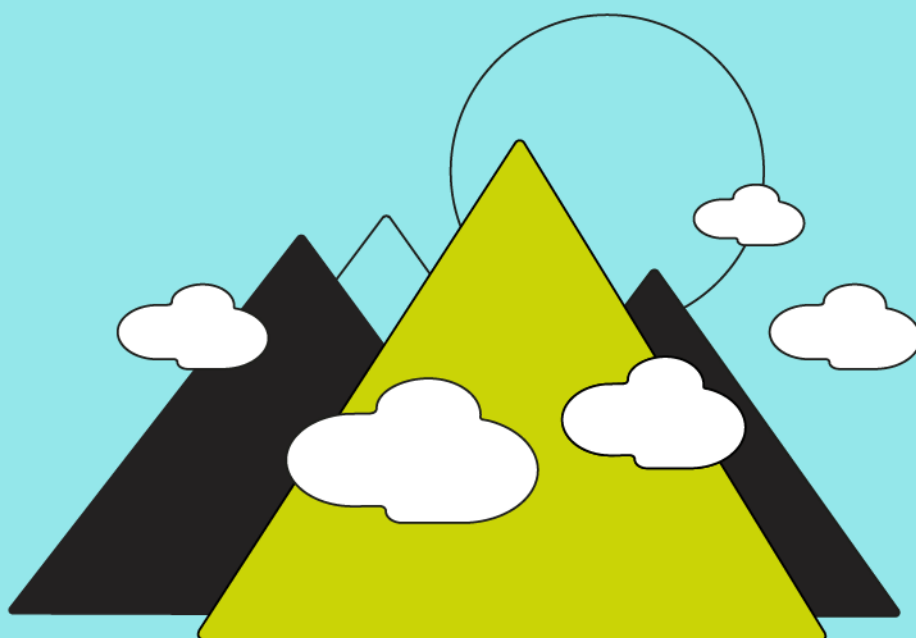


Delegate Booklet

Course Title:

**Pearson Edexcel A level History:
Delivering coursework**





Introduction

This session will help teachers prepare to deliver the coursework component in A level History. It will recap on the requirements, then discuss planning and preparation, before going on to consider ways to support your students effectively as they select their debate, the different interpretations and their wider reading.

Objectives

This A level History network will allow delegates to:

- refresh understanding of the coursework requirements
- consider how to prepare to deliver the component
- discuss ways to support students effectively
- network and share ideas about good teaching



Coursework requirements

The Question

Historians have disagreed about *[the chosen question, problem or issue]*.

What is your view about *[the chosen question, problem or issue]*?

With reference to three chosen works:

- analyse the ways in which interpretations of the question, problem or issue differ
- explain the differences you have identified
- evaluate the arguments, indicating which you found most persuasive and explaining your judgements.

Coursework mark scheme

Bullet Points	
1	Identification of, selection from, and deployment of material relevant to an aspect of historical debate.
2	Ability to reach and sustain an overall judgement about a matter of historical debate in its historical context.
3	Analysis and explanation of differences in historians' views.
4	Evaluation of, and judgement on, historians' arguments.
5	Demonstration of understanding of relevant concepts and organization and communication of a concisely formulated argument.

Generic coursework mark scheme

Follows on next three pages



Level	Mark	Descriptor		
	0	No rewardable material.		
Level 1	1–8	Selects material <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A limited range of material has been identified for use in the enquiry and appropriately cited. Information taken from reading is mainly used illustratively and understanding of the issue in question is limited. Judgement on the question is assertive, with little or no supporting evidence, and contextual knowledge is not linked to it. Demonstrates only limited comprehension and analysis of the views in the three chosen works, selecting some material relevant to the question. Surface differences are noted as matters of information. Evaluation of the chosen works relates to their information rather than their argument, or is based on questionable assumptions. Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the enquiry. There are only limited attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision, but the work is concise. 		
		Low level 1: 1–2 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects and it is not concise.	Mid level 1: 3–5 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects or it is not concise.	High level 1: 6–8 marks The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.
Level 2	9–16	Attempts analysis and explanation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A range of material relevant to the enquiry has been identified and appropriately cited. Information taken from reading shows limited attempts at selection and is used mainly illustratively, but shows some understanding of the overall issue in question. A judgement on the question is given but with limited support and is related to information, rather than specific issues of interpretation. Contextual knowledge is used only to expand on matters of detail in a work or to note some aspects that are not included. Attempts analysis of views in three chosen works by comparison and description of some points within them that are relevant to the debate, but limited understanding of the reasons for differences is shown. The evaluation recognises an element of argument in the chosen works but the criteria for judgement are routine or left implicit and substantiation is limited. Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the conceptual focus of the enquiry. The answer is concise and shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision. 		
		Low level 2: 9–10 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects and it is not concise.	Mid level 2: 11–13 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects or it is not concise.	High level 2: 14–16 marks The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.



