan of Aleppo and Duquay of Damascus would not have helped Kerbogah control his army, and so the army was not used to its full potential. Another significant event was at Bosra when the army was able to regroup

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and defeat the Turks, who had taken advantage of the scattered Christians by ambushing them. This shows the Crusaders had a big army, ~~and~~ and not only could use it effectively as a whole, but also could hold on when fragmented. ~~At Jerusalem~~ Had this not been the case, the Muslims could have wiped out the Crusaders on the 1st July 1099. At Jerusalem, also the Crusaders showed military skill by moving ~~the~~ their siege tower, as the defenses the ~~the~~ garrison had put in place on the wall were no longer any use, and they could not move them quick enough due to the thin streets of the city. Godfrey had also chosen to go right up to the walls as the Muslim siege equipment was rendered useless. These examples show that the military skill of the Crusaders was significant to their success, however it must not be forgotten that the Sunni / Shi'ite division in the Muslims aided their success.

Byzantium arguably helped and contributed to the Crusaders success, as the Crusaders may not have achieved what they did early on

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so easily, perhaps meaning they might never ~~have~~ have reached Jerusalem. Firstly, at Constantinople they were issued mint coins for their journey helping them financially to acquire resources, and would have been refested at Constantinople so they would pre their challenge with fitness and good health. At Nicea, Alexius aided them in capturing the ancient city in 1097. However, Alexius deviously took the city from the crusaders, meaning that their trust and loyalty was lost in him, this being bad as he was the reason for the crusade, and so some may have chosen to opt out because of this. But, in his defence, the city came under the oath that the Crusaders swore - to return conquered land that once belonged to Byzantium to the Emperor, so Alexius only took what was rightfully his. Even though these contributions were at the beginning of the First crusade, they could have altered the success of the crusades immensely in the long term.

In conclusion, it appears that as far as religious piety was concerned, this did exist and would have had great effect on the success of the

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First cascade, however the element of greed also had its place, as Riley-Smith points out they were "obsessed with cash", and would probably have had just as much effect on their morale. The help from Byzantium, plus the additional help at Jerusalem from the Genoese fleet would have had much significance, even though one may not think it, as this support is what kept the crusader army nourished, healthy, equipped for battle, and ultimately with a chance of enduring to the end. As for military skill, while this too was very significant and important, it ~~was~~ was at a time of Muslim disunity, which in a sense is ~~more~~ more significant of the two here in explaining the success of the crusaders, as had there been unity, the Muslims would probably thrive in their home climate, perhaps defeating the Christians.

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Muslim disunity could be more strongly developed but an analytical + argued approach

Examiner Comment

This is an example of an argued and analytical approach. The opening registers the importance of assessing 'best explains', rather than considering a series of explanations. The first element, the importance of religious piety, is illustrated by reference to evidence and the material is well linked to the question. The central issue of Muslim disunity is considered in connection with the Crusaders' military tactics and there is some evaluation of the importance of effective use of large forces. There could have been more developed explanation of the divisions of the Crusaders' opponents, but the supporting knowledge is sound. There is a reasonably sustained discussion about the role of Byzantium. The various factors are discussed in an analytical conclusion, showing some discrimination between explanations. This is a Distinction level answer which would have been improved by greater development of the key issue in the question.

Paper 5 Special Subject: China under Mao Zedong, 1949–1976

Question 3

Was the Cultural Revolution merely a means for Mao Zedong to maintain his personal power?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. Candidates should be able to focus on what have been claimed as Mao's motives. Launched in 1966, this was an iconoclastic move to revitalize the Revolution, destroying Old Culture, Old Habits, Old Customs, Old Ideas and to use youth to destroy remnants of bourgeois culture. Was this part of a genuine desire to rejuvenate and look critically at the Party, or a response to the growing criticism of the failures of the Great Leap Forward and the emergence of potential rivals like Liu Shaoqi? Candidates might look at evidence of Mao's previous motivation when making initiatives and might relate the decision to the state of China by 1966. The official line taken by post-Mao party histories is that Jiang Qing and the so-called Gang of Four were more to blame than Mao. Certainly Mao's wife and Lin Biao pursued a bizarre cult of personality which led to the formation of the Red Guards and the elevating of Mao; Mao gave his support to purges, July 1966. The justification that the revolution was incomplete in that while there had been massive economic change and party control, the outlook of society, its education, literature and art, were not yet revolutionary needs to be considered and a judgement made about whether this was merely propaganda or higher level power politics, or did reflect a true perception. The great debates that followed were very circumscribed and in the end it did look as if political opposition was being targeted – Liu died and Deng Xiaoping was punished three times. There were local power struggles, such as the one in Shanghai and critical elements in the army were purged. By 1968 Mao worship was at a peak; but Mao was careful enough to move the Red Guards to the countryside and Lin Biao mysteriously died in a plane crash in 1971. Maintaining power possibly remained at the top of Mao's agenda.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered set of judgements. Attempts to deal with historiography and with differing interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses. Here, candidates should demonstrate an especially sharp evaluation of the relative importance of Mao's own desire to protect his power and the way that events might well have overtaken him until he reasserted his authority even over those who used his God-like status for their own ends.

AO3 – [not applicable to Special Subjects]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not explicitly be penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

3. It is often debated whether the real aims of the cultural revolution were actually about improving culture and the arts in China, or whether it was for Mao Zedong's benefit to maintain his personal power. In the end, the cultural revolution did not do much for culture and the arts in fact; it failed. However by the end of the revolution Mao's powers were clearly strengthened. This leads us to believe that the cultural revolution was purely designed to benefit Mao; to reassert his authority, to reassert socialism and to rid the party of his opposition.

As well as long term causes for the revolution, there ^{was} also a short /

The reassertation of authority was exceedingly necessary for Mao at this stage, as much of his support base had lost faith. By 1966 he was also facing competition and opposition from within the party. This can be put down to a series of failures, such as the hundred days' reform and the great leap forward. It was clear that Mao needed to re-appeal to his main support base, the peasants. He was worried ~~as~~ due to the situation in Russia; as Khrushchev was overthrown.

from power due to a series of unpopular economic reforms. Mao desperately didn't want that to happen to him. Therefore, during the ^{revolution} reforms he popularised ^{nothing} offering holidays to peasants as an attempt to regain some trust. It became obvious that the reform was only about Mao quickly, as many supposed counter-revolutionaries and people of some authority were killed. Jung Chang writes about how her teacher was beaten before her eyes in her book "Wild Swans". She writes "I could see distress and anxiety in his eyes behind his ruffled hair." Acts such as this do not come from a person who wants to restore culture and arts in a country, but from someone who wants to be seen as powerful. weak argument

These methods show assertion of authority and socialism, and other factors make it clear that the cultured revolution has to maintain his own personal power. For example, any culture that was changed was merely Maoist propaganda, and his over-observation of the People's Party during this time proved that there was no freedom of the arts. As well as power for him, these measures were taken as a way to bring

back Socialism to a level that he believed was acceptable. He believed ^{not} ~~explained~~ that it had gone haywire in previous years, and the failure of his reforms had been a main issue.

Another aim for the cultural revolution that he agreed with his aim maintaining of personal power is the fact that he attempted to get rid of opposition ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ. During this time, the CCP were split between ~~comm~~ Pragmatists, who believed in ~~cap~~ implementing some capitalist ideas in order to aid communism. This included figures such as Deng Xiaoping and Lin Shaoqing. On the other hand, there were the idealists, who included Mao himself and Zhou Enlai. The idealists ~~as~~ ^{split} ~~had~~ ^{described} family "Maoist" views and believed in a constant revolution and ~~evolution~~ ^{evolution} of the country. Many of the key pragmatists suffered during the cultural revolution. Peng Zhen (Mayor of Beijing), Lin Shaoqing and Deng Xiaoping were made to ~~help~~ ^{help} ~~intense~~ ^{intense}, having been made to say things such as "I have been an Maoist" (Deng). Deng was also put under house arrest, Lin was ~~denied~~ ^{denied} from ~~severe~~ ^{severe}

most senior in the CCP to eight and Perry was fired. ^{added} All of this evidence suggests that the only focus on the cultural revolution could was to benefit Mao.

On the other hand, the short term reason for the revolution was cultural. Madame Mao commissioned an article to be written in Beijing denouncing a play written by Wu Han, both which was believed to be anti Mao. in February 1966, Madame Mao wrote about how the culture of the CCP was anti Maoist and needed to improve.

This shows that the early intention was possibly to injure others but Mao saw it as an opportunity to assert his power. This is proved by the fact that the revolution was a failure on all terms (24% industrial fall in 1967) and no cultural gain. The only gain was by Mao.

Examiner Comment

The opening of this essay did propose a view that Mao had certain political aims, but there did not seem to be a full understanding of the nature of the Cultural Revolution or much grasp of the possible ideological motives. There was an attempt to put the Cultural Revolution in context, but the Hundred Flowers campaign was mis-named and there seemed little explanation, but nevertheless there was some relevant material about the situation. There was a reference to a source on the effects of the Revolution but the argument and understanding of the nature of the changes was limited. Attempts to argue that it was not really about the Arts but about power were made, but the references to the restoration of socialism were under-developed. There was some description of elimination of opposition and there was some attempt to link this to the question. The counter argument was weakly made and generally the answer was assertive with some description and some sense of argument but this was not sufficiently developed for Merit level.

Paper 5 Special Subject: Germany, 1919–1945

Question 4

‘A series of reactions to events, not the enactment of a clear plan.’ How far does this view explain the conduct of Hitler’s foreign policy in the period 1933–41?

