



Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/01C

Paper 1C British History Outlines, 1688–c. 2000

For Examination from 2016

SPECIMEN MARK SCHEME

2 hours 15 minutes

MAXIMUM MARK: 90

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **44** printed pages.

These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.

Introduction

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

Examiners will 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 will be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit will be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners will use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It goes without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners will also bear in mind 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 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 4 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 will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners will 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 5: 25–30 marks

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.

Band 4: 19–24 marks

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.

Band 3: 13–18 marks

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.

Band 2: 7–12 marks

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 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.

Band 1: 1–6 marks

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; the answer is likely to include unsupported generalisations, and there will be some vagueness and irrelevance. 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 and investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources are not to be expected. The answer may be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished.

Band 0: 0 marks

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

Section 1: 1688–1760**1 Explain the contrasting fortunes of the Tory Party in the years 1689 to 1714.**

AO1 – Candidates should know about the factors which influenced Tory fortunes. The most important are likely to be the two wars which frame the period, including the costs of those wars and the implications for taxation, religion (especially support for the Church of England), the accession of a pro-Tory Queen in Anne (1702) and, in Anne's reign, manoeuvres towards Union and the need for a Protestant succession. Candidates might also note William III's attempts to act as a 'trimmer', with Tories (Danby, Godolphin, Nottingham and Halifax) included in a Privy Council where Whigs were in the majority. William also attempted management of parliaments in which Tories and Whigs were fairly evenly balanced. Candidates may note that party structures and disciplines in this period were fluid, especially during William's reign. Candidates should know that Whigs and Tories were fairly evenly balanced during William's reign and that, though Anne usually favoured Tories, Whigs held the upper hand from 1705 to 1710. Candidates might discuss the reasons for the decisive Tory victories in the elections of 1710 and 1713 and the contrasting versions of Toryism espoused by Harley and by St John.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the reasons for the changing fortunes of the Tories in the reigns of William and Mary and of Anne. Candidates could place emphasis on three factors above others: the succession of a partisan Queen; the impact of war (and especially the widely-felt need for peace from c. 1710); the defence of the Church of England against non-conformity (often presented as disloyalty). Candidates should know why support for the Church often went hand in hand with support for the Tories. Candidates might argue that lingering support for Jacobitism within the party usually worked against the Tories. They may also distinguish between 'Court Tories' and the 'Country Party'. Some may argue that, by 1710, country-party attitudes (pro-Church, anti-taxation, suspicion and resentment of the new moneyed interest) were often indistinguishable from support for the Tories. Some candidates might also argue that contrasting fortunes for the Tories also reflected a lack of developed party consciousness, especially in the reign of William.

2 To what extent may Britain's participation in the war of the Spanish Succession be considered a success?

AO1 – Candidates should discuss reasons why Britain entered the war: to prevent Louis XIV's domination of Spain as well as France, to safeguard its trade and, thanks largely to William III's position, to support the Dutch against threat from the south. Also after Louis recognised James Edward Stuart as the rightful King of England, King and Parliament saw this as a dynastic struggle. Candidates should show knowledge of the War and its outcome. Candidates should know about Marlborough's campaigns and especially his successes first in the Low Countries and then in Germany at the head of English, Dutch and German forces. There are successes (particularly the battles of Blenheim and Oudenarde and the capture of Gibraltar). Candidates may know that the major successes of the war were front-loaded. Achievement after 1708 was limited. Allied campaigns in France and Spain from 1709 involved a number of defeats and setbacks. Overall, these campaigns achieved little. It is relevant to mention campaigns, especially at sea, in the Americas, in the West Indies and on the eastern seaboard. There is much activity but little in the way of decisive success. Candidates may also be aware that the Tory success in the election of 1710 was followed by considerably less commitment to continuing the war.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on how far Britain could claim success in this war. Candidates could argue that Britain was militarily successful, especially early in the war. Some may argue that attempts in France and Spain towards the end of the war involved much expense and very little success. Even a notional victory at Malplaquet was achieved only at major cost (20,000 allied casualties). Candidates may use the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in order to judge whether the greater involvement in European affairs, which was more or less forced on the British from 1713, represented a success in itself. Some might argue that Utrecht recognised Britain as unprecedentedly influential as a great power in Europe. The renunciation of the French throne by Philip V of Spain represented success, ending the threat of a united Bourbon control of both France and Spain. However, given that Allied forces generally enjoyed more success in the war than France and Spain, the peace brought very few territorial changes. France and Spain remained firm allies after the war ended, thus an enduring threat to Britain. Candidates may be aware of debates over whether the war had any decisive outcomes or rather maintained the late seventeenth-century status quo and may also, perhaps, consider Swift's anti-Churchill argument that the war was not about safeguarding the national interests but about 'the aggrandising of a particular Family'.

3 Did Walpole's long tenure of power in the years 1721–42 owe more to his own abilities or to the weaknesses of his opponents?

AO1 – The focus will be on the factors which contributed towards this long tenure. Consideration of Walpole's own abilities is likely to concentrate on his financial management (his handling of the South Sea Crisis is relevant, since its legacy includes his appointment as leading minister) and his ability to win over a sometimes hostile House of Commons. He saw, and exploited the fact, that the Commons was now the dominant House because of its control of finance. For the most part, he kept taxes low which assuaged the hostility of many 'country Tories' who had little reason to support him at the moment. He was also a dextrous, and not over-scrupulous, parliamentary manager. Candidates might argue that his abilities extended to 'spinning', particularly his exaggeration of the 1722 Jacobite threat in order to secure loyalty. He contrived the loyalty of two famously 'difficult' monarchs, further emphasising his manipulative skills, including his close relationship with Queen Caroline, wife of George II. On the other side, Walpole can be said to have benefited from weaknesses and division among his opponents, and also from the premature death of possible rivals, notably Stanhope in 1721 and, although discredited by the Bubble, Sunderland in 1722. The weakness of his opponents extended to the lack of an obvious rival with necessary experience, even after the failure of his excise bill.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Walpole's long tenure of power. Some candidates will concentrate on Walpole's strengths rather than his opponents' weaknesses, although there is plenty to say about the lack of an obvious ideological bond. Opponents seem, above all, to have wanted rid of Walpole without having an alternative programme likely to gain parliamentary support. There is little evidence that either monarch considered dismissing Walpole for long. Some candidates might argue that Walpole was more in office than truly in power, certainly from 1739 and the return of war, which (and its attendant expense) he had strenuously sought to avoid, and possibly before. That line of argument could link back to the assertion that, even when his key policies had failed, his opponents could not administer the *coup de grace*. Some candidates may be aware of recent work on popular support for, and opposition to, Walpole.

4 'A Church characterised by weak leadership and an inability to meet the needs of a changing society.' Assess this view of the Church of England in the years 1714–60.

AO1 – Candidates should include information about church leadership and the extent to which the Church was able to adapt to change. The emphasis is likely to be on the bishops and candidates should know about some leaders of the Church hierarchy, such as Edmund Gibson (frequently dubbed 'Walpole's pope'), William Wake, Thomas Sherlock, John Potter or the influential William Warburton. Beyond the personalities lies the broader issue of how leadership was exercised and whether the Church of England presented itself as effective, vigorous and doctrinally lucid. Candidates should understand the challenges faced by the Church, notably the linked factors of growing urbanisation and the challenge of nonconformity. Candidates should know how the Church attempted to meet these, while being aware that, certainly by 1760, the Church of England was much stronger and provided a more secure pastoral 'service' in the countryside than the towns. It is also relevant, so long as the chronology is secure, to include material on the Church's response to Enlightenment thinking. Material on the early career of John Wesley is, relevant, perhaps as part of a discussion on the growing importance of evangelical religion.

AO2 – Candidates may argue that the Church was indeed too 'politicised', especially since the appointment of bishops had to be approved by leading ministers as well as the monarch. This might suggest to some that politics was placed before the discharge of effective pastoral care. Candidates who broadly accept the judgement provided in the quotation are likely to note the relative weakness of the Church in the growing towns, especially of the Midlands and North, and in the industrial areas, not least in the mining areas. Candidates may be aware of recent debates about the effectiveness of the Church. The Church has been portrayed in a more sympathetic light of late, often on the evidence of clerical visitations.

5 'Britain's desire for Great Power status best explains its involvement in conflicts on the continent of Europe in the years 1739–63.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates should show knowledge of Britain's involvement in the War of Jenkins's Ear, the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. They should know about Britain's allies in the 1740s and 1750s and about the significance of the 'diplomatic revolution' of 1756, which cemented a British-Prussian alliance. Candidates should also know about the outcome of the Austrian Succession and Seven Years wars, linked to changing perceptions of Britain as a great power.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the causes of Britain's involvement during this period. Candidates may refer to the long-standing suspicion of French power and influence, especially when linked in alliance to Spain. They may argue that it was desire for trading and colonial supremacy, rather than a desire to be recognised as a great power, which best explains Britain's involvement. Some candidates may use the knowledge that Walpole felt himself forced into war against his will in 1739 as evidence that the government did not wish to enhance its status in Europe. Others may argue that Great Power status was an ambition, but one which related to trans-continental commercial influence, rather than the exercise of military power on the continent of Europe. The pursuit of Great Power status had much to do with the Elder Pitt's period in office. George II used his influence to defend European family interests while trying to ensure that relations with ever more powerful Brandenburg-Prussia were not at the expense of Hanover. Discussion about what Great Power status actually meant (commercial and colonial dominance outside Europe or recognised parity with France and Austria on the continent of Europe) may determine the focus of an answer which should concentrate on the *causes* of involvement in these wars. Candidates may be aware of debates on the role of George II and on whether Britain remained as reluctant to commit directly to European wars in the 1750s as in the late 1730s.

Section 2: 1760–1815

6 How is the ministerial instability of the 1760s best explained?

AO1 – The focus will be on the theme of political instability in British politics in the 1760s. Candidates should show knowledge of the end of the Whig supremacy and the significance of the succession of a new ‘British’ monarch, anxious to cleanse what he saw as the Augean stables of party politics and graft. They should know about the significance of George III’s appointment of Bute as an ‘outsider’ prime minister. They could refer to the political conflicts which arose over how to end the Seven Years War. A further cause of controversy was the growth of opposition in the Americas to Britain’s taxation policies. The role of George personally is a significant one. The fact that Whig personalities, and attitudes, were so widely entrenched almost guaranteed instability when the new monarch tried to change things and exercise existing monarchical rights more actively. The relevant ministries of the period are: Newcastle/Pitt, 1757–1761/2; Bute, May 1762–April 1763; Grenville, April 1763–July 1765; Rockingham, July 1765–July 1766; Elder Pitt (Chatham), July 1766–October 1768; Grafton, October 1768–January 1770; North (appointed January 1770). Answers to this question require some knowledge and understanding of individuals as well as issues. The key political figures, apart from a young, inexperienced and wilful King, are the leading ministers but candidates might find a place for a ‘spoiler’ like Wilkes who might destabilise or undermine ministries. They might also refer to the controversial issues which made parliamentary management difficult.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about which factors were most important in explaining why George III appointed seven ministers in less than ten years. Many will weigh the relative responsibility George III should bear for the ministerial instability experienced against other factors. George III’s inexperience and lack of political *nous* in the early part of his reign certainly mattered. His failure to find a minister who could command reliable majorities in Parliament alongside royal favour was an important factor. The quality of some of the prime ministers he picked is also relevant. Bute and Grafton have come in for particular criticism. George was stubborn and could be impervious to argument and suggestions from those who knew the political world better than he.