Level	Mark	Descriptor		
Level 3	17–24	Explains analysis and attempts evaluation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A range of material relevant to the enquiry has been identified from reading and appropriately cited. Information has been appropriately selected and deployed to show understanding of the overall issue in question. A judgement on the question is related to some key points of view encountered in reading and discussion is attempted, albeit with limited substantiation. Contextual knowledge of some issues related to the debate is shown and linked to some of the points discussed. Analyses some of the views in three chosen works by selecting and explaining some key points and indicating differences. Explanation demonstrates some understanding of the reasons for differences. Attempts are made to establish valid criteria for evaluation of some arguments in the chosen works and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation. Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the conceptual focus of the enquiry, but material lacks range or depth. The answer is concise and shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision. 		
		Low level 3: 17–18 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects and it is not concise.	Mid level 3: 19–21 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects or it is not concise.	High level 3: 22–24 marks The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.
Level 4	25–32	Analyses, explains and evaluates interpretations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A range of material relevant to the enquiry has been identified from reading, appropriately cited and selected and deployed with precision to demonstrate understanding of the issues under debate. Most of the relevant aspects of the debate will be discussed, although treatment of some aspects may lack depth. Evidence from reading is used with discrimination to sustain a judgment on the question although selection may lack balance in places. Contextual knowledge of some of the issues is integrated in the discussion of aspects of the debate. Analyses the views in the chosen works and the differences between them, explaining the issues of interpretation raised. Explanation of points of view in three chosen works demonstrates some understanding of the basis of the arguments of the authors. Valid criteria are established by which the arguments in the three chosen works can be judged and they are applied in the process of making judgements, although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated. Knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the conceptual focus of the enquiry and to meet most of its demands. The answer is concise and generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision. 		
		Low level 4: 25–26 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects and it is not concise.	Mid level 4: 27–29 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects or it is not concise.	High level 4: 30–32 marks The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.



Level	Mark	Descriptor		
Level 5	33–40	Sustained analysis, explanation and evaluation of arguments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A range of material relevant to the enquiry has been identified from reading, appropriately cited and selected and deployed with precision to demonstrate understanding of the issues under debate. Most of the relevant aspects of the debate will be discussed in a sustained evaluative argument. Material from reading is used with discrimination to sustain a considered overall judgement on the question. Contextual knowledge of the issues is fully integrated into the discussion of the debate. Analyses the views in the chosen works and the differences between them, explaining the issues of interpretation raised. Explanation of points of view and differences between them demonstrates understanding of the basis of the arguments of the authors and the nature of historical debate. Valid criteria are established by which the arguments in the three chosen works can be judged and they are applied and fully justified in the process of making judgements. Knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the conceptual focus of the enquiry, and to respond fully to its demands. The answer is concise and well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision. 		
		Low level 5: 33–34 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects and it is not concise.	Mid level 5: 35–37 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in some aspects or it is not concise.	High level 5: 38–40 marks The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.



Preparing to deliver

Short taught course

A short skills-based course of study that develops understanding of:

- the range of methods used by historians in their work
- the diverse range of focuses and purposes that historians have
- the different perspectives of historians.

The course should also help students to develop enquiry skills, for example:

- effective record keeping and referencing
- planning skills
- effective use of a library and the internet.

If the topic chosen for the coursework is different to the topics covered in the other three assessment components, it would also be permissible to deliver a short course to provide students with the contextual background.

White/gold or blue/black dress

An activity to try with your students as a fun, non-historical introduction to different perspectives. You can google the story, which is from February 2015, e.g. on the BBC News website.

What are historical interpretations?

Historical interpretations are *constructions* – things that historians *actively make* rather than simply find.

‘Even the decision to study some things and ignore others is an act of interpretation’.

The ‘Prologue’ to *What is History, Now?* offers a useful discussion of the centrality of interpretations to the study of history, and the value of engaging with a diverse range of voices.

‘This book intends to prove... that history can be flexible, malleable, colourful and without bias – that history is, above all, interpretation. This is why this volume hosts a multiplicity of voices... ‘

What is History, Now? ed. Helen Carr and Suzannah Lipscomb (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2021), p15.