Mark Scheme

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demand of the question is required. No set response is to be expected; it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that should be rewarded. A narrative of foreign policy events will not go very far unless there is good explanation linked to the needs of the question. Analysis and evaluation are required. Links to the value of *Mein Kampf* and the arguments over possible blueprint, programme and master-plan as against a highly opportunistic approach can be expected. There is evidence both for the continuity of aims and the unfolding of some kind of plan and for more marked opportunism. Good answers will highlight core aims and goals but also flexible responses to opportunities; Hitler’s methods were diverse, unusual, unconventional (hence why it was so difficult to deal with him). Answers do need to reach 1941 and the all-important invasion of the USSR, arguably Hitler’s greatest goal. Links of geopolitics, historical interpretations presented by Hitler, racial considerations can be anticipated. Reference can be made to such factors and issues as Hitler’s attitudes towards Russia, France, Italy and Britain; *Lebensraum*; the overturning of the Versailles Treaty; rearmament; Poland (1934, 1939); the Rhineland (1936); how he used Appeasement; Anschluss (1938); Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia (1938, 1939); the attacks in the West (1940) and the Balkans (1941); the nature of the War; Operation Barbarossa. His statements on foreign policy – in *Mein Kampf*, the ‘Second Book’, speeches to Generals (1933, 1938, 1939), Military Operational Plans (e.g. ‘Green’, ‘White’), for example – could be used to effect.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative importance of factors and approaches, and arriving at a well-considered set of judgements. Attempts to deal with historiography, and with differing interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses. There is scope in the question formulation for argument and counter-argument. Much debate exists here – with links to (e.g.) ‘intentionalist’ vs. ‘structuralist’ ideas. There has been a vigorous debate as to whether Hitler pursued a well-planned, ‘programmatic’ policy or whether he was an unprincipled, flexible thinker and opportunist, a reckless gambler. There is evidence for both, though the best answers will favour one over the other, and explain why. Key, core ideas and objectives should be assessed within the context of his special style of conducting foreign policy. Appreciation of the differences between the periods of peace and war would be helpful.

AO3 – [not applicable to Special Subjects]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense both of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not explicitly be penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

4. The goals of Hitler's foreign policy are apparent from the speeches he gave in the 1920s and 1930s and the goals he set out in Mein Kampf. In Mein Kampf Hitler states that the first goal of a Government should be to provide 'living space for the growing German population'. This developed into the idea of Lebensraum or Ospolitik which Hitler wished to pursue in Eastern Europe. This would gain resources for the economy to grow and help to eradicate unemployment. Hitler also desired when taking power to abolish the restrictions that Versailles had imposed on Germany. These goals are clear but it is less clear whether Hitler had a plan to do this through a General European War as Andreas Hillgruber suggest or no plan to do so but relied on 'opportunism' as suggested by AJP Taylor.

Hitler was in complete control of foreign policy from 1933 through to 1941. He devoted most of his time to foreign policy and had little interest in other areas of policy. This meant divisions and ineffective policy in other areas due to rival power bases competing with each other were avoided. However in the field of foreign policy Hitler was in complete control with everyone 'working towards the fuhrer'. The army was weak and could not resist Hitler as they feared a communist revolution or being tried for treason. Hitler was also successful in marginalising opposition figures such as Beck and Von Hammerstein. This meant that there was a clear and concise series of measures designed at strengthening Germany enacted by Hitler. The rapid rearmament from 1933 to 1938 where spending on the military rose by 500 percent showed that Hitler was prepared to commit serious amounts of money to foreign policy. Goring said that the economy should be about guns not butter as 'guns will make us great where butter will only make us fat'. In this Goring was mimicking the views of Hitler who was desperate for rapid rearmament as he said in a speech 'We must rearm faster and better than the allies'. Hitler's obsession with rearmament came at the expenses of other economic goals and quality was also lower as he cared about speed. It can be argued that this rearmament was part of a plan for War against Britain and France. However Germany had been left weak after Versailles and many believed this was just it trying to catch up with the advantage that the Allies had in this area.

The main argument for Hitler planning War is the Hossbach memorandum of 1936. The aggressive language of Hitler where he talks of seizing Czechoslovakia and Poland are taken as intent he wanted war. He also speaks in this document as Britain being an enemy for the first time. In this Hitler is shrewd enough to realise that the Anglo- German naval pact was not a long term solution. However this pact is one of the things that Hitler was not planning for War in the Hossbach memorandum. Hitler believed in short term alliances to allow him to seize territory. For example when he first came to power he allied with Poland when Germany was weak and then when he was strong tried to take it over. The Molotov-

Ribbentrop pact of 1938 was another example of Hitler putting principles before ideology. Naturally he distrusted Russia saying in 1928 that as a country it was 'corrupted and destroyed' due to his communist rule but he formed the alliance anyway. Hitler realised in 1936 at the time of the Hossbach Memorandum that Germany was not ready for War. Schacht had warned him that the economy was not fully prepared and Hitler being angered at this put Goring in charge of the Four Year Plan. This plan was designed to end in 1940 and many believed that even then the economy would not be ready for total war. Hitler in the Hossbach Memorandum mentions that the problem in the East should be solved by '1942-1943'. This implies at that time he was not thinking seriously about War. The Hossbach Memorandum may have been designed to flush out his critics in the army and see who was loyal to him. For all these reasons the Hossbach Memorandum cannot be seen as a plan for war.

A far more convincing explanation for Hitler's foreign policy is that he was an opportunist who took the opportunities that presented themselves. This idea is backed up by the facts, as Hitler believed he could exploit Allied weakness to gain territory and frequently did so. Often before 1939 Hitler was prepared to back down rather than go to war. When the Rhineland was remilitarised the troops were given orders to retreat if challenged by the French. When the Allies backed down this emboldened Hitler to attempt to seize more territory. The Anschluss was successful and Hitler was also able to gain Czechoslovakia for Germany. Hitler was pleased that his Lebensraum policies were a success and decided to attempt to seize Poland. He did not believe it would lead to war as Britain had in the past showed sympathy for German claims for Poland. When Britain decided to go to war based on Polish neutrality this surprised the German foreign office as documents show. The economy was not ready for the inevitable total war that fighting Britain and France would bring and Beck believed that the army was not ready and a War would be a 'general catastrophe' for Germany. Hitler's gamble on thinking that appeasement from the Allies would continue proved naive. Hitler was not prepared to back down and thus war was inevitable.

Hitler did not plan for a general European War but was forced into it by a miscalculation and the cumulative radicalisation of German foreign policy. However to say he was simply reacting to events that presented themselves is incorrect. Hitler's foreign policy is best described as planned opportunism. He attempted to gradually gain territory and allow Germany to grow. In this he was similar to Bismarck, and his style of diplomacy with the threat of force, appealed to Hitler as a way of expanding German territory and making Germany a great nation. In the end Hitler's planned opportunism failed and his foreign policy was left reacting to events. As Richard Betts says Hitler was a 'gambler who ran out of luck'.

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Examiner Comment

The opening of this essay sets a distinction between long term goals and plans and there is a reference to different interpretations. There is an argument that with Hitler in obvious control, there were a series of measures to achieve goals and there is some explanation and support. There is reference to precise evidence, though it is misdated. The explanation lacks clarity. There is an attempt to argue that expediency came before ideology, with the Soviet pact (misdated), and there is some evaluation of Hossbach as a source, not fully explained. There is an attempt to show that Hitler was opportunistic but the support is variable. The ideas are there but not fully explained and developed. The essay depends more on analysis than description and there is reference to evidence with some critical sense, but the overall quality is closer to Merit – the miscalculations are not really shown and the answer is somewhat allusive and uneven.

Paper 6 Personal Investigation

Candidates write an extended essay of approximately 3,500 – 4,000 words on a topic of their choosing approved in advance by CIE.

Mark Scheme

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Introduction

The banding definitions which follow reflect and must be interpreted within the context of the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material.

The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all Investigations fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.

In marking an Investigation, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

Since the Investigation is a reflective piece of work and not written under time restraints, greater emphasis than in other components of the examination is placed upon such matters as the use of a wide range of sources, the demonstration of a critical sense, high standards of presentation and use of English.

Band 1: 49–60

Whilst not being perfect the answer will be the best that a candidate can be expected to achieve at this level. The answer will be strongly argued and sharply analytical in approach. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or particular arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Candidates at this level may well demonstrate a sophisticated awareness of links and comparisons to other countries and periods. The answer will make use of a wide range of sources. These will normally be largely secondary but some acquaintance with primary sources is to be expected at this level. Sources and historical interpretations will be treated critically and there should be a good grasp of formal critical evaluation with reference to such issues as provenance, dating and context, corroboration and difference, utility and reliability. Critical sense and critical evaluation can be applied to sources and/or interpretations. Where formal critical evaluation is not demonstrated, but where the answer is strong in all or most of the criteria relevant to this Band, the paucity or lack of this element should not prevent it being placed in this Band. English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary.

Band 2: 37–48

The answer will be characterised by a markedly analytical and argued approach, although there may be occasional passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The work will be coherent and well-structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. The material will be fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Candidates will demonstrate an awareness of links and comparisons to other countries and periods. The answer will make use of a good range of sources. These will probably be largely or entirely secondary, although some acquaintance with primary sources may be expected. Sources and historical interpretations will be treated critically and there should be some attempt at formal critical evaluation but at a lower level, and with a more restricted range, than that indicated for Band 1. Critical sense and formal critical evaluation can be applied to sources and/or interpretations. Although a sound critical sense is normally to be expected at this level a lack of formal critical evaluation should not preclude the award of a mark in this Band. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and very largely error-free.