Those candidates who argue that it is too easy to blame George III are likely to raise the importance of the issues involved: how the Seven Years War was to be concluded, and how it was to be paid for; the growth of opposition in the Americas and frequently weak or ambivalent government responses. Some may also refer to the maverick activities of John Wilkes as a cause of instability. Given that the question requires a judgement on what ‘best explains’ the instability, candidates must include in their answers discussion of relative importance. Candidates may be aware of debates on the validity of Whig criticisms that the King should bear greatest blame for the political problems because he didn’t trust his ministers and sometimes actively schemed against them. They may also be aware that George III’s reputation stands somewhat higher than it did and that it was hardly his fault that the stratagems which had sustained a ‘court Whig’ supremacy for Walpole and the Pelhams had largely broken down, leaving effective political management a much more difficult process, precisely at the time when a young and inexperienced monarch took over.

7 How important was foreign intervention by France and Spain in determining the outcome of the American colonists' struggle for independence in the years 1775–83?

AO1 – Candidates should refer to the importance of foreign intervention. Candidates should know about the significance of France and Spain as great powers and also of their status as long-established and significant powers in the American continent. From 1778, Britain needed to pay greater attention to its navy since both France, especially, and Spain (who entered the war in 1779) represented a significant threat to supremacy at sea. France and Spain were also in a position to help provision the colonies, making it less likely that the colonies could be starved into submission. Other factors on which candidates should draw include: Britain's unpreparedness for the kind of guerrilla war which the colonies were waging and the lack of knowledge of the terrain; the quality of British generalship; the military abilities of the colonies, including perhaps some concentration on the campaigns of Washington. Candidates might refer to key military conflicts, including: Lexington (1775), Saratoga (1777), Charleston (1780) and Yorktown (1781).

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the reasons for American victory and this requires evaluation of the relative importance of several linked causes. Candidates might argue that key weaknesses in Britain's campaign to subdue its colonies had already been revealed before 1778 and that military defeats which had little to do with France or Spain were the main reasons for the loss of its colonies. On the other hand, the intervention of two major powers substantially increased the dimensions of the task, not least by providing a much increased threat to the British navy and to its trading operations. It can be argued that both British morale and opposition to Britain's involvement in the conflict increased substantially after 1778. Candidates should make an informed judgement about the importance of foreign intervention compared with other factors. Candidates may be aware of debates about the extent of American resilience. Some may argue that, with a substantial minority of colonists opposed to radical American policies and wishing to sustain the colonial relationship, the impact of foreign intervention was particularly important since it put the conflict into a different dimension.

8 Why was Charles James Fox so rarely in office?

AO1 – Candidates should know that Fox held high office only three times, each time as foreign secretary, under Shelburne (1782), in the Fox-North Coalition (1783) and under Grenville just before he died (1806). Some candidates will know that he held minor office under North before resigning. He was the son of Henry Fox and the family was heavily involved in national politics. Fox might be said almost to have been bred for office. Candidates should also know about the problems which faced Fox, both in terms of personality (especially his conflict with the younger Pitt) and, particularly, policy. Candidates should also know about George III's hostility to Fox and its significance for his career. Some candidates might stress Fox's sweeping defeat in the 1784 general election as confirming how royal power could still swing the political balance.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Fox's long periods out of office, particularly in view of his abilities and background. There are a number of factors to consider, including: royal hostility (which from 1783 onwards was as implacable as it was sustained); the political abilities of Pitt (who had much more harmonious relations with the King); key issues, particularly those concerning liberty as against order (particularly in the 1790s) and support for peace and accommodation rather than war against French revolutionaries, many of whose principles and policies Fox supported. Candidates might also note that Fox was a strong 'party man', which also offended the King, whereas Pitt was careful not to create a personal party or to link himself too closely to one of the great landed political families. Candidates may be aware of debates over the nature of party politics in the 1780s and 1790s and consideration of the extent to which Fox's political career was irredeemably blighted early on or as a result of ideological differences which divided the Whigs in the 1790s and led to the Pitt-Portland coalition in 1794.

9 How great was the radical threat to the established political order in the years 1789–1803?

AO1 – Candidates should know about the radicals' desire to change the political system, via parliamentary reform and, for some, both democracy and republicanism. They should also know how organisations like the London Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information were inspired by the French Revolution. Some candidates will also know about the links between radicalism and growing discontent in Ireland with British rule. Candidates could refer to movements which were organised by artisans and skilled workers, especially in London and other craft towns, and those which were predominantly middle-class. It is also relevant to discuss the Whig-based Society of the Friends of the People.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the impact of radicalism, and particularly the extent of the threat it posed. Candidates who argue that the threat was real might stress the extent to which radicalism grew in the 1790s and the extent also to which it politicised groups who had not been prominent before. They might also stress the genuine radicalism of movements which aimed to put into practice political doctrines which drew their inspiration from the Enlightenment. On the other hand, candidates might argue that the radicals had only a limited power base and that Whig divisions helped Pitt to dominate political life and effectively mobilise the forces of order. Some candidates might argue that revolutionary threats in the later 1790s and early 1800s were relatively easily headed off. Candidates may be aware of relatively recent work which stresses how much popular support there was for conservative policies and especially for defeating the French and, therefore, the ideas of the French Revolution. Popular conservatism has received more extensive treatment in the last two decades than before.

10 Who contributed more to British success in the French Wars of 1793–1815: Nelson or Wellington?

AO1 – Some biographical information is permissible but candidates should link this to the effectiveness of both men as commanders. In the case of Nelson, candidates are likely to know of his contributions at St Vincent (1797), the Nile (1798) and Copenhagen (1801) as well as at Trafalgar (1805). They should also know about his strategy as a naval commander and his tactical awareness and use of the element of surprise. In the case of Wellington, candidates may know about his extensive career in India but, given the focus of the question, should concentrate on his leadership in the Peninsula (1808–14), including his victory at Talavera (1809) and his effectiveness in fighting what was often a defensive campaign. Candidates are likely to have detailed knowledge of his victory at Waterloo (1815).

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the relative importance of two key commanders during the French Wars. Candidates should discuss the nature of the contribution made by each man. It could be argued that Nelson played a key role in securing British naval supremacy and thus preventing Napoleon from launching his long anticipated, and much-feared, invasion of Britain. Arguably, Nelson played a major part in ensuring that Britain would not be defeated on home territory. Wellington's main contribution comes later and candidates may argue that he showed great ability in the Peninsula in defending territory against often much larger forces. Candidates should explain why the Peninsula (Napoleon's famous 'Spanish ulcer') mattered so much to the outcome of the war. Wellington, it could be argued, helped to prolong the war and thus give the government further options, not least in re-forming anti-Napoleonic alliances with other great powers. Although many candidates might argue that it was Wellington who delivered the final *coup de grace* at Waterloo, it was more important that in keeping the war going, Wellington enabled Britain to maximise its economic advantages during what was a very long and expensive war. It could be argued that Britain won because its resources were greater than France's and because it could prevent Napoleon from starving Britain into submission after 1806. It does not matter which commander a candidate chooses in terms of contribution, so long as the treatment covers both and concentrates on the *nature* of contributions made by both men in order to reach an informed judgement. Candidates may be aware of debates over the nature of party politics and the predominant view that party politics was growing in importance over this period.

Section 3: Themes 1689–c. 1815**11 Why did British overseas trade, and trade routes, increase so dramatically over the course of the eighteenth century?**

AO1/AO2 – Candidates could suggest that government encouragement and the development of an active Board of Trade was one factor. Gains in war, notably in the Seven Years War, expanded the empire and thus the possibilities for trade. The East India Company flourished as it acquired more territories and huge wealth in the diwan of Bengal. The industrial progress meant there were cheap goods to be sold abroad and a demand for raw materials. The slave trade underpinned prosperity for Bristol and Liverpool. Candidates should try to form a judgement about the main factors, but may feel that a combination of influences was at work.

12 Explain the nature and growth of English colonial development in the seventeenth century.

AO1/AO2 – Candidates may outline the moves from colonial settlements to more permanent bases for trade in the West Indies and Central and Southern America, benefiting from the decline of Spain. The Royal African Company extended trade in West Africa. The North American colonies came under more central control and developed governmental institutions. Hudson's Bay became an important fur trading area. In Asia the Levant Company and the East India Company expanded, but slowly in the latter case. It was only with the acquisition of Bombay that the crown began to have a stake in India. The reasons for the growth are often to be found in events in Europe. Rivalries in the West Indies between Spain and England, the Netherlands and England and then France and England reflected European wars. The Dutch Wars were also fought on the west coast of Africa. Although Carolina was founded commercially, New Netherlands came after the Dutch War and made the English territory continuous. The other main factor was the lure of profits from trade, or from piracy. One of the most notorious of the pirates, Henry Morgan, even became governor of Jamaica and helped to eradicate other buccaneers. Candidates should try to form a judgement about the chief influences and tendencies in colonial development.

13 To what extent, and why, did the English economy expand in the second half of the eighteenth century?

AO1 – Candidates should focus their argument on the period in question, though there may be some comparisons with the first half of the century, and perhaps also with continental rivals. Agricultural growth and the increase in the use of enclosure might be tackled. Although there are deep regional variations, there is not the antipathy to enclosure that had been seen in earlier periods. Improvements in land and animal husbandry might also be considered and the relative prices of various commodities might be used to evaluate extent. Candidates might also consider the motivation to improve. So far as trade is concerned, the fall in the wool market but increase in transatlantic trade is an issue. This, in part, was due to a type of deregulation and other legislation to improve trade. Candidates might use examples of the relative volumes of trade to exemplify their arguments. Changes to finance and the banking system could also be considered as well as the growth of ports such as Liverpool.

AO2 – The focus is on an evaluation of extent and explanation. The range is very wide so that a balanced coverage is desirable, but quite a broad-brush approach might be taken. Nevertheless specific examples will be expected. Candidates can point to variety in terms of location and the decline of some areas of the economy compared to the growth in other areas. Some candidates might point to other more subtle examples, such as the growth in stately home building, albeit often financed on debt.

