

**MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2011 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9697 HISTORY**

**9697/41**

Paper 4, maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

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### GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners will assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

Band	Marks	Levels of Response
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must be awarded 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.
6	8–10	Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.
7	0–7	Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. Marks at the bottom of this Band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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**1 Analyse the significance of Jaja of Opobo in the development of the trading states of the Niger Delta and West African opposition to colonial rule.**

Jaja was significant in the development of the trading states of the Niger Delta for the following reasons:

- He built up the trading state of Opobo, which took over supremacy in the Niger Delta from Bonny.
- He showed that it was possible for a slave to rise to prominence by his drive, energy and ability.
- He mastered English and so was able to liaise between the Igbo oil producers of the interior and the European traders on the coast.
- He made the House of Anna Pepple secure and profitable, and paid off the debts of Alali his predecessor within 2 years of taking office.
- Jaja had traditional authority as a juju priest too, and used this to bind the Igbo palm oil suppliers to himself.
- He was politically astute and made treaties with other African traders, e.g. the Aro, and also with British traders, giving himself the monopoly as middleman.

Jaja was significant in West African opposition to colonial rule because:

- He dominated the trade of the Niger Delta by insisting on treaties with the Europeans, which secured his position as middleman.
- He is the supreme example of 'new men' who had the ability to take advantage of the changing economic and political conditions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- He did not surrender his cultural heritage, remaining a traditional juju priest. He insisted that African religion could exist alongside westernisation and refused to allow Christian missionaries into Opobo.
- He used modern European technology in building his houses and his ships. He also sent his sons to be educated in Britain and opened a Western school run by Emma White, his secretary, who was a black American Christian from Liberia, but not a missionary. This shows how he used European ideas when it suited him, but remained his own man.

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- 2 Assess the changes that the Swahili-Arabs brought to the economic development of Central and East Africa during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. You should include in your answer from three different states.

This question is wide-ranging, but should allow candidates to focus with some depth on 3 areas they have studied. They should explain and evaluate a number of the following general points:

- Long-distance trade expanded, both into the interior and overseas with Europe and India.
- The ivory trade became dominant.
- Zanzibar became the main clove-growing area in the world.
- Development of the ivory and clove markets led to an increased demand for slaves, and the East African slave trade flourished. Even after Sultan Barghash complied with British pressure to abolish the slave trade in 1873, the economy of the interior continued to be dependent upon it.
- The development of trading empires in the interior led to a proliferation of firearms, exchanged for raw materials, and used to reward supporters. Bands of marauders became standing armies, and political authority came to be based on military might rather than religious or ritual leadership.
- Increased economic activity coincided with population increase, the introduction of new crops such as maize and cassava, greater demand for iron farm-tools and for copper used in ornaments and currency abroad.
- Indian middlemen flourished on the coast as moneylenders, as organisers and entrepreneurs.
- Urban environments changed. Houses came to have such luxuries as beds, coffee tables and often beautifully carved doorways. Townships all had mosques.
- The trading empires were only established with a lot of bloodshed.
- The ivory trade had a disastrous effect upon the elephant population.
- Firearms often had ceremonial rather than military value as Europeans dumped outdated models and Africans often lacked the expertise or the ammunition to make effective use of them.

Candidates could illustrate their answer with examples from Zanzibar, the trading empire of Tippu Tip, the activities of the Nyamwezi or the Baganda. Specific examples from **three** different states are needed for answers in Bands 1 and 2.

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### 3 How important was Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther to the spread of the Christianity in West Africa?

General factors:

- The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time of religious revival in Europe. Missionary societies flourished and it was unquestioned that European culture, commerce and western education resulted in a better life for Africans.
- West Africans responded to the missionaries in different ways. There was a genuine religious response, but there were often underlying political and social reasons for conversion. George Dappa Pepple welcomed missionaries into Bonny, but Jaja refused to let them work in Opobo as they undermined his leadership. Christianity gave status to the marginalised, which appealed to the freed slaves in Sierra Leone and the Creoles became effective missionaries in Yorubaland where many of them had their origin.
- At this stage the missionaries were prepared to accept educated and Christianised Africans as equals, and use them to further their work. They pursued a policy of 'Ethiopianism', i.e. the creation of self-governing black African churches.

What Crowther achieved:

- He established missions throughout Yorubaland and along the Niger River.
- He translated the Bible into Yoruba and published Yoruba, Igbo and Nupe grammars.
- In 1864 he was consecrated as the first black African Protestant Bishop, with a vast diocese.
- He oversaw great expansion in Onitsha, Bonny, Brass and Calabar, where there were mass conversions between 1868 and 1879.
- His missionary technique was to start a self-supporting, self-propagating church, financed by local contributions, linked to the Christian education provided.
- His perseverance gradually overcame the resistance of many local juju cults.

He was later criticised because:

- He was a gentle and forgiving man – this meant he did not deal firmly with many members of his churches. The missionaries thought he was too lenient.
- The missionaries thought he placed more emphasis on education than on preaching.
- Crowther saw himself as a guide and partner of Africans whereas the missionaries wanted to rule the church.