Band 3: 25–36

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a sound sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood and organisation very competent. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Candidates will demonstrate some awareness of links and comparisons to other countries and periods. The answer will make use of a fair range of sources, although these are likely to be confined to secondary sources. Some critical sense in dealing with sources and interpretations is to be expected, although this may well be limited or undeveloped, especially in the lower range of the Band. Formal critical evaluation as detailed in Bands 1 and 2 is, again, likely to be limited or may not appear at all, although there may be attempts at cross-referencing. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be very competent, clear and very largely free of serious errors.

Band 4: 13–24

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. Critical sense will be limited. Candidates may attempt to show an awareness of links and comparisons to other countries and periods. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating sources and interpretations but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English may be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

Band 5: 0–12

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. Uncritical narrative will predominate. If an argument is attempted, it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Critical sense will be very limited whilst awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. Candidates are unlikely to demonstrate an awareness of links and comparisons to other countries and periods. The answer may well be fragmentary and slight. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

Example Candidate Response – Distinction

To what extent does Inept Leadership account for the failure of Chartism?

Leadership was essential to the Chartist movement. Chartism's leaders set the tone for the whole movement; its policies, direction and methods. This was necessary because most of its supporters were poorly educated; unable of revolutionary political thought for themselves - they "ceased to think, and wanted to hear no thoughtful talk"¹. Although would-be working-class activists desired reform, they were ill-educated and therefore unable to lead the way in social upheaval. Chartist leaders were important in thinking for the masses that suffered severe economic distress and that lived in conditions which gave no opportunity for reflection of their own. Without key leaders "Chartism would have been a very different creature, if it had existed at all"². The new working-class looked to Chartist leaders for empathy in understanding their needs and aspirations. The masses also wanted rousing, inspiring speeches for motivation in the face of adversity. Above all, a "contribution to the wider culture of working people"³ was paramount from the Chartist leaders. The historian's assessment of the movement's leaders is made difficult by the fact that most of the sources available were written by the leaders themselves; they present the history of Chartism as seen through their own eyes. The newspapers and periodicals of Chartism (e.g. *The Northern Star*) are nearly entirely concerned with the speeches of the leaders and even the official records in the Home Office files contain their own bias. Sources pertaining to Chartism are likely to give a view of the movement from the top; certainly not a reliable picture given that Chartism was a movement of the masses. One reason why Chartism failed due to inept leadership was because of "advocates of rival methods of winning the charter"⁴; i.e. the moral and physical force Chartists.

The all too simple distinction between moral and physical force Chartism was popular with 20th Century Historians. As Hilton has argued, this was perhaps because it was similar to the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks⁵. This division however has too often been made clear-cut. It was not two schools that existed, rather a range of opinions that shaded into one another. It is

¹ Thomas Cooper quoted in Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p.131.

² Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p.60.

³ Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.60.

⁴ F.C. Mather, *Chartism* (London, 1975), p.13-14.

⁵ Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?* (London, 2006), p.615.

point made

Sweeping point.

establish importance of leadership - a number of ways

same point of sources

sense of debate in intro

point made

expt + eval

true that a basic division existed between those who favoured the use of moral pressure and passive resistance and those who advocated direct intervention and action including violence. It is generally found that those leaders who came from educated and established artisan radical traditions were more likely to be "moral-force" Chartists. The London Working Man's Association (LWMA) is perhaps the best example of a "moral-force" organisation. Conversely, George Julian Harney is said to have created a "physical-force" counterpart to the LWMA⁶ when he formed the London Democratic Association in March 1838. This was intended to be more 'popular', giving support to O'Connor and making use of the rhetoric of violence. There is no doubt that the extremes were far apart. Bronterre O'Brien advocated, in 1837, presenting "a petition to his victim in one hand, while pressing a blunderbuss to his head with the other"⁷. While the Scottish Chartist, Duncan, was worried about merely alluding to physical force even as an ultimate resort (he was, after all, one of the leaders of temperance Chartism). That certain Chartist leaders advocated violence while others deplored it does not mean that there were two discrete camps of moral versus physical force. The multitude of personalities involved is the real cause for such a schism. The truth, in fact, is that very few Chartist leaders upheld extreme views to the detriment of their cause. Many Chartist leaders knew that the language of violence was sometimes necessary; indeed it was often seen as the natural accompaniment to a speech. O'Connor amongst others realised that the rhetoric of violence got a good response at public meetings. Yet, rarely were physical-force Chartist leaders actually urging people to rebel. Chartist leaders spoke of resistance without ever intending to start a rebellion; they knew that a failed uprising was the worst possible outcome. On the other hand, moral-force leaders would resort to the language of violence without any reference to physical force ever being necessary. Robert Lowery, the leader of temperance Chartism, said once that he had "a pike at home... [and that] all should have guns". To please a crowd, Chartist leaders would say what they knew the mob wanted to hear: "even the teetotal Lowery could get drunk on applause"⁸. The result of such confused, conflicting opinions was a synthesis of ideologies, a melting pot of different paths forward. Individual Chartist leaders themselves could be inconsistent. William Lovett was the classical

⁶ Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.62.

⁷ F.C. Mather, *Chartism* (London, 1975), p.13.

⁸ Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?* (London, 2006), p.616.

example of a moral-force man, believing that "whatever is gained in England by force, by force must be sustained"⁹. But, by 1839 when the authorities began taking steps to halt political activism, he advocated the arming of the people. The position that was reached, therefore, by all but the most extreme Chartists, was one of "physico-moral-force"¹⁰. As Hugh Cunningham has argued, the Chartists believed that the state was corrupt with such fervour that "they saw themselves as defenders of the constitution"¹¹. The result of this was that, if and when Chartists used violence, it was only ever as a last resort of self-defence. The Chartists maintained that they would only fight, if fight they must, under the banner of "Peace, Law, Order" – a favourite phrase of both Harney and *The Chartist*. As Evans has noted, physical force Chartism was only ever seen "as a device, or a strategy, rather than as a clear call to arms"¹². It needs to be considered, therefore, to what extent the discrepancy of personalities, as regards moral and physical force Chartism, had an impact of Chartism's demise. While there may not have been a clear divide, there is certainly no doubt that a lack of unity and agreement amongst Chartist leaders over moral and physical force was detrimental to the cause of Chartism. A clear, lucid and obvious programme of how Chartists were to go about their political activism would have aided the Chartist mission no end. But, such was the nature of Chartism and indeed the different personalities involved in its leadership that this may never have been possible. Furthermore, there was division on a much greater scale than that which just concerned itself with the moral – physical force debate. Nevertheless, the fact that a debate such as this even exists shows that this division is at least a manifestation, if not a cause of inept leadership. That so much disparity amid the movement was caused as a result of this division is evidence to suggest that Chartism *did* fail due to inept leadership. The moral versus physical force argument gives considerable support to the notion that Chartism was led with ineptitude and confusion, and that this led to its failure.

Of all the Chartist leaders, Feargus O'Connor polarised opinion more than any other. He "fell out with virtually every other national Chartist leader"¹³. So numerous are the criticisms of O'Connor

⁹ F.C. Mather, *Chartism* (London, 1975), p.14.

¹⁰ Harney *Northern Liberator*, 25 May 1839.

¹¹ Cunningham 'The Nature of Chartism', *Modern History review*, (April 1990), p.22

¹² Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.64.

¹³ Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.68.

from other leaders that it is hard to identify any particular theme that is their cause. George Julian Harney was disapproving of O'Connor's call for 'physical force', saying that the English people would "not arm" because they were becoming more peaceful. Robert Lowery was critical of O'Connor's manipulation of large crowds just to satisfy his own leadership ambitions. Lowery thought that "the deficiencies of his character [included a] diseased vanity and self-esteem". William Lovett disliked O'Connor's "Irish braggadocio about arming and fighting" and noted that on his launch of the National Association for the Moral, Social and Political Improvement of the People in 1841, O'Connor thought "if a guillotine existed in England [Lovett] would be its just victim". Gammage, Chartism's first historian thought that O'Connor was "more erratic" than anyone else and that his life was "a series of mistakes and contradictions"¹⁴. By 1851, O'Connor's Land Plan had collapsed due to poor management "for which O'Connor...must take the blame"¹⁵. Above all, it was O'Connor's demagoguery that was most hated – his emotional yet unsubstantiated appeals to the masses; many thought he never had an original thought of his own. However, since the 1980s the prevailing thought regarding O'Connor has shifted. He is now seen as the driving force behind Chartism, especially in the hard period that was the 1840s. Thompson has sought to right some wrongs about O'Connor, saying that "had the name Chartism not been coined, the radical movement...must surely have been called O'Connorite Radicalism", she goes on to say if you "remove him [O'Connor] and his newspaper from the picture, [then] the movement fragments, localises and loses its continuity"¹⁶. O'Connor was particularly popular with the handloom weavers who were suffering severe economic distress in the 1830s. His weekly newspaper, *The Northern Star*, was hugely successful and by the spring of 1839 was selling over 48,000 copies a week. Leadership disputes may have caused divides in the movement, but without O'Connor and his skilful leadership, the *whole* movement would have ceased to exist. It seems therefore, that inept leadership may not be able to account for the failure of Chartism. It has been argued that Chartism virtually disintegrated as a national concept.

¹⁴ R.G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-5*, (London, 2004)

¹⁵ Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?* (London, 2006), p.613.