Diverse range of focus and purpose

The impact of the English Civil War: **Identify the focus in each of the four extracts:**

1. 'King Charles I was tried and found guilty of treason to his own people and government. He was executed on 30 January 1649 ... The institutions of the monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished. So, too, was the medieval Star Chamber, which was the king's Privy Council and two Chief Justices charged with maintaining public order. Royal estates totalling around 10% of the land in England were sold off.'¹
2. 'The Civil War disrupted trade. London's contribution to parliamentary taxation, receipts from taxes on internal trade into London, tax receipts from cloth brought to Blackwell Hall and apprenticeship enrolment for a number of manufacturing companies all suggest that 'Seventeenth-century London was the hub of England's internal and international trade, and ... sharp commercial contractions in 1643-44 and in 1648-50 hit London hard.'² Stall fees from St. Bartholomew's Fair reveal that there was a large drop in consumer retailing from 1642-45.'
3. 'The middle and lower institutions of central and local government remained in place. As the historian J. Morrill put it, "There was a shift of power *within* the gentry but not *from* the gentry".³ But a large proportion of the population was directly involved in the fighting: during each of the campaigning seasons of 1643, 1644 and 1645 it is estimated that more than one in 10 of the male population aged between 16 and 60 was in arms and that during the civil wars as a whole perhaps one in four of the adult male population of England and Wales took up arms at some stage.'⁴
4. 'During and after the wars there was more religious freedom for various branches of Protestantism and a flourishing of alternative ideas. The sweeping away of the hierarchy of bishops that followed the war was, for some, a turning of the world upside down.' ... 'The amount of published material soared ... by 1660, around 3 new titles appeared every day ... pamphlets and broadsides appeared, written in easy, accessible English often shouted through the streets for the illiterate majority. The civil war saw competing newspapers, often published weekly, which presented religious separatists both as notorious rebels against God and champions of new, insightful forms of worship.'⁵

Notes

1. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1944/consequences-of-the-english-civil-wars/> (including footnotes iii-v)
2. Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. xii + 242 pp.
3. Morrill, John. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor & Stuart Britain*. Oxford University Press, 1996. P377
4. Gaunt, Peter. *The English Civil Wars*. Osprey Publishing, 2003.p8
5. Hunt, Tristram. *The English Civil War at First Hand*. Penguin UK, 2011.p231



Criteria

‘the basis on which the question is judged’

Level 5 Valid criteria are established by which the arguments in the three chosen works can be judged and they are applied and fully justified in the process of making judgements.

They could consider, if relevant:

- Does their focus limit their understanding?
- Is it balanced or one sided?
- What is their timeframe?
- What is the extent of their coverage?
- What is their underlying assumption?
- What research methods have been used?
- What is their evidence base?

Applying criteria

Task: Highlight in these examples where the student is applying criteria to assess the three historians. What criterion is being used?

1. “Considering the fact that Shapiro thus went into his work with the intention of analysing different evidence to gain a different outlook on the actions of the deputies from 1789–93, his conclusions are impacted by the evidence he selects – perhaps the fact that Shapiro predominantly relied upon the letters of deputies to their constituents to build his theory of trauma means that he gained a much more narrow view on why the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset as compared to Cobban and Furet.”
2. “... Furet’s ‘Revolutionary France 1770–1880’ and Cobban’s ‘A History of Modern France, volume 1’ each respectively look at a hundred years of the French revolutionary period, and Cobban over his three volumes, 250 years. The significance of this is that it may impact their judgements of what exactly caused the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy, as they may be trying to fit it into a longer-term framework of interpretation ... wide periods may gloss over detail in order to produce a theory on the interconnectedness of events throughout the 200 years of French revolutionary study ... compared to Shapiro who only covers the ‘Early French Revolution’ and thus does not need to create an overall ‘theme’ to explain why the next revolution happened and later failed in France in 1830 in the same way Cobban and Furet need to. Shapiro’s article ... covers only 1789–90 ... So it can be said that he looks at history on a much more limited timescale. His lack of interest therefore to come up with an overarching argument to do with French democracy on a 100–200-year scale inevitably means that his conclusions will be more as a result of detailed events ...”



Supporting your students: the debate, different interpretations, wider reading

The Debate

The three chosen historians ‘must be sufficiently different for the student to be able to make valid comparisons and judgements.’ (Coursework guide). They are not necessarily polar opposites – disagreements can be more nuanced.

The student is ‘the fourth historian in the room’.

Why do the three historians have different views?

What historians choose to investigate is often shaped by their experiences or what is happening when writing.

Highlight the explanations for why they are taking their view:

“Shapiro similarly focuses on political history, though this is as a result of his own goal of tying together the disciplines of psychology and history together rather than a lack of interest on the economic and social history ... Shapiro may have attempted to apply a specific lens when analysing the outcomes of the period such to fit his psychoanalytical framework about trauma ... he viewed his work to be a response to the revisionist view on the Revolution.”

“Both Cobban and Furet had similar political beliefs and therefore interpreted the Revolution in a classical liberal fashion. It also should be noted that Furet was once part of the ‘Annales school’...predominantly focused on social and economic history as opposed to political history. Furet grew to reject this proposal and notably rejected his own Marxist views and instead grew to advocate the classical liberal view that Cobban had championed. He came to emulate Cobban’s focus on political history ...”