Candidates should recognise that the church in West Africa flourished because of the initial work done by Crowther in Yorubaland and along the Niger, but he was not its only leader and his efforts did not achieve total success. The mission churches supported him enthusiastically while their philosophy was 'Ethiopianism' but with the scramble came a desire for whites to dominate and his position was weakened. He always remained within the mission church and did not found an independent African church. Other black Africans were inspired both by his faith and also by his example of what could be achieved by educated African leadership. However, it was the changing mood in Europe which most affected his role in spreading Christianity.

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#### 4 Assess the strengths and weaknesses of Menelik II's policies in Ethiopia.

##### Successes

- He unified and built up Ethiopia with Addis Ababa as its capital. This was done by conquest while he was King of Shewa and continued after he became Emperor. He encouraged intense patriotism and loyalty to himself. He commanded the obedience of the local rulers by allowing them to remain in post if they were loyal, but punished them ruthlessly if they rebelled. He also dominated the European residents of his empire by taxing them heavily. He created a cultural unity by spreading the Amharic language and Orthodox Christianity.
- He was determined to control trade routes and agricultural regions which meant that he was able to recruit all the soldiers he needed and also feed them.
- He used clever strategies e.g. marrying his daughter to the son of Yohannis IV to cement the pact of 1878 by which he dropped his claim to be emperor in return for recognition as Yohannis' successor. He also signed treaties to buy time or gain firearms e.g. the Treaty of Wichale in 1889. He showed more skill than the Italians in securing the loyalty of the tribes.
- Militarily, he achieved resounding success against the Italians at Adowa in 1896. He mustered at least 100,000 soldiers and used double agents to convince the Italians he had only 15,000.
- In his domestic reforms, he introduced electric light, the telegraph, a postal service and a printing press. He established a hospital and ordered all his subjects to be vaccinated. He set up the Bank of Abyssinia with a new currency system produced in his own mint. Roads, railways and bridges were built, mostly by foreign expertise. He founded public schools to work alongside the church schools and he encouraged many students to go abroad for further education.

##### Weaknesses/criticisms of his policies

- Some of Menelik's successes were due to the weaknesses of his enemies or to luck e.g. the Italian general, Baratieri, was particularly inept; the Italians had poor reconnaissance and faulty maps.
- He was not really a reformer and would never have allowed drastic social and economic changes to threaten his own position or that of the noble class.
- His financial measures were slow to take effect. The change from a tribute system to taxation was difficult, accounting and auditing procedures were undeveloped and embezzlement was rife.
- His conquest of territory led to social dislocation particularly among the settled agricultural tribes. Crime also increased as people stole money to pay tribute or to bribe officials.
- Some tribes were forced into slave labour despite Menelik's aim to abolish slavery when he became Emperor.
- Menelik held up projects which seemed to be for the benefit of Europeans, e.g. the railway from Addis Ababa to Jibuti.



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- 5 In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many Europeans still saw in tropical Africa the 'absence of everything which forms a stable government'. With reference to Lewanika of the Lozi and Mwanga of Buganda discuss how far you agree.

#### Lewanika

- Lewanika welcomed the Europeans. This was mainly because he saw advantages: guns for protection against the Ndebele and to enable him to quell the powerful idunas; education; western technology to enable him to develop his kingdom.
- Lewanika expanded his kingdom eastwards at the expense of the Ila and Tonga peoples, and from them he obtained tribute in ivory, cattle, food crops and slaves. This helped him establish his kingdom with a centralised government. He revived the old concept of Lozi divine kingship and increased royal ceremonial and the prestige of the monarch. All private regiments in the army were abolished and all soldiers placed under the command of the king. This allowed stable government.
- He did not participate in the slave trade even though he enslaved conquered peoples for work within his kingdom.
- He was a diplomat in his dealings with Europeans and signed treaties which would bring benefits e.g. the Lochner Treaty of 1890. His successful bargaining power is seen in the continuation of the Lozi system of government until 1900.

#### Mwanga

- Mwanga had a fierce distrust of colonial rule. He was Kabaka from 1884 to 1897, and during that time constantly resisted the advances of the British to stabilise the country under the rule of the British East Africa Company.
- After his accession, Mwanga began a period of brutal persecution of Christians (1885-86). Bishop James Hannington was one of the first victims, and also 30 Christian pages at court were burnt alive. This shocked many people, and the Christians were returned to power. A Muslim coup overthrew Mwanga in 1888, but he returned in 1890 after a force led by Lugard restored order and the Ingleza Party to power. 1897 Mwanga led a rebellion which united the Catholics, Muslims, traditional rulers and people loyal to the Kabaka against the Protestants. When this rebellion was put down Mwanga fled. He returned to inspire guerilla warfare, but was eventually exiled to the Seychelles where he died.
- Mwanga's personality did not inspire the confidence of the colonial rulers. He came to power as an inexperienced 18 year old and was volatile and unpredictable. He frequently changed sides, encouraging violent persecutions of whichever side was not in favour. He may be considered not to have advanced stable government in Buganda.