¹⁶ D. Thompson *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution*, (London, 1984)

Often, an inclination toward one outlook on Chartism or another was rooted in differences between the localities in which it flourished. Indeed, another continual theme of debate surrounds why Chartism failed to gain support in certain areas while it managed to blossom in others. Regional divisions amid the Chartists were a genuine problem; Asa Briggs noted that "a study of Chartism must begin with a proper appreciation of a regional and local diversity"¹⁷. One of the foremost concerns of the historian has been why Chartism failed to gain support in London or indeed whether it *did* fail at this task, or whether, in fact the situation may not have been as bad as many make it out to be. Once again, leadership divides have been offered as an explanation of Chartism's weakness in London and its regional dislocation. Particular districts had their own Chartist traditions and therefore their own Chartist leaders, these were often inherited from an earlier radical tradition – William Lovett in London, Thomas Attwood in Birmingham and Joseph Rayner Stephens in Lancashire. It was not for lack of trying that Chartist leaders failed to unite the masses; however this does not mean that they are not to blame. Many reasons have been given as reasons why Chartism found it hard to unify, the multitude of different areas in Britain – agricultural, declining industrial, new industrial, large and small villages, mining, textile, heavy industry etc – made the job of a Chartist leader very difficult. Indeed, even in any given so called "locality", there were many disputes to be had. London, for example, has been a problem for Historians. As the largest centre of trade *and* as the seat of government, London had been the centre of the radical tradition in the late eighteenth century. Yet, all too often, Chartists who visited London were disappointed with its ambivalent and impassionate atmosphere as regards Chartism. Francis Place thought that this was because of the structure of its industry – small units, geographically dispersed in workshops caused a lack of unity. However, this cannot be an excuse for Chartism across the nation. Once again, "sectionalism...was made worse by the divisions within the national leadership"¹⁸. London Chartism was divided between Lovett and Harney, and later between Lovett and O'Connor. The Irish population of the capital was lost to Chartism by the disputes between O'Connor and O'Connell. Given that Chartism has been described

local issues

factors

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¹⁷ A. Briggs *Chartist Studies* quoted in Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p.66.

¹⁸ Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p.67.

as "a series of responses, not a movement"¹⁹, it is not surprising that it was hard to unify. However, Chartism *did* attain a certain national unity in 1839, as a national movement focused upon the elected convention which met in London, and then Birmingham. Indeed, it was because of *good* leadership that this happened; Feargus O'Connor's skill in winning support in the various local strongholds during 1838 contributed strongly to the new found unity. But, that Chartism failed to maintain any sort of unification after this supports the fact that it was never a coherent national movement. After 1839, "indigenous brands of Chartism began to reappear"²⁰ across the country. Chartism would never again (after 1839) be united. A reason for Chartism's overall failure is not that it was poorly led, rather that regional and local discrepancies caused so much disunity that it could never have succeeded.

There is a strong argument for the decline of Chartism which holds the economy responsible. The so called "knife and fork" argument says that if Chartism was a "gut reaction to hunger"²¹ then, when the economy improved, Chartism would fade and die. The early Chartist historian, Gammage held this view and was supported by later historians until the 1950s. They argued that given Chartism was made into a mass movement by "Hunger and Hatred"²² caused by severe economic depressions which had brought the masses out onto the streets, the better economic climate after 1849 and the increasing stability of Britain's major industries signalled the end of Chartism. 'Hunger Chartism' had had its day and its rational side split into many factions, including new model trade unions, reading rooms, local government, friendly societies and other various organisations which the skilled workers developed in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. While this explanation has some force, it is not entirely satisfactory. As Cunningham has argued, it turns out that "the mid-Victorian boom [was] something of a myth"²³. The economy of the period 1850 to 1873 was as unstable as it had been in the previous 20 years; the rise of living standards which did occur happened almost entirely in the late 1860s and early 1870s. The fluctuating nature of the economy: slump followed by boom followed by

¹⁹ *Victorian Studies*, Vol. V, No. 3, March 1962, p. 266. F.C. Mather, *Chartism* (London, 1975), p.16

²⁰ F.C. Mather, *Chartism* (London, 1975), p.16.

²¹ D. Thompson *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution*, (London, 1984), p.330.

²² G.D.H. Cole *Chartist Portraits* quoted in Joe Finn *Chartists and Chartism*, (London, 1992), p.100.

²³ Cunningham 'The Nature of Chartism', *Modern History review*, (April 1990), p.22

slump etc continued after 1850 with notable slumps in 1858 and 1866. Furthermore, in eight out of the 14 years between 1851 and 1864 real wages were at or below the level of 1850. This was a perfect environment for a movement such as Chartism and therefore the simple economic explanation for its failure begins to look less convincing. Others have given another pseudo-economic reason for the disappearance of Chartism. It has been argued that economically depressed skilled workers, especial handloom weavers, had always provided a core of Chartist support. By 1848 their numbers were declining rapidly. In 1840 they numbered roughly 123,000; by 1850 their numbers had fallen to 43,000²⁴ and by 1860 they had all but disappeared. With them went the driving force behind Chartism. The economic, structuralist explanation of Chartism, while leaving many issues unresolved, seems a convincing explanation for the downfall of Chartism. Chartism deteriorated because it was popular at times of economic hardship and unpopular at times of relative prosperity; these times of prosperity started to become all too common for Chartism to survive.

Judgment

Support

Judgment

Worried of providing an overly sweeping account, more political explanations have been turned to in order to try and find why Chartism failed. The political interpretation states that Chartism absolutely failed to win support in Parliament. The three great efforts made in 1838-39, 1841-42 and 1848 all failed. In 1839 the National Chartist Petition was rejected by the House of Commons by 235 votes to 46; in May 1842 the House of Commons decided by 287 votes to 49 not even to consider the second Chartist petition; and in 1848 the authorities did not even allow a petition to be presented by a large body of Chartists, instead O'Connor and a small delegation delivered it to parliament. Not only were these three failures detrimental to Chartism immediately, they also acted as a *coup de grace* for Chartist spirit. After such setbacks, "there was no stomach for further mass agitation or revolutionary preparation"²⁵. While the aim of Chartism was not to take control of Parliament *per se*, it still needed at least some support in the House of Commons. That Chartism completely failed at this meant it found it very difficult to progress forward as a movement in obtaining its aims. In fact, Chartism did not need complete or even comprehensive support in the Parliament; but it did need more than it got. It does not come as a surprise that Chartism was so unsuccessful in gaining parliamentary support,

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²⁴Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.118.

²⁵Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.117.

after all the "Six Points" of the Charter were unlikely to be advantageous towards any landed, established, aristocratic MP at the time (as many, if not most, were). However, Chartism *could* have done better than it did. There is evidence to suggest that Chartist agitation did not dwindle after 1848. The followers of Bronterre O'Brien in particular remained committed and were as revolutionary as any nineteenth-century political leader. Indeed, many of these Chartists joined socialist groups in Europe with the aim of creating an international proletarian revolution of Marxian proportion. While Chartist activity may not have completely declined after 1848, its failure to win support in Parliament ultimately led to its failure as a whole. Without the vital support of a nucleus of MPs, Chartism could never obtain the powers of persuasion it sorely needed; this led to its breakdown and failure.

point made

eg?

point made

The role of the state must not be underestimated. Not only was the state able to flex its muscles and demonstrate its power when necessary; alongside this was something increasingly known as "the liberalisation of the state"²⁶. The command of the state was such that, to be a Chartist was to forever be at risk of imprisonment. 20 people were killed in the Newport rising of November 1839; over 500 Chartists, including Lovett, had been 'detained' between June 1839 and June 1840 and on the 10th April, 1848, roughly 20,000 Chartists were confronted on Kennington Common by 7,000 soldiers, 4,000 police and 85,000 special constables sworn in for the occasion. The Kennington debacle of 1848 is often regarded as the end of Chartism; certainly as the end of Chartism as a mass movement. The second argument pertaining to politics and the state, as mentioned earlier, refers to a more liberal government. Not only was 'Old Corruption' scrubbed up by getting rid of the multitude of jobs paid for by the tax payer which saw no real benefit to the state, but furthermore, the government, notably under Sir Robert Peel, began governing in the interests of the people as a whole. The Coal Mines Act of 1842 and the Ten Hours Act of 1847 started to offer protection for the worker. State money was made available for education and public libraries and taxes on consumption were reduced. Indeed, Peel himself was increasingly seen as a 'statesman' instead of a 'politician'. In this new environment, Chartism began to sound old fashioned and irrelevant. After 1848, anyone who "talked about roast

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support

²⁶ Cunningham 'The Nature of Chartism', *Modern History review*, (April 1990), p.23

beef...or the Englishman's right to bear arms"²⁷ sounded out-of-date. Chartism failed because the government not only reacted with swiftness and force when necessary, but began to modernise; a clear liberalisation of government made Chartism look antiquarian and medieval; a fatal reputation for a revolutionary movement. *Judgment*

For nineteenth century working-class revolutionaries, the Chartist movement was one which was looked back on "with a certain amount of pride, mingled with a great amount of sadness"²⁸. Implicit in this assessment is the confusion which surrounds Chartism – its failures and successes. Chartism was crippled by division in its ranks; although there was no clear divide between the moral and physical force Chartists, this does not mean that disputes and arguments surrounding the issue did not have a detrimental effect. A lack of unity surrounds the nature of Chartism; that it was poorly led resulted in arguments between advocates of violence and advocates of non-violence. Certain leaders were more popular than others, but yet again there was no consistency regarding this. One critic of O'Connor thought that he "pulled it [Chartism] down into the gutter"²⁹, yet another thought he had "a magnificent bodily appearance, an iron frame, eloquence [and] possess[ed] great animal courage, contempt of pain and death"³⁰. It can therefore be seen that inept leadership was not the cause of Chartist failure, rather a symptom of its demise. Chartism was not a national movement and it failed to gain support in London. The discrepancies amongst the different localities in which Chartism existed were too deep – for it to have succeeded it would have needed uniform support across the nation. Furthermore an improvement in the economy in the 1850s meant Chartist agitation lost its enthusiasm. The end of the severe economic depressions which had been the catalyst of mass protest meant would-be Chartists were no longer impassioned enough to leave their homes and excite political reform. Government also began to liberalise resulting once again in the fervour behind Chartism dwindling. It has been noted, however, that "far from being a cause of Chartism's failure" the Coal Mines Act and the Ten Hours Act "have sometimes been seen as one of the movement's *Judgment* *Point made*