This impacts their judgements because they therefore solely focus on political history, in the form of their direct focus on the Constituent and Legislative assemblies.”

Using historical reviews

Historical reviews of their historians’ books and articles are often a useful source of additional analysis and information. For instance, in support of the argument that Furet may well ‘gloss over detail in order to produce a theory’, the student in Exemplar A refers to a review: “as pointed out by many when assessing his work: ‘his conceptual approach to history, in which he preferred to overlook minute detail in favour of political and philosophical analysis’ (footnote)”.



Wider reading

In reaching a judgement on the view, students must refer not only to their three chosen works, but also make use of supplementary reading.

A bank of sentences could be useful here to get students thinking about how their additional reading can be *applied*.

Writing up

There is no required structure for the assignment. Students are required to present their own view and to analyse three relevant works.

Students may find it helpful to complete the assignment in **two sections**:

1. the analysis, explanation and evaluation of the differing interpretations in their three chosen works
2. the presentation of their view.

Students may prefer to divide the essay into **four sections**:

1. analyse the ways in which interpretations of the question, problem or issue differ
2. explain the differences you have identified
3. evaluate the arguments, indicating which you found most persuasive, explaining your judgements.
4. the presentation of their view.



Resource record example

Lists all resources used.

This is useful for the teacher to check on the research progress; it provides evidence of the quality and scope of the work

In the comments section, they indicate which they have chosen as their main and supplementary historians, & briefly why.

Doyle, W., The Execution of Louis XVI and the End of the French Monarchy, <i>History Review</i> (March 2000)	pp. 21-24	<p>Doyle presents several arguments for the reasons behind Louis XVI's execution. He focuses on one in particular, the long-term desacralisation of the monarchy that by the time of the revolution the image of the monarchy was in such a state to be challenged. However, he goes on to argue that this alone is not adequate enough to explain Louis XVI's death, instead that the reasons for the downfall of Constitutional Monarchy was the Flight to Varennes, which was in turn caused by the rejection of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Thus argues that Constitutional Monarchy was not doomed from the outset.</p> <p>I will use this work as a supplementary work, as it does not explore Doyle's argument in the relatively short number of pages such that I would be comfortable of it using it as a core work, but it is useful nonetheless because of his presentation of the desacralisation argument, even if he does disagree.</p>	22/08/2021	28/09/2021 TCHN
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Exemplar in full: Script A

Historians have disagreed about why the 1789-92 French Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset.

What is your view on why the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset?

With reference to three chosen works:

- Analyse the ways in which interpretations of the question, problem or issue differ
- Explain the differences you have identified
- Evaluate the arguments, indicating which you found most persuasive and explaining your judgements.

When the Constitutional Monarchy collapsed on the 10th of August 1792, it incidentally also marked the end of the 400-year-old ancien régime by suspending the final obstacle to its complete destruction. Despite beliefs that it had been toppled three years earlier in 1789, throughout the years of the attempted Constitutional Monarchy, the people never got rid of the feeling that the ancien régime still resided within the continued rulership of Louis XVI. This in essence was as a result of the contradiction within the revolution, a theory predominantly proposed by François Furet, which I will argue ultimately made the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy inevitable. Alfred Cobban is also part of the group of historians that argue that the Constitutional Monarchy was doomed to fail from the start, but rather for problems incurred as a result of the rapid collapse of the ancien régime. Barry Shapiro similarly believes that the Constitutional Monarchy was doomed from the start, but puts particular emphasis on the infliction of trauma by Louis XVI on the deputies from the events of summer 1789 (i.e. the outset) that ultimately made inevitable the breakdown in the paternal relationship (between Louis XVI and his subjects) and consequently the downfall of the monarchy. In this essay, I aim to explore these nuances, compare them, and explain them, such that I will be able to make my own informed judgement on why the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset. In order to answer this question, it should be noted that I have interpreted the beginning of the Constitutional Monarchy to be the storming of the Bastille in July 1789 as opposed to the de jure creation of the limited monarchy through the Constitution of 1791. This is because the storming of the Bastille marked the point at which the King lost his monopoly on violence, and thereby his symbolic, near-absolute, though evidently not guaranteed, control on the nation.

T2
context

T2
judgement

3 marks!