14 To what extent, if at all, had London lost its social and economic pre-eminence in Britain by 1800?

AO1 – Candidates should refer to: the size of London (where approximately 10 per cent of England's population lived); its role as a political and administrative centre; the role of commerce, including London's role as much the largest port in the nation; the role of manufacturing, much of it small-scale, but where a disproportionate amount of skilled craftsmanship was found, particularly to cater for the needs of the aristocracy, in London for 'the season'. Candidates should refer to social and economic change in provincial England, including: the concentration of much overseas trade with the Americas in west-coast ports, such as Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow; transport improvements in the provinces; pioneer industrial activity and the development of new factories, especially in Lancashire and West Yorkshire; mining developments, especially in the North-East, South Yorkshire and South Wales. It is relevant (though not essential) to include evidence from Scotland, including perhaps commercial and manufacturing developments in Glasgow and the Clyde Valley, and educational advance, especially in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow which, at this time, assimilated European enlightenment ideas more extensively than did most of England.

AO2 – In addition to sustaining an analytical focus on the question asked, candidates should be able to select their material from across its chronology. The focus is on reaching a judgement about the status of London by 1800, and whether the capital was no longer socially and economically pre-eminent. Candidates may argue on the relative importance of London either way. Candidates should make use of evidence relating not just to London but to other areas in Britain. Some candidates might use 'if at all' to argue that London's pre-eminence was not significantly shaken by economic developments in the north of England (including early factories and the building of canals), since London stayed as much the largest commercial and trading centre in Britain. Others may argue that an ever-increasing proportion of national wealth was now being generated outside London and that commercial and manufacturing centres were growing more rapidly than was the capital. Manchester and Liverpool, for example, attracted an ever larger proportion of young migrants in search of work and social advancement. Candidates may be aware of debates about London's continuing centrality and importance, most of which take a London-centric perception.

15 Why did eighteenth-century Britain experience so many food riots?

AO1 – Candidates should refer to the changing prices of bread. Candidates should know about the purpose of food rioting, including understanding that rioters were not merely (or even primarily) violent but had particular targets in mind, such as those who were profiteering. Factors helping to explain food rioting include: pressure of population growth, especially after 1750; deficient harvests, particularly in the 1760s and 1790s; inadequate distribution mechanisms which led rioters to believe that food was being moved to larger centres of population from places where food was grown; using threats of force as a bargaining tactic against local authorities and ‘middle-men’.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about why Britain experienced a large number of food riots during the eighteenth century. Candidates should concentrate on causal factors. Some candidates may move beyond identifying causes and may attempt to indicate how causal factors often linked. Some may present an analysis, arguing which of the various factors may be considered the most important. Candidates may be aware of ongoing debates about ‘collective bargaining by riot’ and of interpretations which argue that food rioters have been overly ‘romanticised’ by sympathetic historians.

16 To what extent, and why, did intellectual life flourish in eighteenth-century England and Scotland?

AO1 – The focus here is likely to be on the impact of the Enlightenment in England and Scotland. Candidates could argue that intellectual life flourished distinctively in Scotland with its allegedly more extensive and superior educational system and easier route into higher education for a large proportion of the Scottish population. Some candidates might note the larger number of universities and earlier adoption of ‘new’ subjects such as economics and applied sciences in Scottish universities. However, intellectual life and practical business accomplishments were found in England also. The Lunar Society in Birmingham acted as a magnet for business and professional people to discuss politics, economics and, increasingly, the state of society during a period of accelerating change. In both countries, the Enlightenment was making a substantial impact by the end of the century.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the reasons for, and the impact of, changes in learning. In addition to sustaining an analytical focus on the question asked, candidates should select their material from across its broad chronology. Candidates are likely to argue that it flourished to a considerable extent, with emphasis on ‘new’ learning in subjects such as politics and economics. The emphasis was on questioning assumptions on the basis of investigation and research and on applying the results of such investigations to addressing practical problems – such as how things worked or how to address problems of scarce resources. Candidates are likely to emphasise the role of enlightenment thinking but some might argue that the nurturing of intellectual life, research and enquiry was a much more pronounced feature of middle-class existence. Some candidates will distinguish between the kinds of ‘intellectual life’ stressed in Scotland in at least partial contrast to England. Candidates may be aware of ongoing debates about enlightenment thinking in this period. Has the ‘smile of reason’ in Britain been exaggerated or otherwise distorted by excessive concentration on the influence of Smith and the French philosophers?

Section 4: 1815–1868**17 How effectively did Viscount Castlereagh articulate and defend Britain's foreign-policy interests in the years 1812–22?**

AO1 – The syllabus indicates that treatment of foreign policy in this section begins with Liverpool's prime ministership in 1812, so it is legitimate for candidates to discuss Castlereagh's role in the final stages of the War and in the anti-French treaty obligations entered into at Orebro (1812), Reichenbach (1813) and Chaumont (1814). The focus should be on an understanding of Britain's foreign policy interests and, specifically, on Castlereagh's objectives and successes. Candidates are likely to concentrate on the Congress of Vienna and on Congress diplomacy, especially the Congresses at Vienna itself in 1815 and then at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) and Troppau (1820). On foreign policy interests, candidates should know about the need to: block French expansion; preserve, and expand, Britain's colonial/commercial interests; maintain peace in Europe; prevent authoritarian regimes from putting down nationalist movements. Some candidates may know about Castlereagh's reputation as an aristocrat who liked 'hob-nobbing' with the European great and good and may either accept this assessment or qualify it.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about how effectively Castlereagh articulated and defended British foreign policy interests. On 'articulation' candidates are likely to concentrate on his defence of British interests at Vienna and also on his opposition both to the 'Holy Alliance' and perhaps also to what was already being seen as the growing threat from Russia in south-east Europe. Candidates may argue that Castlereagh did not see the Vienna settlement as a strait-jacket and that the last years of his career were devoted to attacking the Russian interpretation of the Vienna settlement, which was that it provided a secure defence of authoritarian rule. Candidates who argue that Castlereagh's foreign policy was successful may concentrate on Britain's much-enhanced reputation as a leading power in Europe and also on the laying of foundations which would see peace between the leading European powers maintained (the brief Crimean war apart) for a century. Others are likely to suggest that Castlereagh spent too much time on European diplomacy and not enough in securing Britain's trading interests or on dealing with its still fraught relationship with the United States. Candidates are likely to know that predominant historical opinion now emphasises similarities, rather than differences, between the foreign policy of Castlereagh and that of Canning.

18 To what extent may Chartism be considered a successful movement?

AO1 – Candidates should have knowledge of: the origins of the Chartist movement; the nature and objectives of the Charter; the Chartist petitions and their fate; ‘physical force’ and ‘moral force’ Chartism; Chartist leadership; wider Chartist objectives – social, religious and educational.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent of Chartist success as a movement, if any. Some candidates will argue that the Chartist movement was not successful because none of its six points were achieved while the movement was active. This approach can be strengthened by stressing that the six points were all specific and, in particular, all political. Thus, the movement deserves to be judged by its own objectives. On this criterion, it failed and its failure was the greater because too many of its leaders (and especially O’Connor, perhaps) were guilty of raising working-class aspirations a long way beyond the immediately practicable. A broader approach is likely to note: the strength and enduring legacy of Chartist organisation; its role in giving working people a social and cultural focus; Chartism’s success in keeping political representation at, or near, the core of contemporary political debate; Chartism’s role as an educator; its longer-term impact on working-class organisation; the close relationship between Chartism and increasingly numerous and self-confident religious nonconformity. 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 recent attempts to rehabilitate O’Connor as a successful, even (for some) a visionary, leader and to emphasise Chartism’s contribution to raising the political awareness of working-class women. Either emphasis is likely to produce answers which argue against the proposition that Chartism was a complete failure.

19 How effective a prime minister was Viscount Melbourne?

AO1 – Candidates are likely to refer to his reputation for languid, and somewhat detached, leadership and also for cynicism. They might mention that his knowledge of economics and of ‘balanced budgets’ was regarded as limited and that this was the focus of much powerful and informed criticism from Peel and the Tories in the last years of his second government, when it was alleged that Melbourne allowed government debt to spiral out of control during a period of economic depression. Against that, this was the period of the so-called ‘Whig reforms’ and Melbourne’s government enacted significant legislation, especially on the poor law, on education and on church reform. Candidates might also refer to Melbourne’s skills as a party leader and the extent to which the Whigs became more coherent and united as party allegiances strengthened in this period. Some candidates may refer to Melbourne’s important role in the years 1837–40 in educating the young, headstrong Victoria in the arts of constitutional monarchy.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the abilities and effectiveness of Melbourne as prime minister. Candidates may argue that Melbourne’s reputation does not bear close scrutiny in comparison with that of Peel, or even Grey who did enact one hugely significant piece of legislation in the First Reform Act. However, it is possible to argue that Melbourne’s gifts as leader are easily understated. Under him, the Whigs enacted a range of cumulatively significant reforms and Melbourne’s government passed a range of church reforms which halted what had seemed to be almost unstoppable pressure for disestablishment of the Church of England. Similarly, Melbourne held his party together in the face of strong opposition from Peel and helped to bring about what proved to be a significant bridgehead with the dissenters in his party. It could be argued that Melbourne, by his actions as prime minister in the 1830s, was one of the architects of dominant mid-Victorian Liberalism. Candidates may be aware of recent attempts to rehabilitate Melbourne and to indicate that seeing the 1830s and early 1840s as ‘the age of Peel’ does less than justice to a wily and experienced politician.

20 Estimate the influence of the Peelites as a force in British politics in the years 1846–59.

AO1 – Candidates are likely to refer to the Tory split in 1846 which left Peel with a notional hundred or so followers. These included some of the leading young politicians of the day, among them Gladstone, Aberdeen, Graham and Cardwell, and candidates should have knowledge of at least the first two. They should know that the Peelites supported the Liberals on key free-trade reforms but also that Peel's own desire to keep aloof from party combinations irked his followers in the late 1840s, not least the ambitious Gladstone, who had a career to carve out and who found lack of clear party allegiance an unwanted complication. Candidates should also know that the Peelites steadily lost numbers as members rejoined the Conservatives or saw clearer ideological congruence with the Liberals. Peelites were also divided among themselves. Aberdeen led a Peelite-Liberal coalition in 1852, and Palmerston in 1855 believed that he could not govern without Peelite assistance.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the influence of the Peelites. Candidates are likely to argue that, on grounds of ability and experience of government, Peelites were influential. However, they did not contribute much to stable government in the period in question. Also, they were rarely a united force, and the dwindling number of established politicians who accepted the label 'Peelite' suggests that their influence was severely circumscribed. Candidates could take a biographical approach, concentrating perhaps on the personalities and abilities of Gladstone (particularly) and Aberdeen and discussing their contribution to the key events of the period – free trade, balanced budgets and the Crimean War. Candidates may be aware of debates over the nature of party politics at this time and reassessments of both Peelites and Conservatives in this period.