²⁷ Cunningham 'The Nature of Chartism', *Modern History review*, (April 1990), p.23

²⁸ Ramsden Blamforth *Some social and political pioneers of the nineteenth century* quoted in Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989)

²⁹ *Republican* 1 June, 1871 quoted in Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989)

³⁰ George Julian Harney quoted in Eric Evans, *Chartism*, (London, 2000), p.68.

successes"³¹. This is only the case, however with the benefit of hindsight. That Chartism failed does not mean that it achieved nothing. Government began to modernise and react to Chartism in a sophisticated manner. Motivated by a fear of a national revolution such as was seen in France in the 1790s, the Government acted quickly to ensure the Chartist threat never became a real danger. The reason of Chartism's failure was its very nature. The political aspect of Chartism has been greatly exaggerated – it was not a popular political movement. It is therefore unfair to blame Chartism's leaders; the followers of Chartism were "oblivious to the efforts of the leaders"³². Rather, Chartism failed to obtain any sort of national unity, it failed to gain support in the places it needed it most, it failed to gain support of the middle-class and it failed to gain support in Parliament. Yes, its leaders were at fault and the movement as whole was very poorly led. This cannot, however account for the failure of Chartism; instead it sheds light onto the further causes and explanations of Chartist breakdown. Inept leadership was a manifestation of failure, one of many that illustrate the movement's failings but did not *cause* them. The true cause of Chartism's failure was its nature; it was not a coherent working-class movement. It was a multitude of different people, professions, localities, leaders and even classes. Some were enthusiastic throughout, others in part and some were merely followers of the crowd. Had Chartism been a coherent body pressuring for social reform, it may have been more successful. It was not due to poor leadership that Chartism failed, although that it was led with ineptitude is true. Chartism was never a uniform, succinct, national movement, as such it failed. Thus, Chartism can be placed "among the lost causes of history..."³³

³¹Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p. 92.

³²Edward Royle, *Chartism* (New York, 1989), p.90.

³³ John Saville: 1848 quoted in Joe Finn *Chartists and Chartism*, (London, 1992), p.110.

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Examiner Comment

A perceptive introduction set the scene and made the telling point that the sources are skewed towards seeing Chartism from the point of view of leadership. There was a critical sense throughout, based on evidence and not merely running through explanations but questioning whether views were valid. The section on O'Connor is a good illustration of this. The answer offers evidence-based arguments and counter arguments with a sense of judgement. The style is fluent and the sources are referenced. By critical consideration of arguments and evidence, the answer came to a clear and quite insightful conclusion. The argument is realistic and supported, and brings together elements from the essay well. This is typical of an answer which keeps focus on the question, thinks about its implications, looks at different perspectives and shows an understanding only possible with reading, and most importantly, thought and reflection. It is generally analytical and of Distinction quality.

Example Candidate Response – Merit

Assess the importance of Lunacharsky's role as Commissar for Enlightenment in Bolshevik Russia in the period 1917 - 1924

John Dewey, commonly referred to as "the father of modern education", once described the Bolshevik educational system as the "soviet experiment"¹. However his view that the policies of the Bolsheviks combined not only a new way to educate but also to view education is perhaps a misunderstanding of the ambition and ideals influencing their actions. Revolution was an opportunity to "put a serious positivist philosophical foundation under Marxist building"² this was their chance to put ideas into action. With the main focus of this essay being Anatoly Lunacharsky it would be missing a key point to ignore the fact that Lunacharsky was first and foremost an intellectual. His vision was seen, in the words of Isaac Deutscher, as combining the ideal qualities of "guardian of the heritage and those of the innovator."³ However it would seem that the Bolsheviks - and in particular Lenin who made the final decision - by appointing Lunacharsky Commissar, may have made a vital error. Lunacharsky was the self-proclaimed "poet of the revolution"⁴ whilst Lenin was "a man of political action... a tactician and indeed a political leader of genius"⁵ and it was this lack of administrative ability and inability to implement his policy that undermined Lunacharsky's attempts to realize his ambitions.

Having seized power in 1917 the Bolsheviks grasped the opportunity to "take over the cultural heritage of the past, to preserve it, make it accessible to the masses... ..

¹ J. Dewey, Impressions of Soviet Russia and Revolutionary World: Mexico-China-Turkey, New York: New Republic, 1929

² A.L. Tait, Lunacharsky: Poet of the Revolution (1875-1907), University of Birmingham (1984)

³ A. Lunacharsky, Revolutionary Silhouettes, The Penguin Press (1967)

⁴ A.L. Tait, Lunacharsky: Poet of the Revolution (1875-1907), University of Birmingham (1984)

⁵ A. Lunacharsky, Revolutionary Silhouettes pg.13

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to educate them and develop them culturally; and to experiment and innovate.”⁶ Lunacharsky had, therefore, the unenviable and almost impossible task of attempting to preserve tradition whilst driving forward new ideas. Had the Bolsheviks and Lunacharsky in particular been too ambitious in their plans for enlightenment of the masses?

needs
and

Although divided on a number of issues, most notably interpretations of Marxism-Leninism - Lunacharsky especially had no real interest in compromise and “obscuring of the bright maximalist bases of fully revolutionary Marxism”⁷ - the Bolsheviks had certain policies that they wished to implement with almost immediate effect. A common ground therefore needed to be found. Lunacharsky simply expressed his desire for the instilment of Communist principles so that “The young person should be taught to think in terms of ‘we’, and all private interests should be left behind.”⁸

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The Revolution had, in the mind of the intellectuals, given them the opportunity to create a new society. As Russia’s population was in the majority made up of poor peasants and working people the widespread grassroots support from the working classes gave the revolution momentum. Thus they would be the focus of Bolshevik policy. Whilst intellectuals dreamed of a “Bolshevik Utopia” the ordinary people had not seen revolution as the opportunity for them to live by new, alien principles. They had supported revolution because they wanted to see new economic and social changes that would benefit both them and their families. Although it should not be said that the working classes were ignorant of the ideals that caused the Revolution, Prince Lvov in a letter to the American businessman Charles Crane in 1918 said that “Bolshevism has

Is this
true?

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point

⁶ A. Lunacharsky, “Revolutionary Silhouettes” The Penguin Press pg.18 (1967)

⁷ S. Fitzpatrick “The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky” Cambridge University Press pg.3 (1970)

⁸ O. Figes “The Whisperers” Penguin Books pg.20 (2008)

found a fertile soil in the base and anarchistic instincts of the people."⁹ However the support was founded in revolution and could not be guaranteed afterwards.

It would seem that the Bolsheviks were unprepared for power with Figes explaining that "There was no master plan."¹⁰ In particular The Commissariat of Enlightenment was ridiculed and criticised by other Commissariats, with its workers considered lazy and incompetent. The system was riddled with indiscipline, with workers consistently arriving late and the whole Commissariat was chronically understaffed except in the museums and supply departments. Almost "no member of staff had any administrative or organisational experience outside the world or émigré revolutionary politics"¹¹ However disorderliness amongst workers was not unique to the Commissariat of Enlightenment but as Fitzpatrick explains the Commissariat "carried organizational anarchy to a fairly extreme point."¹² It is therefore remarkable that Lunacharsky and the Commissariat was able to achieve anything, perhaps suggesting either that disorganisation has little effect upon the inner-workings of a political body as long as it is not coupled with total incompetence or that the Commissariat was not as influential in the process of education as other parts of Soviet government.

Originally in his first declaration as Commissar for Education in October 1917 Lunacharsky had surprisingly anticipated a "very modest"¹³ role for the central Commissariat, but initial plans were conflicting with the initiatives of other

⁹ Orlando Figes, "A People's Tragedy The Russian Revolution 1891-1924", Pimlico pg.650 (1997)

¹⁰ O. Figes, "A People's Tragedy The Russian Revolution 1891-1924" Pimlico pg. (1997)

¹¹ S. Fitzpatrick "The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky" Cambridge University Press pg.20 (1970)

¹² S. Fitzpatrick, "The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky", Cambridge University Press, pg. 24 (1970)

¹³ S. Fitzpatrick, "The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky", Cambridge University Press pg. 26 (1970)

Commissariats such as the Commissariat of Internal Affairs which instantly soured the relationship between the two.

In an already progressively literate society, Lunacharsky had the opportunity to implement a system based on the “furthering of principles.” It was not necessary for Lunacharsky to force education on the masses. Nevertheless in order to combat illiteracy far more quickly than had been done under the Tsarist regime a policy of “the liquidation of illiteracy” adopted in 1919 made it punishable to refuse to become literate.

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However the adopted system of indoctrination present in Bolshevik Russia led to a backlash against communism with a 1927 survey of schoolchildren aged eleven to fifteen showing that they had become increasingly negative towards Communist values as they grew older, supporting the idea that Lunacharsky’s attempts to encourage Marxist idealism in citizens had failed.

Judgment

The Commissariat for Enlightenment was arguably one of the most important government institutions with Lunacharsky at its helm as Fitzpatrick states. However the two are not necessarily connected. The Bolsheviks placed education at the top of their agenda, seeing themselves as “engineers of the human soul”¹⁴. Lunacharsky may have been deemed to have the correct attitude of “care” and sensitivity for the job but the Commissariat still would have been important without him and, it may be argued, would have been more successful. Lunacharsky deemed his position as head of the Commissariat as exceedingly important he was the head of a People’s Commissariat of Education in a revolutionary government whose historical mission was to achieve the enlightenment of the people. However as the 1920’s progressed he became increasingly marginalized, having never been engaged in fierce battles over the adoption of a soft

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Whilst the Bolsheviks attempt to “enlighten” Soviet citizens was in many way unsuccessful it is questionable as to whether this was the fault of Lunacharsky. Despite being a powerful member of government Lunacharsky was not given legislative autonomy and nor was he always given the universal support of other powerful members of government and the party. Despite Lenin remaining loyal to Lunacharsky, his support was not guaranteed and was not always total, indeed Lenin famously proclaimed the he would “flog him (Lunacharsky) for Futurism” in response to Lunacharsky’s support of the Futurist art movement which Lenin detested. Lunacharsky’s weaknesses as a politician are highlighted here as if he had been more tactful he may have been able to keep Lenin on his side or even encourage Lenin’s support of the movement. However fortunately for Lunacharsky Lenin did not remain angry for very long.