T1
selection
appropriate

T5
concept
understanding
Argument

+
T2
with 4
context



While all three historians agree that the final collapse of the Constitutional Monarchy on the 10th August 1792 resulted from more immediate factors, such as the rise of extremist factions, they disagree when on which factor made those successive medium-term events inevitable. For example, on the rise of extremist factions, Cobban advances the idea that the shock dismantlement of the ancien régime gave way to groups seeking to fill the power vacuum: 'in a state in which the old authorities had collapsed and the new ones had hardly begun to function it was inevitable that such revolutionary groups should become the real centres of power.' (Cobban, 1963, p. 177) These groups disputed amongst each other until the radicals emerged victorious and began to pursue their agenda, which eventually culminated in the downfall of the monarchy. Cobban particularly emphasises the role of the Jacobins, with the idea that they 'gradually came to usurp the powers of local government' (Cobban, 1963, p. 178), and through methods such as 'the exploitation of popular discontent and the stirring up of mob passions, whether against aristocrats or priests, or simply political opponents' (Cobban, 1963, p. 178) the 'more advanced revolutionaries were gradually able to impose their rule on France.' (Cobban, 1963, p. 178) It is important to note that Cobban puts emphasis on the idea that the rise of extremism came as a result of the lack of political experience of the deputies – 'What its members lacked was what in the nature of things they could not have acquired – political experience' (Cobban, 1963, p. 180) which caused much of the discontent that led to the rise of the Jacobins, and the sections of society that backed them: 'the Constituent Assembly was unable to control the rising tide of anarchy.' (Cobban, 1963, p. 180) The most prominent example of failure as a result of political inexperience is with the acceptance of Robespierre's self-denying ordinance by the moderates in September 1791, which empowered the radicals by phasing out the moderates, and such doomed the monarchy by allowing the radicals to thereafter freely pursue their agenda: 'but he could not have secured its acceptance without the support of the right, whose hatred for the constitutionalists led them to deal this last blow to their enemies even if it was to prove fatal to themselves and to the king.' (Cobban, 1963, p. 184) Cobban therefore argues that this pre-existing factor of inexperience, that came from the shock transition from the ancien régime, made the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy inevitable in the way that it significantly contributed to the deputies' mistakes that allowed the radicals to become powerful and the moderates to be phased out.

T3
analysis
of
Cobban

T3
diff

While agreeing with Cobban's argument that the rise of extremism was a primary factor in the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy, Furet's argument differs in the way in which he

2



proposes the Jacobins gained power. While Cobban acknowledges that the Jacobins exploited 'political discontent' (Cobban, 1963, p. 178), Furet expands on this by explaining their rise through his theory of a contradiction within the revolution. He does this by expanding on one of the most prominent examples of the contradiction, being the limitation of the franchise as a result of the distinction between active and non-active citizens that reminded many of the unfair and unequal nature of the ancien régime they had just revolted against: 'nonetheless, it rested on a distinction between civil rights, which were universal, and political rights, which were not: to that democratic man who was the central representation of the Revolution it added a contradictory element, at this sensitive spot.' (Furet, 1995, p. 99) In this way, Furet blames the rise of extremism on the contradiction of the compromise that was the Constitutional Monarchy, which was in turn easily capitalized on by the radical groups – 'It was not by chance that Robespierre built his reputation as defender of the people on criticism of the *censitaire* electoral system.' (Furet, 1995, p. 99) Furet therefore proposes the Constitutional Monarchy was doomed from the outset as a result of its flawed systematic nature, of retaining a 'king in a republican constitution' (Furet, 1995, p. 99) to which he would never belong and would be inevitably ousted (as a symbol of the ancien régime). He highlights that the continuation of ancien régime practices in the distinction between active and passive citizens only strengthened this feeling amongst the people.

T3
Many 5
of 19
Furet's
view
and how
difficult
to Cobban
Agreed

Shapiro takes quite a different approach to this; while he still argues that the rise of extremist groups set up the conditions to which the Constitutional Monarchy fell, he explains their rise through his theory of traumatic politics. Rather than blaming the inexperience of the deputies, or the contradiction between revolutionary ideals and what actually materialised, he blames the actions of the crown in the 18th century in the way in which it has managed to set the conditions to which the people and the monarch seemed to have a paternal relationship. This explains the phenomenon whereby many of the moderate deputies, in denial over Louis XVI making mistakes, forced themselves to divert blame for every wrongdoing by Louis XVI: 'For the traumatized deputies of 1789, depending upon whether denial or repetition was ascendant, Louis was either a saintly good father deceived by his evil advisers or a traitorous enemy who ... they believed was willing to have them killed to protect his own interests.' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 116) He argues that this paternal-traumatic relationship, combined with Louis XVI's mistakes such as his supposed 'public declaration of political war against the revolutionaries' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 115) when he utilized physical force on 20 June 1789, produced a traumatic

T3
left



response from the deputies which essentially radicalized many of the moderates beyond the extent to which they could 'convince themselves that their emotional connection to the king which his evil advisers had put at risk had now been restored.' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 114) Thus, Shapiro argues that 'the traumatization of summer 1789 ultimately severely undermined and perhaps largely foreclosed the possibility of establishing a constitutional monarchy in which the representatives and the monarch could have worked out ways of relating to each other as opponents rather than enemies.' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 117) In contrast to the other two historians, Shapiro therefore argues that it was not pre-existing systematic or logistical issues that doomed the Constitutional Monarchy from the outset, rather a combination of Louis XVI's actions and the existing paternal turned traumatic relationship that made it such that radicalism emerged from a sense of 'betrayal' amongst the deputies following the events of summer 1789.