21 'In the 1850s and 1860s, British politicians over-estimated the threat from Russia and underestimated that from Prussia.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates should know that Russia was considered Britain's most likely enemy, largely because of its ambitions in south-east Europe, with consequential threat to British trade in the Mediterranean and to trade routes to India and to the middle and far East. Some candidates might want to make reference to poor relations with France as a complicating factor in considering threats from only Russia and Prussia. Anglo-German relations were rarely given prominence in the 1840s and 1850s and the potential threat from Prussia was perceived as developing only in the 1860s when Prussia helped put down revolts in Poland in 1863 and was able to secure its claim to Schleswig-Holstein, facing down Palmerston's attempts at a compromise solution between Prussia and Denmark. Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866 suggested that Prussia was now the dominant power in central Europe. The threat to Britain, both political and economic, assumed greater proportions when France was humiliated in the Franco-Prussian war and Prussia dominated a new united Germany.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the relative importance of Russian and Prussian threats to Britain in the 1850s and 1860s. Candidates might argue that Britain's involvement in the Crimean War was, in itself, evidence that Russia was considered as a major threat. They might argue that the settlement of 1856 did little to stabilise relations in south-east Europe, thus indicating that Russia – which remained the dominant European power in the area – remained the most direct threat. On Germany, some could argue that Prussia was more an ally than a threat until the mid-1860s. The Queen was strongly pro-German, and her eldest child was married to the Crown Prince of Prussia. The court saw this as confirming close relations between Britain and Prussia. Britain was slow to react to Prussia's growing influence, or to perceive a threat. Candidates who argue against the proposition in the question are likely to point out that Britain had few direct interests in central Europe and that, therefore, not seeing Prussia as a threat was understandable and, perhaps, the foundation of a secure alliance. Stronger cultural links existed between Britain and the German states than with Russia. Also, the Crimean War had not settled outstanding areas of disagreement and conflict. It is possible to provide evidence supporting the proposition that Russia remained the greater threat and that it was not 'over-estimated' in British diplomacy. Similarly, despite Germany's increasing influence in Europe, it can be argued there was little before 1870 to suggest that a united Germany would threaten Britain. Candidates may be aware of debates over whether British foreign policy under Palmerston and Clarendon was appropriately calibrated.

Section 5: 1868–1914

22 Assess the claims of Gladstone's first ministry (1868–74) to be considered 'a great reforming administration'.

AO1 – Candidates should refer to the key points of legislation, including: the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the subsequent Irish Land Act; Cardwell's army reforms; Forster's Education Act; the ending of imprisonment for debt; the abolition of religious tests for entrance to Oxford and Cambridge Universities; the establishment of the Local Government Board; the Public Health Act; legal recognition of trade unions (although under considerable restriction, including continued liability to prosecution and no right to picket peacefully); the Licensing Act.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about whether this should be considered a great reforming administration. Candidates could argue that the administration passed a great deal of legislation, the main direction of which was reformist, albeit within an economy characterised by free markets and laissez-faire. For some, the absence of much in the way of 'collectivist' legislation will be sufficient to deny Gladstone's ministry the title 'great'. On the other hand, the legislation of the ministry ranged widely and did attempt to make local government, for example, more efficient, more consistent and more 'rational'. Passing legislation which proved controversial and electorally unpopular – as with the Licensing Act – does not necessarily provide evidence that this was less than a 'great reforming ministry', though some candidates may argue that moderating tensions between 'Whig', landowning elements and 'radical' urban ones presented Gladstone with a substantial challenge. Candidates may be aware of recent work on Gladstone which emphasises his political shrewdness, not to say duplicity, at least as much as his Peelite adherence to rational reform.

23 'In the years 1874–85, the objectives of Conservative and Liberal foreign and imperial policies were characterised more by similarity than by difference.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates could refer to: the scope of the British Empire; the key objectives of British foreign policy, especially, perhaps, in south-east Europe; checking Russian expansion in the Balkans; British policy in India; southern Africa, including the Zulu and First Boer Wars; the Sudan; policy in Egypt, including the purchase of Suez Canal shares; the Scramble for Africa.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about whether Conservative and Liberal foreign policies were more similar than different. The two prime ministers had very different styles and views about what constituted 'moral' foreign policy in the national interest. Disraeli's creation of an 'Empress of India' had more symbolic than practical effect and it is likely that the idea would not have crossed Gladstone's mind. On the face of it, Disraeli's foreign policy is more overtly bombastic and he almost came to war in the Balkans. However, it is possible to argue that, style and presentation apart, there is more similarity than difference in the core objectives: both ministries had similar imperial aims – to exploit the empire more as a commercial and colonial resource than as territory per se; both ministries fought wars in southern Africa; arguably Gladstone's policy in Egypt was as direct and expansionist as anything embraced by Disraeli; beneath the rhetoric, Gladstone's ministry was no less concerned about Russian expansionism than Disraeli's had been, although his second ministry coincided with a period of relative tranquillity in the Balkans; both prime ministers were suspicious of French motives in North Africa and both intervened to check France's becoming dominant in the area. Candidates may be aware of recent work on the Empire which tends to play down any significant difference between Gladstone and Disraeli in this area.

24 To what extent were Gladstone's Irish policies in the years 1880–94 influenced by English political considerations?

AO1 – Candidates will know that Ireland dominated Gladstone's political agenda. They should know about his attempts to solve the Land Question, and particularly the Land Act of 1881, and his determination to secure 'tenants' rights'. They should also show detailed knowledge of Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule and of the objectives of the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893. Neither bill proposed giving independence, rather substantial internal autonomy. Nevertheless, what many saw as Gladstone's obsession with Home Rule had substantial political consequences, in particular a split in the Liberal party which was never satisfactorily healed. Candidates should refer to conditions in Ireland, including violence, civil disobedience and threats of civil war, as a necessary background to understanding Gladstone's Irish policy.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the reasons for Gladstone's Irish policies. Some candidates will argue that Gladstone's objective was to solve what had, for at least half a century, seemed an intractable problem and one which increasingly dominated political life at Westminster. However, Gladstone's motives were complex. Some may argue that his Irish policies were, at least in part, driven by his desire to offer 'moral leadership' to a party which, without it (or so he seems to have felt) would be rudderless. There is an irony in this interpretation, given that Home Rule brought about a profound Liberal split, but it is explicable in terms of Gladstone's (perhaps highly idiosyncratic) perception of what party leadership was all about. Candidates might argue that Gladstone's policy was motivated by a desire to settle the Irish question so that other big questions of governance – effective administration in a now predominantly urban society – could be given the priority he believed they deserved. Candidates may be aware of debates over Gladstone's motivation and of recent interpretations which, although diverse, take a rather less generous view of his prime ministership and a more censorious one of what some historians see as almost unhinged obsessions.

25 How important was the expansion of trade unionism to the development of the Labour Party in the years 1900–14?

AO1 – The emphasis should be on the trade union movement, in both the growth of numbers and the change in nature, as more ‘mass’ unions, anxious to recruit semi-skilled and unskilled members, developed. A movement with some 0.75m members had grown to about 2m by 1910 and almost 4.5m by the outbreak of the First World War. These growing numbers translated into higher income levels for the infant Labour Party, particularly after Liberal legislation, passed between 1906 and 1914, had confirmed union status in terms of the levy of political subscriptions and also the right to secure funds against claims from employers for losses incurred during industrial disputes. Candidates should know about the growth of unionism in the heavy industries, particularly transport and associated engineering trades, though the number of women trade unionists (especially in textiles) grew substantially in this period also. On the development of the Labour Party, candidates should have knowledge of the emergence of the Independent Labour Party (1893) under Keir Hardie and, with considerable middle-class support, the emergence of the Labour Representation Committee (1900) and its change of name to the Labour party (1906). They should also be aware of the significance of the Gladstone-MacDonald pact for gaining Labour a toe-hold in the Commons at the 1906 general election and Labour’s increasingly important role from 1910 to 1914 when the Liberals did not have an overall majority.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the relative importance of one factor (the expansion of trade unionism) over others in the development of the Labour party. Candidates are likely to argue its importance, particularly in view of the financial benefits which union subscriptions increasingly gave to Labour (the miners’ desertion of the Liberal party in 1909 may be seen as particularly significant) and also in terms of providing a number of genuinely working-class men both on the floor of the House of Commons and also – perhaps more importantly – as party organisers in the constituencies. Candidates should also be aware of the contribution of intellectual socialism to the development of the party, and particularly to its increasingly collectivist and socialist agenda. Some might argue that intellectual tensions between trade unionists (many of whom were sceptical of socialist theory) and socialists were of considerable significance in the early years of the party. Some might suggest that the adoption of Clause 4 in 1918 indicated that socialism had won out over unionism in the battle for Labour’s soul. Against this, socialist trade union leaders were ever-present and the industrial conflicts of 1911–12 radicalised many. Candidates may be aware of debates over Labour’s development with particular reference to the argument that the most important progress made by the party in these years was made locally and via trade unions rather than at Westminster, where its influence before 1914 is easily exaggerated, especially perhaps in comparison with that of Irish nationalism.

26 To what extent were the domestic policies of the Liberal governments in the years 1905–14 motivated by hatred of the aristocracy and by fear of the working classes?

AO1 – The chronology here relates to the Liberal governments from the end of 1905 to the outbreak of the First World War and the focus is on what motivated the Liberals' domestic policies. Candidates should have knowledge of the key Liberal reforms. These should include both social policies (school medical inspections, old age pensions, unemployment, National Insurance) and political initiatives (the People's Budget, conflict with the House of Lords, the Parliament Act). Candidates should also show knowledge of the Liberals as an increasingly middle-class party opposed by a party dominated by landowners and of the increasingly complicated relationship between Liberal and Labour parties.

AO2 – The focus is on the consideration of two selected factors as explaining the nature of Liberal domestic policies in this period. Candidates are likely to explain why Liberals resented the Tory-dominated House of Lords and the importance of the veto. They should evaluate the extent to which the so-called Liberal welfare reforms had their origins in an attempt to maintain the lion's share of the working-class vote when there was now a working-class party anxious to increase its own popularity. Candidates might note how little evidence there is that redistributive taxation was popular. The decline in the Liberal majority in the two elections of 1910 might be discussed. Candidates could argue whether anti-aristocratic feeling or fear of the organised working class was the more important motivating factor. Some candidates might wish to argue that neither of these was as important as the impact of a 'progressive Liberalism' which grew in influence under the leadership of both Campbell Bannerman and then Asquith. Candidates may wish to draw on recent reinterpretations of the Liberal party and on the importance of Asquith and Lloyd George in shaping broadly 'progressive' policies.