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Whilst it may be true that Lunacharsky struggled to put his thoughts into action the Bolshevik educational system did undergo radical change. Whether this change was positive is unlikely, a New York Times article from 1919 not only criticised Lunacharsky condemning him as “depraved” but also the teaching methods employed and suggested that teachers has simply been replaced with “illiterate supporters of the Bolshevik regime”¹⁴. Although the United States would undoubtedly have been critical of the Communist regime there may have been some worthy evidence in this article. The testimony it cites is from a Polish school teacher, who probably had the interests of her students most at heart, however she is unlikely to have been unbiased due to the relationship between the polish and soviet states.

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¹⁴ Orlando Figes, “A People’s Tragedy The Russian Revolution 1891-1924”, Pimlico (1997)

¹⁵ Special Cable to The New York Times, “Reds Are Ruining Children of Russia; Lunacharsky’s System

However the evidence in this article is not necessarily as enlightening as that of M. Hindus who clearly explained that many young people in 1926 felt that “it was too much responsibility to be a young communist”¹⁶. Communism was too much work and too hard. It can therefore be argued that Lunacharsky did not succeed in this field rather failed. A soviet education did not instill a love of communist principles more a distinct dislike and even hatred of them. Lenin’s desire for all citizens to be “educated in basic Marxist principles” was not achieved. Teaching and schooling in general remained almost the same as before, thus discrediting the idea that the education received by pupils under the Bolsheviks was truly “revolutionized.” However Hindus’ evidence comes from young people who found that true “young communists” were too devoted to the regime and too fixated in their beliefs. Perhaps there is a geographical divide in the adoption of communist principles, Hindus’ evidence comes from the rural village he grew up in with the young communists referred to coming from more urban areas.

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Failures in educational policy and artistic development between 1917 and 1929 however may have been symptomatic of a wider-spread failure in the Bolshevik state as a whole. Collectivisation and the New Economic Policy made ordinary familial life far harder particularly for the poor. It is unlikely in a society that is unable to feed itself that an appreciation of the arts or even a basic education will become the priority for the majority of people. Indeed in another criticism of Bolshevik agenda the exclusion of the Jewish population and children of the entrepreneurial classes “lishenets” could not have failed to affect the educational welfare of the state. Dismissing exceedingly talented

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of Calculated Moral Depravity,” The New York Times Company, Friday June 13th 1919

¹⁶ Cited in T.Fiehn and C.Corin “Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin” John Murray (Publishers) Ltd. 2002 (pg. 277)

students such as Sonia Laskin¹⁷ who was, despite gaining high grades in all her exams, excluded from medical school could have a widespread effect on the Bolshevik state as a whole if repeated again and again. With students often encouraged into taking more practical jobs many abandoned academic education. The emphasis on social origin and its implications meant that students such as Alexandr Simonov who chose a career in industry in order to escape from his background and create a new "proletarian identity"¹⁸ often lost out in terms of what they could have achieved.

Lunacharsky also failed to, in a sense, "give the people what they want(ed)" in that there was widespread criticism from a very grassroots level about teaching in schools. Peasant families saw no need for farming and collectivisation methods to be taught in schools and desired a more academic bias focusing on "the three R's" as despite promising to combat illiteracy many children suffered in basic tests. One of the key arguments to suggest that Lunacharsky did not succeed in creating an educational system of enlightenment is that essentially the school system failed, with more traditional methods having to be restored in 1921. Still even a return to this system did not see an improvement in the system with pupil numbers falling in 1923 to barely half of what they had been two years previously¹⁹. Even Bukharin, the Politburo spokesman on Youth questions, "expressed concerns over the anarchic effects of educational experimentation"²⁰. The Bolsheviks with their enthusiasm for the new were moving backwards seemingly a contradiction to Figs statement that "Bolshevism was nothing if

¹⁷ Figs "The Whisperers" pg.67

¹⁸ Figs "The Whisperers"

¹⁹ T. Fiehn and C. Corin "Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin" John Murray (Publishers) Ltd. (2002)

²⁰ S. Fitzpatrick, Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-34 pg. 35 (1979)

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not a strategy of modernization.”²¹

There is also an argument which is impossible to ignore as it is probably the argument that most applies to Lunacharsky and his work; and that is that Bolshevik educational policy was too ideological to be successful. The image many of intellectuals had of the workers as “uncorrupted by bourgeois individualism; collectivist in their ways of life and thought; sober, serious and self-improving; interested in science and sport”²² was “in short the pioneers of the intelligentsia’s own imagined socialist culture.”²³ The intellectuals responsible for policy - such as Lunacharsky - patronised the working population and allowed their own ideals to take over from sound judgment on a number of issues. It was not just Lunacharsky who struggled to convert his ideas into policy and then actions.

It would seem from this that Lunacharsky’s legacy is one of failed aspirations. The Commissariat oversaw not just educational policy but also cultural policy and indeed a number of artists, playwrights and authors flourished under the regime. However even Eisenstein the great filmmaker was not appreciated by the Bolshevik elite with Herbert Marshall explaining that “it is the irony of fate that Sergei Eisenstein’s fame and appreciation was primarily abroad.”²⁴ Marshall then goes on to confidently assert that “what he (Eisenstein) achieved was done in spite of them and even the world-shaking success of his great *Potemkin* (which was declared by an international jury to be still the best film ever made)²⁵ was not at first appreciated and accepted by the bureaucrats of the

²¹ Orlando Figes, “A People’s Tragedy The Russian Revolution 1891-1924” Pimlico pg. 743 (1997)

²² Figes, “A People’s Tragedy” pg.736

²³ Figes, “A People’s Tragedy” pg.736

²⁴ H. Marshall “Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies” Routledge and Kegan Paul plc (1983)

²⁵ H. Marshall, 1983

Communist Party of the Soviet Union."²⁶ Marshall's great admiration for Eisenstein's work may have clouded his judgment. Imported Western films remained more popular with the majority of soviet citizens than Eisenstein's work, nor did Eisenstein find favour with the intellectual elite, despite Lunacharsky's admiration for his work. However it may be fair to say that many artists are not always appreciated in their own lifetime, so Eisenstein here is not the exception. The more useful evidence is that of the "rise-and-fall" Eisenstein experienced during his career. Marshall cites the film "*The Battleship Potemkin*" as Eisenstein's greatest and indeed one of the best in the world. *Potemkin* was commissioned by the Central Committee who may have simply disliked the outcome however after the release of his next film *October* (also considered one of his greatest, also commissioned by the Central Committee, also about issues central to Bolshevism) which was equally as good but did not find equal favour with the All-Union Party Congress on Film Questions ruling that "Socialist Realism was the only acceptable artistic style."²⁷ It seems here that irrelevant of quality Eisenstein's work was only praised and acceptable when it conformed to regulations.

The Proletkult an artistic organization run by Alexander Bogdanov took advantage of the ideological principles of a number of artistes who were prepared to work within its system. Although not directly under Lunacharsky's command the Proletkult can be seen as a "success". Its members and other associated included Mayakovsky, Khodasevich, Stanislavsky, Rodchenko, El Lissitsky and the great painter Chagall even took poetry classes. But, as Figs is careful to point out this "coalition" was only partly

²⁶ H. Marshall, "Masters of the Soviet Cinema: Crippled Creative Biographies" Routledge and Kegan Paul plc pg. 188 (1983)

²⁷ T.Fiehn, C.Corin "Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin" John Murray pg. 283 (2002)

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due to common principles and can also be seen as a “marriage of convenience”²⁸. Siegelbaum highlights the practical issues that faced writers as well as artists and explains that literature suffered “if only because of the acute shortage of paper.”²⁹ Faced with such basic logistical issues it seems that Lunacharsky would have been one of the least well-equipped people to deal with them. Although undoubtedly a large amount of excellent literature was produced during his time as Commissar it seems that more could have been done to aid struggling artistes, however Lunacharsky cannot really be held accountable for the lack of paper.

With censorship of the arts a prescient issue – tsarist censorship had ended and there was effectively no censorship in the early years with a 1925 ruling by the Politburo not to intervene in matters of form and style in the arts enabling a large amount of artistic freedom - Bolshevik patronage and the benefits it brought in the form of extra rations and materials were invaluable. Association with the government was a small price to pay; artists did not as they had feared lose their autonomy completely. However it can be seen that the Bolsheviks really did very little to enable artists to work; without the patronage of the government and the extra resources that brought with it artists would have struggled and indeed many would have found it impossible to work. Many did. Although it has often been credited that the Bolsheviks encouragement of artistic freedom was a significant achievement and an entirely new movement in the form of Futurism flourished despite Lenin’s opposition. Lunacharsky could be seen as having succeeded here in his attempt to “encourage innovation” maybe it was only Lenin’s opinions on

²⁸ Figes, “A People’s Tragedy” pg.736

²⁹ L. Siegelbaum “Soviet State and Society between Revolutions, 1918-1929” Cambridge University Press. Pg. 56 (1994)

self-expressionism ("bourgeois-anarchist-individualism"³⁰) that stifled innovation. However even the relative success of the Proletkult in its early years did not exempt it from having to comply with acceptable Bolshevik standards it could never win Lenin's support; viewed as developing into an independent-working class organization which the Bolsheviks "would not tolerate"³¹ its regional and central offices were shut down. Even though artists such as Malevich and Lissitsky (both members) produced "agitprop art" in support of the regime the Proletkult could not survive.

clear point made

Lunacharsky did have his hands tied. In 1918 when Maxim Gorky agreed to work with the Commissariat Lunacharsky had to balance Gorky's desire to "save Russian culture"³² whilst combating Lenin's "impatience about such 'trivial matters.'"³³ However Lunacharsky's main concern should have been "the masses" who were not interested in pioneering new forms of art and were "essentially conservative"³⁴ in their tastes, far more so than was realized or understood by the intellectuals supporting the modernist movement and the artists themselves. As Figs explains "When it comes to the matters of artistic taste, there is nothing the semi-educated worker wants more than to mimic the bourgeoisie"³⁵ Lunacharsky could not force culture onto people nor could he make them enthusiastic about something that they did not like at the very basest level.