T3
clear +
precise
exposition
of
different
positions
Shapiro has two
Agreed

Shapiro makes a notable point when discussing the 'desacralization' argument made by many historians; while not refuting the existence of 'desacralization' over the 18th century, he refutes its impact upon the viability of the Constitutional Monarchy by arguing against historians such as Merrick, Van Kley and especially Chartier and his 'affective rupture' theory by instead supporting 'Tackett's assertion' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 107) that countered the notion of a 'prerevolutionary dethronement' (Shapiro, 2009, p. 3) of the king by conversely stating that 'during the early days of the Estates-General, the vast majority of Third Estate representatives were firmly convinced that Louis XVI was "on their side" and that "all reforms must be accomplished under the close auspices of the monarchy"' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 107). Interestingly, at this point of the argument Shapiro directly addresses Furet's argument that 'a viable constitutional monarchy "could never have been implemented"' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 109) and instead proposes the idea that, in response to 'desacralization', the royal propagandists had only promoted 'strong ties with a more down-to-earth and "democratic" monarch' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 107) which set the conditions to which 'the emotional and ideological foundations for a workable constitutional monarchy can be said to have been present' (Shapiro, 2015, p. 107). In this way, the historians thereby also disagree upon when exactly it was doomed to fail – Furet and Cobban propose that it was always doomed to fail due to the inherent issues with the concept of a Constitutional Monarchy and the repercussions of a shock transition between government forms, while Shapiro argues that the downfall only became inevitable during summer 1789 as a result of Louis XVI's trauma inducing actions, the effect of which was made worse by the existing paternal relationship.

T1
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evident
through
analysis
(TS no)

4



The reason why these historians have reached different conclusions can be attributed to their own approach to the French Revolution, and the nature of their own political views and interests. One aspect of similarity in this regard is with Cobban and Furet, who both agree that the Constitutional Monarchy was doomed from the outset due to systemic and logistical issues within the revolution and have deduced this argument within books that examine the French Revolution on a long term and wide scale. Furet's 'Revolutionary France, 1770-1880' and Cobban's 'A History of Modern France, Volume One' each respectively look at a hundred years of the French Revolutionary period, and Cobban over his three volumes, 250 years. The significance of this is that it may impact their judgements over the interpretation of what exactly caused the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy, as they may be trying to work it into a longer-term framework of interpretation. For example, Furet's recognition of a contradiction within the revolution on which he bases his argument is examined with the hindsight of the later victories of the republicans over the monarchists in the 1870s in achieving a lasting settlement that Furet proposes reconciled the apparent issue of past contradictions: 'only the victory of republicans over monarchists in 1876-7 provided modern France with a regime that established in lasting form the full range of the principles of 1789 ensuring not only civic equality but also political liberty.' (Furet, 1995, p. ix) Perhaps the fact that there was no further revolution following the settlement of the 1870s guided Furet's approach to the 1789-92 Constitutional Monarchy in which he details the problems of that revolution to be what was reconciled in the 1870s. Another problem this entails is that these historians, focussing on such wide periods, may gloss over detail in order to produce a theory on the interconnectedness of events throughout the 200 years of French Revolutionary study. The method Furet used to derive his theory of a contradiction within the revolution comes to mind most when thinking about this, as pointed out by many when assessing his work: 'his conceptual approach to history, in which he preferred to overlook minute detail in favor of political and philosophical analysis.' (Riding, 1997) Similarly, Cobban's need to summarise vast swathes of history means that he is inevitably 'led to postulate hypotheses which he has not the space to defend in detail, and to advance interpretations which all would not accept.' (Hampson, 1963) On the other hand, Shapiro's article in McPhee covers only 1789-93 and similarly his other published work such as *Traumatic Politics* or *Revolutionary Justice in Paris* only deals with the King during the period of constitutional monarchy or the period 1789-90, and so it can be said that he looks at history on much more of a limited scale. His lack of interest therefore to come up with an overarching argument to do with French democracy on a 100-to-200-year scale inevitably means that his conclusions will be more as a result of detailed events rather than wide

T3
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T1 5-pp
T1 5-pp
used
for T3
understand
of
judging

Agreed. This
explanation is
thorough + brings
out differences clearly
Less + emphasis
of T3. Individually
of hours @ 25



movements and trends. This is important when considering the debate over what made the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy inevitable, as Furet has identified a contradiction in the revolution within the examined hindsight of what exactly happened after, as compared to Shapiro who only covers the 'Early French Revolution' and thus does not need to create an overall 'theme' to explain why the next revolution happened and later failed in France in 1830, in the same way Cobban and Furet need to.