Section 6: Themes c. 1815–1914**27 How important was manufacturing industry to the development of the British economy in the first half of the nineteenth century?**

AO1 – Candidates should show knowledge and understanding of the key developments in manufacturing, particularly the textile trade and the cotton industry in Lancashire and in the Clyde valley. By 1850, also, it is valid to discuss the contribution made by mining and by the iron industry. An increasing amount of manufacture was infra-structural, especially in the building of bridges and engines. Manufacturing industry was given a substantial boost by the railway boom of the 1830s and, especially, the 1840s. On the other side of the equation, in 1850 considerably more people earned a living in the countryside. Some candidates will also make much of the importance of trade and the growing strength of London as the key financial capital. Candidates should, therefore, know about the role of non-manufacturing sectors within a general booming economy. The early stages of the industrial revolution were not all about manufactures. Candidates should select material which looks at the British economy ‘in the round’.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of manufacturing industry to the British economy by 1850. Many candidates will select information about the growth of textiles and, later, the development of heavy manufacturing industry. They can also refer to the development of overseas trade, since British trade was dominated by the export of manufactures (until the 1840s dominated by cheap, mass-produced clothing) and the import of raw materials either for food and drink or for the manufacture of garments and other textile goods. It is possible to argue that the story of manufacturing has distorted our understanding of the workings of the British economy by 1850.

Those candidates who take this line are likely to select material which indicates how important increasingly capitalised agriculture on large, productive farms had become. In 1850, Britain had just begun its period of what later became known as ‘High Farming’. Most factories were relatively small so that, although manufacturing was important, the whole of the economy, even in manufactures, was not in thrall to monster manufactures. Britain’s economy was booming in significant part because of the expansion of finance capital and the internationalisation of the banking system. The finance houses of the City of London, it can be argued, were at least as important as the factories of Bury or Halifax. Also, economic problems were likely to derive either from excessive financial speculation or from shortage of capital. Although this fed through to manufacturing industry soon enough (and with devastating effects in the late 1830s and early 1840s), some candidates could argue that finance capital had already established itself in the front line of British economic performance. It is also relevant to mention the increasingly important contribution of its empire – both formal and informal – to Britain’s overall economic performance. Some candidates may wish to draw on recent work concerning trade, trade cycles and the importance of banking, investment and credit. They may also use research which suggests that the large textile factories were less dominant features of British industry than was once thought.

28 Estimate the importance of Catholic Emancipation for the development of Irish nationalism in the years c. 1800–70.

AO1 – The theme here is the link between Catholicism and Irish nationalism. Candidates should know that Ireland's population was 80% Catholic but that Catholics laboured under considerable political and other disadvantages as most Protestants. They should also know that the most important facet of the attack on the Union in the first half of the nineteenth century was the attack on what was seen by nationalists as discrimination against Roman Catholics. Candidates should know about Daniel O'Connell and his campaign for Catholic Emancipation. They should know about the terms on which 'emancipation' was granted and also why Emancipation was insufficient to accommodate most Catholics to the Union. Candidates should also know about O'Connell's campaigns after 1829 and about the growing movement for the dissolution of the Union and full independence for Ireland.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the relative importance of Catholic Emancipation in the development of Irish Nationalism. Candidates are likely to argue that it was very important and that the links between emancipation and nationalism were close. Some might argue that the Emancipation movement was too 'respectable' and that Ireland's 'liberation' would need a full-scale revolution. Some might also argue that, in terms of relative importance, the Famine exceeds Emancipation, since it could be characterised as a national catastrophe which would never (could never?) have occurred in Britain. For some candidates, the Famine sharpens nationalism and points the way towards revolutionary activity. For many nationalists, effective action needed to be accompanied by violence. Candidates may be aware of debates over the origins of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century, what role Emancipation played in it and how far predominant perceptions held by Irish historians differ from those held by historians working in Britain.

29 'Education for the poor in nineteenth-century Britain was more about teaching pupils to know their place than it was about creating new opportunities for them.' Discuss.

AO1 – The theme here is the education of the 'lower orders'. Candidates should have outline knowledge of key educational developments. They are likely to cover: the Sunday School movement; debates over government grants for education and their increasing cost; the work of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education; teacher training for able working-class children; and elementary education from 1870, including the Acts of 1870, 1876, 1881 and 1891 which expanded educational opportunity and which eventually made education first compulsory and then free. Candidates might also know something of the work of leading educational administrators, such as Kay-Shuttleworth, and of politicians taking different views of the purposes of elementary education, such as Robert Lowe and W.E. Forster. Some candidates may also know about the development of opportunities which, by the last years of the nineteenth century, were taking pupils beyond elementary education. These developments included the emergence of Higher Grade Schools, especially in London and some of the larger provincial cities.

AO2 – Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about a contentious proposition concerning elementary education. In addition to sustaining an analytical focus on the question asked, candidates should be able to select their material from across its broad chronology. Some may argue that the provision of 'popular' education was strongly influenced by concerns about the 'ungovernability' of a rapidly rising, and increasingly urban, population. It was therefore necessary to inculcate 'civilised' values of basic literacy and numeracy, hard work, obedience and self-discipline, not least to make the streets safer and less debauched. This argument is grounded in 'social control', and those who use it are likely to draw on the views taken by Robert Lowe and others who wanted popular education to be cheap, efficient and limited in its outcome. Other candidates will argue that many educational initiatives were actuated more by humanitarian considerations and may note the influence of the Sunday School movement and also of private charity in the formation of day schools. They are also likely to argue that what began as a restrictive, rote-learning environment nevertheless gave unprecedented opportunities for many children of poor parents to improve themselves and their employment opportunities by progressing beyond 'elementary education'. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations (although not required) may enhance responses as will an ability to engage with controversy. In this question, however, some candidates may be aware that the cruder elements of the 'social control' argument about educational provision have come in for heavy criticism in recent years.

30 To what extent were nineteenth-century British novelists influenced by the need to be social critics?

AO1 – The question does not specify how many novelists should be considered but candidates would be expected to have a good knowledge of at least two. Good examples might be Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell, although selection could be made from a wider range of texts. Some candidates might wish to contrast the work of, say, Jane Austen and Charles Dickens in their attitudes to social matters: the former more interested in sharp, wry observations of character, the latter concentrating more on social conditions and, especially, on the prevalence of poverty and the impact of want. Candidates will realise that what they argue will depend upon the novelists that they choose. They should concentrate on the impulses driving novelists and avoid simply narrating plots.

AO2 – Candidates could argue that 'social' novelists were influenced by a need to bring issues relating to poverty and social deprivation to a 'respectable' audience. It is legitimate to argue that some novelists were much more interested in social criticism than were others. Some candidates will also note that there is more than one kind of social criticism: Trollope, in *The Way We Live Now*, for example, is just as much a social critic as Dickens, although his work sheds light on the greed and gullibility of the wealthy. Attempts to deal with historiography are unlikely in answers to this question, although some candidates who are also studying English Literature may make effective responses based on the skills of literary criticism allied to evaluation of appropriate historical and literary content.

31 How successfully did Britain meet the economic challenges presented by foreign competition in the years c. 1880–1914?

AO1 – This was a period of considerable national introspection as other nations caught up with, and in some areas exceeded, Britain's output. The main competitors were the United States and Germany. Challenges were produced not only by foreign competition but also by economic slumps as demand slackened. Candidates may refer to declines in economic growth rates in the 1880s and 1890s, compared with those in the first half of the century. It is also the case that the United States and Germany were eating into Britain's export markets. Britain's exports, moreover, were to a much greater extent than previously of non-renewable resources, such as coal. British investment was also increasingly being made to support foreign and colonial enterprises. Candidates are also likely to refer to the so-called 'agricultural depression', when Britain's arable sector faced very severe competition from the United States. The consequence was declining rental values and attempts to sell land, often at rock-bottom prices.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the success of Britain's economic policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Candidates could argue that Britain was not successful in meeting new challenges, especially from foreign competition. Britain remained a free-trade nation when many competitors were protecting their own products. Almost certainly, this harmed Britain in the medium term. However, there is another side to the picture. It could equally be argued that – given its early start as an industrial nation and its relatively limited range of resources compared with larger countries – Britain met the challenge reasonably well. London remained the financial capital of the world and a symbol of national prosperity, even if it brokered an ever larger proportion of foreign deals. The service sector of Britain's economy expanded rapidly, in part compensating for problems encountered in many manufacturing industries. The so-called, 'agricultural depression' is easily exaggerated. Most of these years were prosperous for pasture farmers as rising living standards for the bulk of the population enabled more people to eat meat on a regular basis. Additionally, investment in British transport was still reaping substantial benefits. Candidates may be aware of debates concerning whether Britain 'failed' in these years. The general, though by no means universal, conclusion from is that the overall picture is less pessimistic than many earlier economic historians, and probably most contemporaries, had thought.

32 How important were the suffrage campaigns to the wider movement to change women's role in British society?

AO1 – The focus will be on making a judgement on the importance of the suffrage campaigns. Candidates should show knowledge of the range of campaigns including: access to higher education; admission to university and the professions; legal status and rights over property and within marriage; as well as for the vote). In relation to Suffragettes, candidates should have knowledge of the aims of the Suffragette movement and of its tactics, including a variety of forms of 'direct action' designed to sustain a high profile for the women's campaign.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of one selected factor in the context of the movement to change women's role in British society. Some candidates will therefore place 'votes for women' within the appropriately wider context suggested by the question. Candidates should argue how successfully suffragette campaigns sustained a high profile for the women's cause and (which is not necessarily the same thing) whether that high profile aided, or helped to undermine, their cause. Some candidates may offer comment on the extent to which 'getting the vote' really was at the core of the women's campaign since women increasingly had a political role on school boards, in local government and the like. Candidates may also discuss the 'class' element, noting that the Pankhursts and many other leading suffragettes were from middle-class backgrounds. Candidates may be aware of recent work on the movement for increased women's rights and role which concentrates more on cultural issues and on domestic and workplace contexts rather than specifically on 'votes for women'.

Section 7: 1914–1951**33 How close to defeat did Britain come during the First World War?**

AO1 – The precise focus is on the progress of the war, with special reference to Britain's position during that time. Candidates are likely to refer to the key phases of the war from the role of the BEF in 1914, through the attritional war on the Western Front, to the last phase, beginning with US intervention in 1917, and on to the reversals of fortune, before final victory was achieved in November 1918. It is likely that candidates will show knowledge of periods when Britain and its allies appeared to be on the defensive. The scope of the question is not restricted to the Western Front and some candidates might examine the loss of morale occasioned by Britain's inability to demonstrate effortless superiority at sea. Some candidates will give prominence to the disastrous Dardanelles campaign and/or to the German offensive in the spring of 1918. It is also legitimate to select instances from 1915, 1916 and 1917 when Britain sustained particularly heavy losses.