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point made

Although it is possible to argue that Lunacharsky was key in a number of changes to the educational system in Bolshevik Russia in this period and therefore did achieve a large amount as Commissar for Enlightenment it would also seem that his influence was limited. As the head of an extremely important Commissariat it would be expected the

judgment

³⁰ T.Fiehn, C.Corin "Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin" Pg.278

³¹ T.Fiehn, C.Corin "Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin" Pg. 278

³² Figs, "A People's Tragedy" pg.737

³³ Figs, "A People's Tragedy"

Lunacharsky would have had the opportunity to radically change and indeed instigate Cultural Revolution. It is Stalin who is credited with halting the "cultural revolution." His dismissal of Lunacharsky could be seen as nothing more than the result of a personality "clash"; however Lunacharsky resigned from the Commissariat in 1929 before Stalin had reached the height of his power. Ideological differences have been cited and perhaps Stalin realized that Lunacharsky was not "political" enough.

point made

Lunacharsky's inability to act correctly as a politician could be seen as the reason he failed in his attempt to "enlighten". However his failures could be seen as symptomatic of the failure of the Bolshevik state however with such importance placed on education and culture in Bolshevik government it could be argued that Lunacharsky should not have failed.

meaning?

It is clear the Lunacharsky had an almost impossible task and it is probably most accurate to say that the issue is one highlighted earlier; the fact that "There was no master plan."³⁶ Lunacharsky attempted to run a Commissariat on ideas and whilst he could encourage some to engage with and adopt Communist principles it was inevitable that he would not be entirely successful. Of those who did adopt Communist principles a number like Aleksei Radchenko³⁷ (who took to heart his father's encouragement to "become like" Lenin) had parents who were supporters of the regime and were deeply involved with Bolshevik government. Aleksei also cites Lenin as his hero and inspiration so it is unlikely that Lunacharsky or his educational system influenced his (Aleksei's) actions as much as his upbringing did.

and

³⁴ Figes, "A People's Tragedy" Pg. 740

³⁵ Figes, "A People's Tragedy" Pg. 740

³⁶ Figes, "A People's Tragedy The Russian Revolution 1891-1924" Pimlico pg. (1997)

³⁷ Figes, "The Whisperers"

Whether Lunacharsky achieved his ambition to enlighten the masses through his educational and cultural ideas is doubtful. A number of problems facing the Commissariat were almost entirely practical and it seems that Lunacharsky was unable as an idealist to cope with them. To create a "Bolshevik Utopia" would have required a more practical thinker and politician than Lunacharsky in charge. Although his role as Commissar of Enlightenment was exceedingly important it seems that practical issues as well as Lunacharsky's inability to cope with them consistently undermined attempts to "enlighten." Perhaps if Lunacharsky had Lenin's "ability to raise opportunism to the level of genius"³⁸ he may have been more able to become more than simply the "poet of the revolution."

end

clear points made

³⁸ Lunacharsky, "Revolutionary Silhouettes" pg. 47

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The New York Times Company

Examiner Comment

This was an interesting choice of question. It would have been helpful for the candidate to establish why Lunarcharsky has been thought of as important and whether his importance has been either over-stated or under-stated. The introduction offered some comments on the context and some quotations from sources and suggested a view that Lenin had erred in appointing an inexperienced intellectual to a key post. There was some evidence to support this view with both Figes and Fitzpatrick seeming to agree and there was some substantiation, but it was not made entirely clear what Lunarcharsky was trying to do. Evidence of failure was given as a survey of school children in 1927 showing negative attitudes, but there was no reference to the origin of this and no critique of it as evidence. There was some attempt to evaluate evidence, for example a reference to Lunacharsky as 'depraved' by the New York Times in 1919 and this was seen as possibly biased since 'The United States would undoubtedly have been critical of the Communist regime'. It is also supported by a study of 1926 by M.Hindus, quoted in a textbook, but the evaluation was relatively superficial. The evidence was not very directly linked to a clear explanation of Lunarcharsky's aims and policies, but it did deploy evidence to support a generally critical view with some sense of evaluation. Bukharin was quoted as being critical of educational experimentation – but the context of this was not established and there was a feeling of section sources being used more to support a view rather than a debate being pursued by a critical examination of different evidence or possible interpretations. However, the answer is generally focused, deploys evidence, comes to a clear conclusion and is of Merit quality.

Example Candidate Response – Pass

What, if anything, did the Fenians achieve?

It can be debated as to whether the nationalist group, the Fenian Brotherhood, managed to successfully achieve anything in its attempts to gain Irish independence from British rule. For like the group, Young Ireland, before them the Fenians' attempts at uprising failed, both in 1865 and in 1867. Thus it can be safely said that the Fenians failed to achieve their aim of winning Irish independence through violence. However, it can be argued that the Fenians did have some achievements in that they gave the Irish people a sense of national identity. They also made Britain do something about Ireland with Gladstone, when he came into power in 1868, saying 'My mission is to pacify Ireland'.

Over time

It can be said that the Fenian attempts at uprising in 1855 and 1867 were all failures as they did not achieve what they wanted, Irish independence. In September 1855 the British Government pre-empted the Fenian Uprising orchestrated by James Stephens by arresting key members in the Fenian Brotherhood. The fact that the Fenian Brotherhood was a public organisation with 'no more secrecy about it than there is about ordering joint of meat from your butcher'¹ allowed the British Government to identify the threat of the Fenians and thus move against them. The British Government, however, were often unaware of what was going on in the Fenian camp due to the brilliant organization of Stephens. They had to rely on system of informers in order to discover the Fenian plans and even then they did not know the full extent of what was going on. An example of this is how Stephens managed to escape arrest and remain free in Dublin for over two months after the arrests of his co-conspirators before his position was finally discovered.

failures

British difficulties

It can be argued that in his organizational ability Stephens managed to achieve something for the Irish people. He has been praised for his organizational ability despite lacking 'almost all the qualities required of a great revolutionary leader, being jealous and boastful, capable of small-mindedness and untruthful at least to the point of serious self-deception. But this extraordinary egotism was always allied to an extraordinary capacity for organization and work'² and Cluseret, the Frenchman, called him 'an organizer to the finger ends'³. A testimony of his organizational ability is when Stephens successfully raised nationality in Ireland by parading the body of Terrence Bellew McManus, a Young Irelander who died on the fifteenth of April 1861, throughout America where Archbishop Hughes in St Patricks Cathedral said that in some cases the Catholic Church found it lawful to resist and overthrow a tyrannical government. Before taking the body to Ireland and burying it in front of a huge crowd. Stephens' tactics were also almost identical to, and no doubt influenced Michael Collins' tactics in the 1920's, with the creation of circles where the members only

Stephens

¹ Robert Kee, *The Bold Fenian Men* (Limited in 1976, London)-Originally written in *The Irish Liberator* in America and was then quoted by the *Irish People* on the 13th February 1864

² Ibid Page 8 to 9

³ Ibid Page 10

supposedly knew the other members of their circle. However, there were some discrepancies and this, coupled with the fact that the Fenians were a public group, allowed the Government to infiltrate them. But still it is clear that Collins' flying columns were based of Stephens' circles as well, perhaps, as the idea for the war for Irish independence. Collins also appears to have been influenced by the Fenians' tactics militarily for they in 'many respects did not differ in general intention from the scheme of action finally adopted fifty years later by the Irish Republican Brotherhood'⁴ that being guerrilla tactics, destroying railways and telegraph communications and harassing government movements. It also allowed Collins to learn from the Fenians' mistakes for example he learnt the threat of informers and he managed to infiltrate the British base in Dublin and discover who was spying on him. Therefore the Fenians did achieve something by influencing Michael Collins into using the tactics which resulted in the British giving Ireland dominion status in the Anglo Irish Treaty of 1922. Stephens also played an important part in that he was deeply influenced by the United Irishmen and their uprising in 1848 and because of this he included in the Fenian rules the idea that tradition was extremely important even at the price of failure. This paved the way for others such as Patrick Pearse and the men of the Easter Rising who all had a deep belief in the importance of the heroic myth surrounding the Fenians. So they decided to go through with the Rising even though it was doomed due to lack of men and arms.

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The second Fenian attempt at an uprising also failed. Stephens had been deposed and discredited following a loss of nerve after his time in prison due to his constant putting off of the uprising. He was replaced as leader by Kelly in all but title. Their original plan was to strike in England at Chester Castle in February 1868 to get weapons and ammunition to supply those waiting in Ireland. But once again they were betrayed by an informer, John Corydon, and the Fenian men in Chester headed by McCafferty were arrested. The uprising was quickly called off and postponed yet again; the new date was set for March. Here it is clear that the Fenians did not achieve anything for Ireland in this attempt. This is emphasised by the General-in-command, Cluseret, who criticised the Fenians for their incompetence. He criticised them for rather than hearing news of stocks of arms or troop positioning he had to listen to them debating on theological issues and who should take over from Stephens. He also found that many of the American-Irish drank too much including Massey, who was high up in command and a close friend of the informer Corydon. Cluseret criticised him saying he would have made an adequate captain or a corporal but as a general he was deplorable.