T3 basis
summary
✓

On the topic of a framework that historians may apply, it is also important to consider the fact that both Cobban and Furet had similar political beliefs, and therefore interpreted the Revolution in a classical liberal fashion. It also should be noted that Furet was once part of the 'Annales school', which was a group of historians that predominantly focused on social and economic history as opposed to political history. Furet grew to reject this proposal, and notably rejected his own Marxist views and instead grew to advocate the classical liberal view that Cobban had championed. He came to emulate Cobban's focus on political history as opposed to social and economic history, which came from Cobban's own belief that passing judgement on economic history is flawed because 'the results of research in this field are still hardly adequate even for a broad picture.' (Cobban, 1963, p. 1) This impacts their judgements because they therefore solely focus on political history, in the form of their direct focus on the Constituent and Legislative assemblies. They will therefore not have the same perspective on the significance of the crowd as would economic historians since they did not consider them when thinking about the reasons for the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy. For example, the conclusions cited above on what exactly motivated the nation to turn to radicalism is impacted by such negation; others such as the Marxist historian George Rudé would cite poor economic conditions that precipitated the growth of the sans-culottes as a political force and thus was the reason for the driving of 'the Revolution leftwards along courses neither intended nor desired by the men of 1789.' (Rudé, 1989, p. 73) Cobban and Furet only superficially cover this in their works, focussing much more on the political nature of the dynamic between the assemblies and the monarchy, and such may skew their own conclusions when deciding why the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset. Furet also specifically formed his arguments with the aim to contradict Marxist interpretations, by showing how important political history was compared to social history: 'Furet refuted Marxist theory and resurrected the idea that the French Revolution might have been driven by political aims as much as by social conditions or class dissatisfaction.' (Llewellyn & Thompson, 2012)

T3
understanding
of the
active historical
debate
Top. Clear
prop on influence of
ideology + thought
School of thought

T3
basis

T1
supp

T1
supp

more T3 basis
A L5



Shapiro similarly focuses on political history, though this is as a result of his own goal of tying the disciplines of psychology and history together rather than a lack of interest on the economic and social history: 'In proposing to view the Constituent Assembly's decision making through a lens fashioned by psychological theory and clinical practice, this study aims to provide a new perspective on a classical problem in French revolutionary historiography' (Shapiro, 2009, p. 1). This is therefore indicative of the possibility that Shapiro may have attempted to apply a specific lens when analysing the outcomes of the period such to fit his psychoanalytical framework about trauma. It should also be noted that, though Shapiro himself lacked a clear historical movement or school to latch his work onto, he viewed his work to be a response to the revisionist view on the Revolution: 'my book is primarily positioned in opposition to the so-called "revisionist" historians (e.g., Francois Furet and Keith Baker) who emphasize the extent to which the radicalism and violence of the later stages of the Revolution were already present in embryonic form at the beginning and that efforts to establish Constitutional Monarchy had therefore little or no chance of succeeding.' (Shapiro, 2018) Considering the fact that Shapiro thus went into his work with the intention of analysing different evidence such to gain a different outlook on the actions of the deputies from 1789-93, his conclusions are impacted by the evidence he selects – perhaps the fact that Shapiro predominantly relied upon the letters of deputies to their constituents to build his theory of trauma means that he gained a much more narrow view on why the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset as compared to Cobban and Furet.

T3
basis
of
diffs.

T4 eval / sub-2 (4)

In consideration of all the arguments, I side with Cobban and Furet's, that the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset because of pre-existing systemic issues; that it was always doomed to fail, against Shapiro's theory of trauma causing the inevitable failure of the revolution only following Louis XVI's brash actions during the outset of the Constitutional Monarchy in summer 1789. To therefore support Cobban and Furet's argument against Shapiro's, that Louis XVI's actions were inevitable and such the Constitutional Monarchy was always likely to fail from the outset, one specific event comes to mind that had significant ramifications on the continued existence of the Constitutional Monarchy: the rejection of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790. Even if Louis XVI had not acted brashly during the summer of 1789, the ramifications of this event demonstrates how the Constitutional Monarchy was always inevitably doomed as a result of the necessity of the revolution to remove all aspects of the ancien régime – to which Louis would have inevitably resisted. Furthermore, a similar