AO2 – The focus is on an evaluation of how near Britain came to defeat during the First World War. Candidates may argue that, since Britain never experienced a decisive defeat in battle, the likelihood of overall defeat was not great. Others may point to the initial success of the German spring offensive and argue that Britain was close to defeat then and with very little back-up support at the end of a debilitating struggle. Against that, the arrival of fresh US troops in 1917 might be seen to have tilted the overall balance against Germany. Those who use the Dardanelles campaign as an instance of a significant defeat may argue about the importance of that campaign. Perhaps Britain could afford to take a risk there, knowing that the main theatre of war was hundreds of miles away. Some candidates may concentrate on the respective economic and manpower strengths of Britain, Germany and their respective allies. Those who argue that Britain was never in danger of overall defeat might suggest that a decisive factor – much in the minds of the German High Command – was that Germany was faced with war on both its eastern and western frontiers, thus experiencing greater strains, at least until 1917. Candidates might argue that Britain had the more reliable allies. France was fighting on its own soil while the later involvement of the United States might be seen as decisive in a conflict which, by the end, depended more on resources than it did on military prowess. Candidates may wish to draw on recent interpretations of the First World War, many of which have tended to concentrate on logistics and the strength of domestic support rather than on the heavily worked battle-grounds of the Western Front.

34 Assess the effectiveness of David Lloyd George as prime minister in the years 1916–22.

AO1 – The focus will be on the nature of David Lloyd George's leadership, both in wartime and in peace. Candidates should include information about Lloyd George's leadership in wartime. Some will contrast this with that of Asquith. In peacetime, candidates should include information about: Lloyd George's role in the peace negotiations of 1919–20; his handling of the Irish question, leading up to agreement on independence for 26 of Ireland's 32 counties under the terms of the Government of Ireland Act. They should also show knowledge of the programme for building fit homes for 'heroes' to dwell in and of the wider context of economic crisis and industrial unrest developing from 1920. Candidates should show knowledge that Lloyd George, as a Liberal, headed a coalition government which was dominated by his political opponents.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the effectiveness of Lloyd George as prime minister. Candidates could argue that Lloyd George was a dynamic war leader and that the impression that the war was being pursued vigorously and in effective co-operation with Britain's allies gained credibility after Lloyd George took over from Asquith. Others may argue that Lloyd George did little to change what was, overall, an attritional strategy. Lloyd George's hard-line in the peace negotiations might be criticised, although some candidates might point out that criticism is more easily articulated with the benefits of hindsight. Many candidates will note that Lloyd George showed considerable tenacity in seeking to resolve the Irish crisis and that the settlement, though far from perfect, was one which considerably reduced problems arising from Ireland in Britain (although it led to civil war across the Irish sea). Some candidates will note that any judgement of the prime minister's effectiveness after 1918 must take into account the fact that he did not have a majority for his policies and was forced into compromises which may have weakened the impact of policy, especially in the economic and industrial fields. Candidates will have different views on whether Lloyd George deserved to be ousted by the Tories in October 1922. Some may try to argue that his effectiveness was limited by circumstances beyond his control. Others might argue that he was far too much of a 'short-term' operator, concerned to make attention-seeking short-term gains, perhaps at the expense of a longer-term strategy which might have kept the Conservatives onside for longer, thus giving Lloyd George more time to bring his policies to fruition. Candidates may be aware of attempts at partial rehabilitation of Lloyd George which play down the short-term aspects of his leadership and present a man with a consistent vision which promised a bigger role for the state in tackling large problems of social deprivation and regional imbalance.

35 Why was the impact of the inter-war economic depression so much more severe in the north of Britain than in the south?

AO1 – Candidates should be aware that levels of unemployment (the key element of the economic depression) remained high throughout the period, but that the depth of the depression was greater in the north of England (together with South Wales and the central valley of Scotland). Candidates should refer to the decline of the manufacturing and minerals industries, especially textiles, shipbuilding and coal mining. The market for large ships after 1918 was much more limited than before, while the textile industry was facing competition from other nations, including some of Britain's colonies. Another aspect of depression was reduced prices both for raw materials and for manufactures. Prices tended to run lower in the north than in the south. Candidates should also refer to developments in the south of England. While it is true that agricultural prices remained low and profits scanty, there was much profitable economic development, particularly in motor-car manufactures, the development of the service industries and the new electronics industry. The south of England was 'depressed' for a shorter period of time, had far less long-term unemployment and recovered more quickly in the 1930s.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the differential impact of the inter-war depression in Britain. Candidates may explain the differences in terms of 'old' and 'new' industries, with far more of the latter located in the south of England, both in London and in midlands towns, especially Coventry and Birmingham. One reason for the differential was the presence of London as a financial capital raising money for new industries. Another was the ease of transportation from the south of England to London. Depression was particularly severe and sustained in the north of England because it was the location for so many of the industries which were under pressure. There was insufficient inward investment to sustain economic recovery in these areas. By contrast, the 1930s saw the re-assertion of southern economic dominance which had been challenged during the classical period of the Industrial Revolution. Candidates may be aware of debates over the nature of Britain's depression, which give special prominence to the emergence of new service industries, especially in the south and east of England, and to the adaptability of the financial services.

36 How important was the Home Front to Britain's eventual victory in the Second World War?

AO1 – Candidates should show knowledge of a range of factors relating to the Home Front, including: protection against air raids, Air Raid Precaution wardens, Anderson shelters; the training and work of the Local Defence Volunteers ('Home Guard') with responsibility for defending 5,000 miles of coastline; women's war work in munitions, in welding ships, in transport; government propaganda, 'news-management' and the associated role of the newspapers; evacuation of children and also mothers of children under five – approximately 1.5m people were evacuated from cities considered most likely to be hit by enemy bombing; rationing. Candidates could also include some reference to other factors (US intervention; 'the Few'; D-Day Landings; importance of the alliance with the USSR) in order to achieve a reasonable balance on relative importance.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of the Home Front in Britain's eventual victory. Candidates can argue that it was important or relatively unimportant but they must reach conclusions based on evidence. Some candidates might argue that the Home Front, especially the defence preparations, were crucial in the resistance to Germany's air assault in 1940. Perhaps the most important role of the Home Front was in keeping Britain in the war before the United States entered the conflict in December 1941. Others might argue that the Home Front, effective though government propaganda and a generally compliant press might have been, could have done nothing more than delay eventual German victory without Germany's decision to attack Russia and the Japanese decision to attack Pearl Harbor. Here other factors can be given due prominence. Some candidates might be sceptical about certain aspects of the Home Front. Were ageing soldiers up to the job of defending these shores or was their role merely supportive? Also, could Britain actually 'take it'? How effectively did propaganda cover up numerous examples of petty theft from bombed properties and defections of the well-to-do to the much safer United States in 1939–40? Also, bombing causes very heavy civilian casualties. Candidates may be aware of debates over the extent of Britain's resilience on the Home Front and the increasing inclination to stress US and USSR activity in wearing Germany down.

37 Does the Labour government of 1945–50 deserve its reputation as ‘a great reforming administration’?

AO1 – Candidates are likely to concentrate particularly on the creation of the Welfare State, more or less according to Beveridge’s blueprint of 1942. Candidates should know about Family Allowances (1945), National Insurance – comprehensive and compulsory (1946); National Health Service Act (1946, and implemented from 1948) – medical treatment to be free ‘at point of need’; National Assistance Act (1948) replacing the ‘dole’; increased educational opportunity by implementation of the wartime Butler Education Act. Candidates should also know about the Nationalisation of much of Britain’s productive capacity – Bank of England (1945); Coal (1946); Public Transport (1947); Gas (1948); and Iron and Steel (1949). The aim was to rescue industries which were mostly loss-making and thus accelerate post-war recovery. It is legitimate for candidates to concentrate exclusively on domestic matters. If foreign and imperial policy is included, it is likely to cover: independence of India; the alliance with the United States (beginnings of a ‘special’ relationship); and Britain’s role in the post-war occupation of West Germany.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the post-war Labour government as a ‘great reforming administration’. Most candidates are likely to argue that it was, not least because Attlee’s stock has risen so high among post-war political commentators. The legislative record is extensive and most will argue that the ‘cradle-to-grave’ principle outlined by Beveridge was unprecedentedly radical in social policy terms. Also, the National Health Service rapidly achieved iconic, even ‘untouchable’, status. Arguably, Labour was doing little more than implementing a social-policy agenda which a Liberal had sketched out and for which there was widespread cross-party support in 1945. Nationalisation, for which there was less consensus, was by no means an unequivocal success, although it helped to keep unemployment rates down. Also, to many who lived through them, the experience of the years 1945–50 was one of dreariness, privation and lack of choice. For these people, the period was an ‘age of austerity’. Some candidates might also validly ask why, if this was a great reforming government with a strong social agenda, a grateful nation did not at least sustain its large 1945 majority – whereas it was slashed in 1950 and lost in 1951. It is possible to argue that 1945–50 takes on a more roseate hue as more temporal distance is put between it and a society enjoying unprecedentedly rapid rises in living standards from the late 1950s onwards. Candidates may be aware of debates over the effectiveness and popularity of the welfare reforms and also whether such widespread nationalisation proved to be a mistake.

Section 8: 1951–2005

- 38 'Britain's influence in world affairs declined in the period 1945–70 because its foreign policy was conducted, against all the evidence, on the assumption that Britain remained a world power.' Assess the validity of this judgement.**

AO1 – The specific focus is on knowledge relating to Britain's changing role in the world. Candidates are likely to have knowledge of factors such as: Britain's major role in the United Nations (permanent seat on the Security Council); its determination to maintain an independent nuclear deterrent; its aversion to involvement in preparations to secure a European Economic Community; the 'special relationship' with the United States and how both nations envisaged it; Britain and the Middle East, with special reference to Suez and, perhaps, support for Israel.

AO2 – The focus is on a historical judgement related to the extent of British power and influence over world affairs during the quarter century after the end of the Second World War. Candidates might argue that Britain's influence over – or at least its reputation in – world affairs remained significant in the dispositions immediately after the Second World War, when Britain saw itself as the most powerful state in western Europe, having won against all the odds after 'standing alone' in 1940. It is possible to argue that Britain looked stronger when it was following similar foreign-policy objectives to those of the USA.

In 1956, when Eden took an aggressive line against Nasser's Egypt in the Suez Crisis, the lack of US support proved decisive in a reverse which several commentators identified as marking the end of Britain as a significant world power. There were tensions with the USA over Europe, when many in high positions in the USA urged Britain to strengthen commercial and other links with Europe, especially while the Cold War raged. Some candidates may use the phrase 'against all the evidence' to challenge the premise of the question. They may select evidence designed to show when, and how, other western European nations looked to Britain for support and leadership, especially immediately after the Second World War. Alternatively, they may consider US respect for Britain's influence as genuine, especially before Dean Ascheson's famous put-down of 1962. It is open to candidates also to challenge the assumption that British influence *did* decline over this period, although they may find the evidence limited. Candidates might know about recent reappraisals of Britain's relations with Europe and of the nature of the 'special relationship' with the United States.