Chester

The Fenians third attempt at uprising in early March 1867 was, like the two before, a disastrous and in some regards comical failure. But from this uprising it can be said that the Fenians did manage to

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⁴ Ibid Pg 34

achieve something. Firstly the 'provisional government of the Irish Republic' sent a copy of their proclamation to *The Times*. This proclamation started by saying 'We have suffered centuries of outrage, enforced poverty and bitter misery. Our rights have been trampled by alien aristocracy, who...usurped our lands'⁵. This successfully established the myth that would continue throughout Irish nationalism, the idea that the 'owners of the soil' (the landlords) in Ireland were alien even though most of them had been Irishmen for centuries and shared the same religion and racial colouring. This idea was successfully used by Parnell years later when drumming up support for the Irish Land League in his attempt to get the British Prime minister, William Gladstone, to give them the three F's (fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale) during the Irish Land War.

ideas
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The uprising on the night of the fourth of March was once again a comical affair with Massey being arrested as he got off the train at Limerick having been betrayed by Corydon. Cluseret quickly fled from Cork in the middle of the night leaving the Irish Republican Army unaware that they had been discovered. An example of the disaster that followed for the Fenians is the events at Ballyhurst just outside Tipperary. A Fenian force assembled there led by an American Irish General with a shrunken leg, T.F. Bourke. Earlier they had managed to successfully destroy some telegraph poles and they had torn up some railway track (which can to some extent be seen as an achievement when compared to the previous Fenian attempts). However, when approached by a group of soldiers the Fenians let off a wild volley and then with a cry of 'To the mountains!', Bourke galloped off in an opposite direction to his men. A soldier, spotting Bourke, managed to shoot his horse bringing him down and quarter of an hour later he was arrested creeping along the side of a bank with the aid of a stick. But, this comical and disastrous event can be seen as an achievement for the Fenians, and indeed this is true of all the events of the uprising, as twenty five years later even the failure of Ballyhurst had become part of heroic myth with an Irish poet writing this: 'And Ballyhurst did more that day to raise all England's fears, Than all the blatherskite I've heard these five and twenty years'⁶. Therefore, although the uprising was a failure it did go down in Irish historical myth inspiring men like Patrick Pearse to go through with the Easter Rising.

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The Fenians also appeared to have achieved something in this uprising as they managed to raise public awareness and nationalist feeling in Ireland. In Waterford the police who were escorting Fenian prisoners to the goal shortly after the uprising were attacked by a mob of eight thousand Irishmen leading to thirty eight policemen being wounded and one of the members of the mob being killed. Corydon the informer was stoned in the streets for the part he played in betraying the Fenians. There were also demonstrations in Cork, Munster, Limerick along with other towns.

Waterford

⁵ This was published in the *Times*, 8th March 1867

⁶ J.J. Finnamann, *Patriotic Songs*, (Published in Limerick, 1913) Page 136-7

Therefore, it can be said that here the Fenians did achieve something as it could be argued that they appeared to have managed to nationalise the Irish population. But, this was not in fact the case as the sympathy 'was emotional and confused rather than expressive of any identity with specific aims'⁷. For as well as there being shouts for 'Hurrah for the Fenians!' there were also shouts 'Hurrah for Carrickshock!'. Carrickshock was an event in Ireland's past where the Irish had a victory over the police during the tithe war. Thus it can be said that the Fenians, despite getting some popular sympathy for their cause, did not achieve very much in raising a sense of nationalist identity in Ireland nor did they manage to form an independent Irish republic as they said they would. But it is what followed the uprising that may well have been the Fenians' biggest achievement.

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On the eighteenth of September 1867 thirty Fenians ambushed a police van going to Belle Vue prison in Manchester in an attempt to save Kelly and Captain Deasy. This resulted in the death of policeman, Sergeant Brett, who refused to open the door of the van. The British responded quickly rounding up a large number of Irishmen in the Manchester area and five of them were put on trial even though they were probably innocent of the crime. One of the Irish men put on trial, Maguire, an Irish Marine, even claimed that he knew nothing of Fenianism. Following this there was a lot of bad feeling against the Government in both Britain and Ireland and the Government was forced to admit that it had made a mistake acquitting Maguire and Condon. Condon, an American citizen, was acquitted after pressure was put on the Government by the American legation in London. But the other three men, Allen, Larkin and O'Brian, were condemned to be hung⁸ innocent or not. All three of them made speeches against the British most notable of which was Allen's speech saying 'I'll die as many thousands have died, for the sake of their beloved land and in defence of it. I will die proudly and triumphantly in defence...of an oppressed and enslaved people'⁹. They were hung on the twenty fourth of November 1867. This raised a lot of national feeling in Ireland; the three men were the first Irishmen to be hung since Emmet and the United Irishmen, who were national heroes in their time. It followed that the three men would also become heroes. They became known as the Manchester Martyrs. An example of the change in mood in Ireland is the change of feeling in A.D Sullivan, who was editor of the Irish paper *The Nation* and had been in opposition to the Fenians, but after the events of November 1867 he published in his brother's paper a song saying 'God save Ireland! Cried the heroes, God save Ireland! Say we all'⁹. This tune became the Irish national anthem for the next fifty years. The events in Manchester also led to a petition in January 1868 by Roman Catholic clergymen asking for the repeal of the union and the restoration of the Irish Parliament but at the same time the Archbishop Cullen of Dublin strongly condemned the Fenian movement.

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⁷ Robert Kee, *The Bold Fenian Men* (Quartet Books Limited in 1976, London) Page 44

⁸ Anthony Glynn, *High upon the gallows tree* (Tralee 1967) Page 30-31

⁹ Robert Kee, *The Bold Fenian Men* (Quartet Books Limited in 1976, London) Page 48

Therefore it can be said that the Fenians did achieve something in giving the people of Ireland a clearer sense of national identity which had been lacking before the Fenians. For example, in 1856 the Irish paper *The Tribune* published the title 'No Nationality in Ireland'. The fact that the paper went out of business after only fifteen issues suggests that not only was there no nationalist feeling in Ireland but also they were not interested in reading about it. Another nationalist paper *The Wexford Guardian*, also condemned Ireland's lack of nationalist identity saying that 'Now England's difficulty in the Crimean war had come and gone and they (the Irish) looked like mountebanks or fools or worse...is it to be said that we are men of Gascony, who boasted, what we dared not perform?'¹⁰. Even Stephens himself said that 'the ardour of Young Ireland had evaporated as if it had never existed'¹¹. However, Robert Kee argues that the Fenians 'failed to create a widely accepted national tradition almost as dismally as the United Irishmen...They had accumulated popular sympathy but little positive support for republican separatism'¹². This is true as there was still very little support for the extreme sort of nationalism that the Fenians wanted; this is shown by the rise of Parnell and Politics in Irish nationalism in the next twenty five years and the sidelining of extreme groups which only got popular support after the events of the Easter Rising in 1916. But history records that the Fenians did contribute towards the rise of nationalism in Ireland which Parnell then used to his advantage.

Sense
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nationality

Comment
and
evaluate

The Fenian attempt to rescue a fellow Fenian from Clerkenwell Prison on the twelfth of December 1868 was also significant as they used too much dynamite in their attempt to break in and blew up most of the prison wall along with a number of the neighbouring houses as well as killing many British citizens. This, despite being a failure, brought home to the British population the threat of the Irish and is one of the main reasons why when Gladstone came to power he announced that his mission was to pacify Ireland. Therefore, the Fenians did achieve something here as they are the reason why Gladstone started his 'Kill Ireland with kindness' campaign, giving Ireland a number of concessions such as the Land Acts and the Maynooth Grant, as well as paving the way for a different sort of nationalism, Parnell and the IPP. During the 1870's the Fenians slowly faded out of public view to later reappear under the name, the Irish Republican Brotherhood. But they did help Parnell with financial backing and this can be viewed as an achievement.

Clerkenwell

all
forms

Therefore, in conclusion it can be said that the Fenians failed miserably in their aims of creating an independent Irish state but they did have other achievements. 'Fenianism conditioned the British population to embrace in a manner foreign to their habits in other times, the vast importance of the

balance

¹⁰ Robert Kee, *The Bold Fenian Men* (Quartet Books Limited in 1976, London) Page 8

¹¹ *Ibid* Page 8-9

¹² *Ibid* Page 55

Irish controversy¹³ causing Gladstone to give Ireland a number of concessions and leading to the rise of Parnell. They went down in Irish myth as heroes and inspired characters such as Patrick Pearse. They laid down the tactics and organization that Michael Collins would later use to such success. They also provided Ireland some sense of national identity which had been previously lacking.

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Examiner Comment

Unless carefully handled this title could lead to description and the candidate offers too much of an account rather than an analysis. Characterised by narrative in places, the answer contained little critical evaluation. Sources tended to illustrate rather than support arguments. There is a clear example of how the inherent interest of the events research seems to have led the candidate into description. The debate raised in the opening was not really pursued in any depth and information was imparted too much, rather than being used to support explanations or assessment about the degree of failure. There was little to suggest what yardsticks might be used for an analytical assessment. There was some explanation, but the support for the points made was variable. The conclusion was brief and unsatisfying. It showed a certain limitation in identifying criteria and constructing arguments and counter-arguments, but did offer a view. This is Pass standard work – research had been undertaken and the communication was sound, but there was limited analytical depth and discussion.

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