T2
context
T4
valid
context



T4
developed
evaluation

T1
supp

T1
supp

T4
eval
further
developed
based on
reliant
critique

T1
supp

act of 'betrayal' that Shapiro proposes doomed the revolution from summer 1789 onwards (namely the use of troops on the 20th June 1789) would have occurred anyway with Louis' rejection of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The document was significant in driving the large divide between the people and the monarchy, marking a point at which both parties realised they could never harmoniously co-operate, and caused the Flight to Varennes, the point of no return. As Aston, a respected historian focussing on Louis XVI's role in bringing the downfall of the monarchy, recognises in his work, 'McManners argued that "If there was a point at which the Revolution "went wrong", it was with the imposition of the oath"' (Aston, 2004, p. 26). In Doyle's earlier article attacking the desacralization argument, similarly refuted by Shapiro, he argues that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy rather than desacralization caused the downfall of the regime. He argued that Louis XVI went along with the transfer of power until the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was proposed, which was perceived by Louis to be the Revolution's 'attack on religion which led to the flight to Varennes – and that in turn which triggered a logic which brought war and the downfall of a monarch seen to be on league with the enemy.' (Doyle, 2000, p. 24) In consideration of these alternative views, I would therefore argue that it was inevitable that Louis XVI would reject the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, due to factors and conditions that were formed before the summer of 1789 such as the deeply religious and divine characteristic of the monarchy that Louis XVI could have never parted with. Similarly, the National Assembly would have inevitably passed this law as it stood in the way of completing the destruction of the ancien régime – as Lewis puts it, a historian who rejected both revisionist and Marxist interpretations of the Revolution, the Church was 'deemed to be yet another bastion of aristocratic privilege' (Lewis, 1999, p. 30). Thus, in the assembly's apparent crusade to overturn all elements of feudalism, they had inadvertently revealed that the King was the last barrier to its complete destruction. In this way, the effect and existence of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy supports Cobban and Furet's argument of pre-existing problems in the revolution making downfall inevitable. This is because it is an example of the disruption that would inevitably occur in the compromising system of constitutional monarchy, with an Assembly desperate to dismantle the ancien régime to justify the revolution, and the incompatible force Louis XVI acted in the pursuit of that goal.

Sustained + well-supported evaluation
using both historical knowledge + supplementary sources

T4 overall evaluation

Agreed - subsequent
building of
a position
based on
this but
significant
detractor

However, I agree with Shapiro's arguments against Furet in one area: refuting the idea of a 'prerevolutionary dethronement' (Shapiro, 2009, p. 3) of the king – which is essentially part of the desacralization argument that Shapiro associates with historians such as Furet and Halévi



in reference to their book, *Monarchie républicaine*. This is because, as Shapiro and Doyle argue against other historians such as Van Kley and Robert Chartier, that desacralization is simply not enough to explain the reason behind the inevitability of the Constitutional Monarchy's collapse. Doyle himself counters the desacralization argument by noting that there was not much sacralization in the first place – 'how "sacralized" had the monarchy ever been in the minds of ordinary French people?' (Doyle, 2000, p. 25), going on to also state that there had even been 'grumblings' about royal extravagance, warmongering, and religious persecution at arguably the height of absolute monarchy and 'sacralization' under Louis XIV (The 'sun' king) that historians such as Van Kley would argue would have been indicative towards a collapse of royal authority. Shapiro himself argues that even if desacralization did occur, it was countered by royal propaganda, thereby setting up the preconditions to which the paternal relationship existed between the king and his subjects, to which the ideological foundations for the monarchy would have thus been there. In this way, while agreeing with most of Furet's argument about structural reasons causing the inevitability of the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy, I disagree with the notion of 'desacralization' affecting the downfall of the monarchy, and such conclude that the notion of a contradiction within the revolution can exist independently of 'desacralization' – that the Constitutional Monarchy was doomed before it started for inherent systemic issues rather than long-term 'desacralization'.

T1
page
sketch

T1
app

T2
concept

T2
T1
judgment
fully substituted
+ argument

In conclusion, it has become clear that the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset as a result of pre-existing structural and logistical reasons; due to Furet's proposal of a contradiction within the revolution in combination with Cobban's argument about the repercussions from the shock collapse of the ancien régime, rather than for any other reason such as Louis XVI's mistakes in summer 1789 (which Shapiro argues was made worse by the present paternal relationship) or a "prerevolutionary" dethronement of the king' (Shapiro, 2009, p. 3). This is because the form of government that was constitutional monarchy would have never been able to suit revolutionary France's need at the time; it was ineffectual at a time when the nation needed to be divisive to solve the political issues of the day - as Cobban notes Dumont's view about the state of the Constitution, it "was a veritable monster: there was too much republic for a monarchy, and too much monarchy for a republic." (Cobban, 1963, p. 185) In this way, the Constitutional Monarchy was likely to fail from the outset due to the inevitable frustration that would come about upon the realisation by the increasingly sovereign people of France that Louis XVI stood in the way of the complete destruction of the ancien

T2
judgment
T4/C1
judgment

substantive

9

régime – that the Constitutional Monarchy, in its existence, compromising nature and co-operation with the king, harboured and maintained the 'contradiction within the revolution'.

Word Count: 3968 = concise