39 Why did the Conservative Party enjoy such electoral success in the 1950s?

AO1 – Candidates should know that the Conservatives won three general elections in this period (1951, 1955 and 1959), the last two by substantial majorities. Some may mention that the Conservatives remained in power for thirteen years, though comment is not required after 1959. Candidates should refer to relevant factors including: the revival of the economy after the so-called ‘Years of Austerity’; a decade of substantially rising output; higher real wages (up by more than 25% over the decade) and low unemployment; major expansion of the house-building programme; increased living standards and the expansion of leisure opportunities, particularly, perhaps, the rapid expansion of television viewing. It is relevant to mention also that the imbalance between North and South was somewhat reduced by social policies and increased economic opportunities. There is, however, little to suggest that this produced any redrawing of the heartlands of Conservative and of Labour support.

In terms of politics, candidates might refer to the Conservative exploitation of free-trade opportunities while remaining committed to key elements of the Labour programme, especially mass secondary education and the National Health Service. In terms of personalities, candidates might argue that: Churchill (though physically much more frail than the electorate in general knew) was enjoying delayed credit for his wartime leadership; that Eden, representing continuity though also a change of generation, seemed a more appealing prospect than the now fading Attlee and a more experienced one than Gaitskell; and that Macmillan’s image of unflappability, of having a cool head in a crisis and also as someone benefiting from economic success ensured that a third election victory in a row was presented (not least in a predominantly Tory press) as little more than a formality. Candidates should also be aware of problems within the Labour party. Perhaps Attlee should have resigned earlier. The huge rows between Bevanites and the right wing of the party suggested that Labour was far less united than the Conservatives.

AO2 – Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Conservative electoral dominance from 1951 onwards. Candidates should examine both apparent Conservative strengths and Labour weaknesses. Candidates will need to decide how far success is attributable to an expanding economy and to growing feelings of well-being and greater prosperity after the so-called ‘Years of Austerity’. They might debate the importance of political leadership and whether Labour made mistakes, both in colluding with Attlee’s decision to delay retirement and in the choice they made to replace him. They should be aware of the impact of Labour disunity. Some may note that the press was predominantly pro-Conservative and argue that press bias was a factor, especially perhaps in the narrow victory of 1951. Candidates could explain which they consider to be the more important factors in explaining Conservative success. They may be aware of work on the nature of economic progress in the 1950s or on the impact of the media.

40 'In the 1960s and 1970s, Britain managed the process of decolonisation both skilfully and successfully.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates may refer to Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech (1960) and the change in attitude towards African colonies which that helped to engender. They should know that the main decade for decolonisation was the 1960s, when most of Britain's African colonies received their independence. Candidates should refer to specific examples (for example, Nigeria (1960), Tanganyika (1961) and Kenya (1963)) to illustrate the development. Colonies in the West Indies also gained independence (for example, Barbados in 1966) in the 1960s and 1970s. The decolonisation issue which lingered longest concerned Southern Rhodesia, where the white-supremacist policies of Ian Smith led, not to an agreed process of independence, but to a 'unilateral declaration' in 1965, leading to almost fifteen years of negotiation and conflict until the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 which led to Mugabe's assumption of power under majority rule. The 1970s saw the completion of the process, with the granting of independence to a number of smaller territories in the Pacific (for example, Fiji in 1970).

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on how skilful and successful Britain was in managing the process of transition to independence for the majority of its colonies. On the positive side, the process was not protracted, and models for decolonisation, which had been used in some of the colonies which gained independence earliest in the 1960s, were transferred on to other territories later in the decade. Also, and particularly in comparison with some other European colonising nations, the process in the 1960s proceeded with relatively little violence. Erstwhile colonies, for the most part, willingly took up the option of joining the 'British Commonwealth of Nations', which proved to be a useful international forum, mostly functioning harmoniously – even over contentious areas such as white supremacy in southern Africa. The Singapore Declaration (1971) committed member nations to world peace and the development of international democracy. On the more negative side, candidates could argue that decolonisation in the 1960s followed a long period of brutality shown by colonial administrators to 'freedom fighters' and that, as a result, the transition to black majority rule was far less smooth than the speed with which it was achieved might suggest. In some cases, independence was followed by an awkward, tension-laden period of transition. In any case, the history of Southern Rhodesia's troubled and contentious route to majority rule, which spans the later 1960s and the whole of the 1970s, may suggest that Britain was not on top of the process. Sanctions and other forms of pressure to dislodge what the BBC called 'the illegal Smith regime' took a long time to bear fruit. Candidates may be aware of debates over the politics of decolonisation and may ask whether British commentators have painted an overly sympathetic picture of the process.

41 Why were Britain's relations with its partners in the European Economic Community (EU) frequently so difficult in the years 1973–90?

AO1 – Candidates should refer to the problems of adjustment in the 1970s, including a referendum (1975) to decide whether Britain should stay in an organisation it had joined only two years earlier. Issues of harmonising different systems and British perceptions that the main direction of organisation was already firmly in the control of France and West Germany both played a part. The different priorities of France, a nation which used EEC funds to help subsidise its very large agricultural sector, and Britain, a nation seeking a more balanced trade portfolio, were stark. Britain's attempt, as a very recent member, to adjust, or even abandon, the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy caused much resentment. In the later 1970s, many in Britain opposed the idea of direct elections to a European parliament whose powers would be limited anyway. Candidates may concentrate on the Thatcher years and especially the prime minister's campaign to get Britain's contribution to EU funds reduced. Many in the EU considered Thatcher's methods crude and her style of negotiation confrontational. Many EU ministers also took exception to what they considered the crude populism of the right-wing press which, they also thought, expressed Thatcher's 'prejudiced, lower-middle class' opinions. Thatcher also vigorously argued against the introduction of EU legislation which 'trumped' national sovereignty, although she accepted more of this than was acknowledged. There was also much conflict over the proposed common European currency and membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the causes of conflict between Britain and its European partners. Candidates could argue that Britain's history and its long tradition of 'separateness' as a major 'island race' anyway militated against embracing a common 'European ideal' with enthusiasm. Some may argue that Britain would have been a more enthusiastic member had it joined at the inception of the Community in 1957. Much British hostility was caused by resentment at what was seen as Franco-German control of the organisation. The reasons for Thatcher's hostility to the EU are partly personal but largely economic and political. Thatcher believed that a powerful EU would militate against the *laissez-faire* economic policies she favoured. She also opposed the imposition of community-wide regulations against 'national sovereignty'. Candidates may be aware of debates over the nature of British engagement with Europe, including the perception that Thatcher conceded far more to the achievement of a 'European ideal' than is generally recognised.

42 Assess the strengths and weaknesses of Blair as prime minister.

AO1 – Candidates are likely to know that, in electoral terms, he was Labour’s most successful prime minister, winning huge majorities in the general elections of 1997 and 2001 and a comfortable one in 2005. They should also be aware of the ‘New Labour’ project and of the attempt to rid Labour of its ‘backward-facing’ image as a socialist organisation dominated by strike-prone trade unions. Blair called New Labour ‘a left of centre party pursuing economic prosperity and social justice’. They may point to his domination of a succession of Conservative leaders of the opposition and his general domination of the political scene for a full decade. In terms of policy, candidates might discuss: governing from what he called the ‘radical centre’; economic policy which increased taxation overall but which did not impose high rates of taxation on highest earners; the Good Friday settlement in Northern Ireland (1998); his ordering British troops into Iraq, Kosovo and Afghanistan as part of his campaign against Terror; his generally close relations with the United States – and especially with President Clinton; ideological divisions within New Labour, and particularly the deep rift between Blair and Brown for much of their time in office together.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on strengths and weaknesses of a key political figure in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Candidates are likely to see Blair’s longevity in office (including large general election victories) as a strength in itself. Other factors might include: his abilities as a debater and his effectiveness as a television performer in a media age; success in handling crises in Northern Ireland; his use of executive power (although others might see his attenuation of Cabinet discussion as a major weakness); his intervention which helped to end the political instability of, and massacres in, parts of the old Yugoslavia. On weaknesses, candidates could point to: Blair’s commitment to support the US in its invasion of Iraq and the loss of support in Britain to which that gave rise; the debilitating effects of the protracted power struggle with Brown, which many critics saw as evidence of a profoundly dysfunctional government; for some, a capacity for self-assurance and self-belief which militated against a rational appraisal of political risk and of effective strategic direction. For some critics, Blair squandered a profoundly benign political legacy and left office almost in disgrace. Candidates may be aware of recent biographies and of debates over Blair’s abilities as a prime minister and whether, paradoxically, these actually militated against his achievements in economic and political policy.

Section 9: Themes c. 1914–2000

- 43 'The most important factor in an explanation of how the British economy performed over the twentieth century was the fighting of two world wars which the nation could not afford.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates should refer to cost of the world wars and also of the extent to which fighting world wars influenced and distorted economic policy. It is relevant to talk about the changing role of the state and the increasing powers which it felt compelled to take during both conflicts. It is also relevant to refer to the economic impact both of military conscription and of rationing. Candidates should refer to factors affecting British economic performance: the apparently ever-increasing dominance of the United States, particularly after 1918; the rise of industry in British colonies, especially India; the impact of economic depression in the western world in the late 1920s and 1930s and its specific impact in Britain; the decline of Britain's staple industries. Especially after 1945, the emphasis might shift to new industries, particularly electronics, transport and Information Technology. Given the range of the question, it is legitimate to concentrate on three or four aspects. In chronology, it is acceptable to give particular attention to, say, 1970 so that the focus can be kept on the short- and medium-term impact of the world wars.

AO2 – The focus is on making a historical judgement about the extent to which the world wars influenced British economic performance. Candidates should concentrate on the specific requirement to discuss whether fighting the world wars represented 'the most important factor' in assessing Britain's economic performance. There is much to be said in favour of wartime distortions, particularly given the totality of commitment which both wars required and the distortions to the economy involved. Some candidates might argue that, at least in the south of England, Britain recovered readily enough from both world wars. After the First World War, the growth of electronics and other light industries created new employment opportunities. This development also helped Britain to compete effectively worldwide in a number of newer markets. Similarly, after the Second World War, the south of England benefited most from the IT revolution and also from the continued success of London as a financial *entrepôt*. In consequence, candidates may argue, many new jobs were created and substantially increased standards of living were experienced from the 1950s onwards. On the other hand, British manufacturing industry became much less competitive in the 1970s and 1980s by when, it might be argued, the influence of the world wars had waned. Manufacturing difficulties could be attributed to excessive union power, to Thatcherite concentration on the service industries, including financial services – or to a combination of both. Candidates could refer to recent work on Britain's economic performance which has generally argued that, at least until after the Second World War, Britain did as well as could be expected, given the greatly increased number of competitor nations and to the availability of cheap labour in many parts of the developing world.

44 To what extent did the Education Acts passed in the first half of the twentieth century increase opportunities for the working classes in England and Wales?

AO1 – The key pieces of legislation are: the (Balfour) Act of 1902, which facilitated the development of secondary education and, in breaking up the School Boards, created new ‘local education authorities’; the (Fisher) Act of 1918 which raised the school leaving age to fourteen and expanded linked services in schools, such as medical inspection and specialist provision for those with educational difficulties; the (Butler) Act of 1944 which fundamentally reorganised secondary education. The Act expanded opportunities for girls to receive secondary education, and provided separate forms of education for the academically gifted in grammar schools and ‘direct grant’ independent schools which received a government grant to expand opportunities for the able, for the technically adept in Secondary Technical Schools, and also for the remainder of the population (about 70–75%) in Secondary Modern Schools. Other, less significant, pieces of legislation were passed and should be credited if reference to them is accurate and relevant to the question.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the importance of Education Acts in improving opportunities for the working classes. In addition to sustaining an analytical focus on the question asked, candidates should select their material from across its broad chronology. Most candidates are likely to argue that these Acts did indeed increase opportunities. The 1902 Act was controversial in party political terms. Nonconformists were convinced that it was deliberately weighted by a Conservative government in favour of beleaguered Church of England schools. However, local education authorities were freed from the subterfuge of education beyond the elementary. Although the results were patchy, more working-class children were able to receive an education which – in some senses at least – replicated that available to the middle classes.

The Fisher Act was important for facilitating the development of more specialist services by LEAs, while the raising of the school leaving age gave opportunity for more developed learning. The 1944 Act is likely to receive most detailed attention and emphasis should be placed on significantly increased educational opportunities for girls and the structure of selection which was put in place to decide which pupils were sufficiently able to benefit from a ‘liberal’ education. In judging the ‘extent’ to which opportunities were increased, candidates might point to the relatively limited number of places available in LEA grammar schools and also that the proportions selected varied from authority to authority. It was also the case that relatively few secondary technical schools were built, thus resulting in a larger than anticipated proportion of pupils going to ‘Secondary Moderns’, where resources were fewer and the educational qualifications of teachers tended to be lower than in the ‘Grammars’. Critics of the Act also argued that its potential for unlocking opportunity for the working classes was undermined by the kind of test used to determine selection. It was argued that these tests gave an inbuilt advantage to pupils from homes in which parents were well educated. Candidates may be aware of debates over the extent to which legislation on education improved life-chances and also about why grammar schools were so often seen as divisive institutions.

45 'Racial and ethnic integration in Britain was less pronounced at the end of the twentieth century than it had been in c. 1950.' Discuss.

AO1 – Candidates should refer to the patterns and the impact of immigration in the second half of the century, with awareness that there was relatively little immigration from the colonies until soon after the Second World War, when significant numbers began to arrive from the West Indies, especially Barbados and Jamaica. Significant numbers of migrants also arrived from India after 1947. Migration of those from Indian background reached a peak in the mid-1960s with Amin's expulsion of Indians from Uganda. Candidates should know about the significance of the British Nationality Act (1948) and an increase in migrants (mostly in search of jobs) from 3,000 a year in 1950 to 45,000 by the mid-1950s and 135,000 by 1960. Candidates should refer to key immigration legislation: the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) required immigrants to have a job to come to; the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1968) required immigrants to have a direct birth link to a UK national; the Immigration Act restricted immigration to those with work permits and to those with parents or grandparents born in the UK. Immigration rates declined to about 70,000 in the early 1970s and to 50,000 by 1990, before rising to almost 100,000 by 2000. Candidates should also refer to the impact of EU law on free movement of citizens from EU countries. On race relations, the key legislation is the Race Relations Act (1976) which outlawed (in Britain but not Northern Ireland) discrimination on grounds of race, colour and nationality and also set up the Race Relations Board. It expanded the provisions of legislation passed in 1965 and 1968. Candidates are likely to refer to some key crises in the history of race relations: Notting Hill riots (1958); Powell's Rivers of Blood Speech (1968) and its impact; riots in Brixton, Liverpool and Bristol which had a pronounced racial basis (1981). Specifically on 'integration', candidates may provide information on patterns of immigrant residence, on cultural separation and on specific evidence of inter-racial harmony as, for example, in the racial composition of professional football teams, the election of non-white MPs, increasing diversity of diet with growing popularity of 'ethnic food'.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the changing extent of racial and ethnic integration in the second half of the twentieth century. Race riots have lessened since the 1980s, the number of specifically race-inspired crimes has declined since the Stephen Lawrence murder, and professional sport may have contributed to reducing racial prejudice. However, in many cities, immigrants have concentrated in particular suburbs and districts of large towns where cultural and religious differences may well have militated against effective integration. Islamic fundamentalism and its associated terrorist activities in the 1990s may have hampered moves towards greater racial and ethnic integration, as might free migration of EU citizens, especially as membership of the EU expanded. It is possible to argue that there is no easy calibration of 'greater' or 'lesser' across the half-century and the sense of vulnerability of white, working-class UK citizens to perceived threats from a large number of migrants remains a potentially fissile factor, irrespective of immigration controls and race-relations legislation. Candidates may be aware of debates over the effectiveness of race relations legislation and how much changing numbers of immigrants affects reactions within the host community.

46 How did social and technological change affect opportunities for women in the years after 1945?

AO1 – Candidates should refer to: the wider availability of labour-saving devices (especially, perhaps, washing machines and vacuum cleaners); changing patterns of labour (with the expansion of the service sector and fewer occupations requiring substantial manual strength); relevant legislation (including that on equal pay and sex discrimination). Social changes might include: the relative decline of the nuclear family; the increase in the number of single-parent families (the great majority of which were headed by women); and the substantial increase in the proportion of married women who remained in the labour force (either part-time or full-time). The total female labour force increased over this period from c. 7 million to c. 11 million, while the number of married women in employment increased from c. 2.5 million to c. 7 million.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the changing roles of, and opportunities for, women from the end of the Second World War. On opportunities, most candidates will argue that women had far more opportunities open to them. It is, of course, possible to argue that the impact of peer pressure forced some women into employment and, thus, away from full-time child care. Against this, greater availability of labour-saving devices enabled more women to spend less time on domestic work. Candidates could argue that legislation gave women more options and helped increase the greater contribution made directly by women to economic growth and productivity. Some candidates might argue that new opportunities have not necessarily changed the status of women and that legislation has not secured equal pay for equal work in many occupations. Candidates may be aware of the impact of feminist historiography. Many consider the positive benefits enjoyed by women as a consequence of social and technological change to have been limited.

47 How is the increased influence of popular and ‘celebrity’ culture on British society in the second half of the twentieth century best explained?

AO1 – Candidates should be aware that popular and ‘celebrity’ culture became much more economically important and was given far more emphasis in the media and even in broadsheet journals than was the case in the middle of the twentieth century. Candidates should identify a range of social changes which help to explain the phenomenon. They could include: the growing influence of the United States on British culture; changes in the direction and impact of popular music; growing economic prosperity from the late 1950s; the development of more sophisticated forms of mass media linked to the creation of greater market awareness; increasingly targeted advertising, especially on young consumers; greater equality of opportunity; the increasing popularity of professional sport, linked to the emergence of ‘cultural icons’.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for the increasing influence of popular and celebrity culture. Candidates should explain what factors seem to them most important. Most are likely to discuss the ‘loosening up’ of British society, with a generally more egalitarian approach; young people are more likely not only to identify with heroes of popular music, sport etc. but also, of people ‘like them’ who had become rich and famous (thanks usually to effectively profitable media manipulation). Candidates should concentrate on the *influence* of popular/celebrity culture and attempt to explain why it has had so great an impact. They may argue about the extent to which developments resulted from a more sophisticated media which understood, to greater levels of granularity, what was popular. These insights were exploited effectively for profit. Some candidates might argue the extent to which celebrity culture has become popular because it seems to break with a more hide-bound, hierarchical culture in which people needed to ape the habits of their ‘betters’ in order to ‘get on’. Some will argue the extent to which the chimera of rich rewards apparently available to all has driven celebrity culture. Candidates may be aware of debates over what constitutes popular culture and, perhaps particularly, the extent to which it is manipulated by markets driven by the profit imperative.

- 48 **'Our mission is to enrich people's lives with programmes and services which inform, educate and entertain.'** In which of these three objectives was the BBC most successful during the twentieth century? Explain your answer.

AO1 – Candidates should include information about each of the three 'legs' of the BBC mission. On 'inform', they should refer to the development of news services on both radio and television. Candidates might mention the special importance of the BBC's World Service in terms of international reputation. 'Inform' also incorporates news analysis and candidates might comment on how news links with analysis while attempting to maintain strict political neutrality. On 'educate', candidates should refer to how the BBC has developed programmes which aim to provide understanding of the sciences, the arts, economics etc. Candidates should demonstrate specific knowledge about key programmes with a predominantly educative function. 'Civilisation', 'Life on Earth' and 'The Ascent of Man' suggest themselves among many others. It is also relevant to mention the educative roles of the Home Service/R4 and, perhaps particularly, The Third Programme/R3. Some candidates will also know about the role of the BBC in broadcasting Open University programmes. On 'entertain', it is reasonable to assume that candidates will have specific examples to draw on, though these should show some chronological range – from 'light entertainment' of variety and dance-band programmes on radio in the 1930s through high-budget comedy/variety shows such as 'Morecambe & Wise', into alternative and experimental comedy of 'The Mighty Boosh' and 'Little Britain' kind.

AO2 – The focus is on reaching a judgement on the nature and extent of the influence of the BBC. Some candidates may observe that the three categories of the original BBC mission were never discrete or watertight. For example, success in some forms of comedy/light entertainment could incidentally provide analysis and commentary with an educative element. Thus, 'That was the Week that Was,' the monologues of Ben Elton and R4's 'News Quiz' came with a high-entry fee in that much of their point would be lost on viewers without a reasonable degree of political awareness. Candidates might wish to argue that one, or other, of the three 'legs' was predominant at different times. It could be argued, for example, that in the Reithian era a combination of information and education was predominant, not least because these mattered more to Reith. By contrast, entertainment might be seen as pre-eminent from the 1980s as the political emphasis shifted towards the need for the BBC to compete with private radio and satellite television. Some candidates might argue that entertainment is now more important to the BBC with its 'serious' purpose less in evidence in the last quarter of the twentieth century as the 'need to compete' and the need 'to serve all licence payers' became more important indicators of BBC success and significance. In the last quarter of the century, too, the BBC came under sustained attack from independent providers whose antagonism often centred on the 'cosy cushion' provided by the licence fee. Some candidates, in developing arguments about differential emphases across time, might speculate on what Reith would have thought about focus groups, target-setting and the leadership of John Birt. As ever, what candidates argue is less important than how they cover the three elements clearly flagged in the question and how precise and representative the examples they choose to support their case may be. Candidates could refer to Asa Briggs's analysis of the BBC. Candidates may be aware of the sharp debates over what the role of the BBC should be at different periods in its history.