Candidates are required to deal with **both** Lewanika and Mwanga and should aim to achieve a balanced answer.

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- 6 The Ndebele-Shona Rising of 1896-97 can be classified either as a 'post-pacification revolt' or as 'the inevitable result of local problems'. Which analysis do you prefer? Give reasons for your answer.

Post-pacification rebellions are classified thus by Michael Tidy: against the immediate short-term effects of colonial rule; involving the masses; cutting across ethnic boundaries and often involving religious or millenarian type leadership. The Ndebele-Shona Rising of 1896-97 fulfilled all of these criteria:

- In the 1880s the Ndebele felt threatened by the Portuguese along the Zambesi, the Afrikaners trying to expand northwards, the British consolidating their rule in Bechuanaland and the great rush for gold after 1886.
- Lobengula had managed to keep the peace by making just enough concessions to keep the Europeans happy and his indunas quiet, but Matabeleland stood in the way of Rhodes' expansionist ideas. Once Lobengula had died (1893), war seemed inevitable.
- The 1893 war had ended unsatisfactorily with the Ndebele being forced to accept British superiority; in response, they began to recruit soldiers from lower castes and subject peoples to extend Zulu militarism.
- The confiscation of Ndebele cattle and the destruction of their agriculture until they surrendered left many Ndebele starving and bitterly resentful of the British.
- The Ndebele Rising began in March 1896 and could be seen as a result of these longer-term conditions. The Shona joined in June, and this could be seen as opportunism as the Ndebele seemed to be winning.

The Post-Pacification argument places more emphasis on the forward-looking nature of the Ndebele-Shona Rising in 1896 and on its religious and trans-ethnic bases:

- The British South Africa Company mistakenly thought the Ndebele had been quelled in 1893, but the Ndebele regiments had not been broken up and the indunas remained strong. The Company's methods of recruiting labour and the powers of their police force were hated. Although this is backward-looking, the Ndebele did make some gains e.g. some achieved status as salaried officials in the new structure of government, and procedures were put in place to prevent ill-treatment. This could be seen as forward-looking.
- The Shona had more grievances against the British than the Ndebele and they were in the midst of a religious revival with the Mwari priests having a huge influence. Mkwati was a religious leader not confined to one tribe, and therefore played a key role in transforming the Chi Murenga from a war by Ndebele regiments into a mass rising. However, the Shona rebellion died out with the death of Mkwati in 1897 and the capture and execution of Kagubi and Nehenda in 1898. This could show how dependent the Shona rebellion was upon millenarian religious cults, but also, as the Shona turned to the missionaries to learn new skills in the future, there was a positive result.



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**7 Explain, with examples, the growth of independent African churches in either West Africa between 1890 and 1914.**

Reasons for growth of independent churches in West Africa:

- Independent African churches sprang from earlier missionary activity, particularly the mission schools as Africans wanted to interpret Christianity for themselves.
- Many early church leaders achieved the highest qualifications in mission colleges, went abroad and came into contact with other black nationalists.
- Social Darwinism meant that missionaries regarded African church leaders as inferior.
- As African church congregations became more established they felt that they should have more say in how their church was run.
- The mission churches preached against polygamy, but Africans accepted it.
- The Catholic requirement of celibacy for priests was a problem.

Mojola Agbebi's African Baptist Church in Nigeria was founded in 1888. Agbebi had studied theology at Ibadan with the CMS and achieved record marks. He then tried Methodism and Catholicism before switching to the African Baptists. He wanted an African church based on African culture and expressing the African personality.

William Wade Harris' Movement was the most successful in terms of numbers of converts. Harris went to the Ivory Coast in 1913 to preach to people who had previously rejected French Catholic missionaries. Within a short time had made between 60,000 and 100,000 converts.

Reasons for growth of independent churches in East Africa:

- The desire for Africanisation of worship and leadership in the mission churches.
- The grievances of land alienation by white settlers, forced labour and hut tax.
- A deep desire on the part of African intellectual Christians to be independent.
- Progress in the mission churches was far too slow for many Africans.

Eliot Kamwana left the Livingstonia Mission in 1903 as a protest against school fees and spread Watch Tower and millenarian teachings. He gained 10,000 adherents among the Tonga, but was arrested and deported 1909.

Charles Domingo was a prospective Church of Scotland minister and in 1909 joined Watch Tower, becoming a Seventh Day Baptist in 1910. He rejected monogamy as contrary to African civilisation but promoted western education. His attempt to extend a school system independent of missions was not successful.

John Chilembwe was a student at Blantyre Mission (Church of Scotland) from about 1890 and a member of Booth's self-supporting Baptist Church at the Zambesi Industrial Mission. In 1900 he returned to Malawi as an ordained Baptist minister, built a church and schools.

Joseph Booth was deported from Malawi in 1903 but continued to influence the other 3 leaders and events by correspondence and by his contacts with the Malawians working in the South African mines. In this way he spread the Watch Tower movement and sabbatarianism.

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- 8 'The economic policy of the colonial powers was based more upon exploitation than development'. Discuss this claim with reference to two European countries operating in East Africa.

Candidates should examine both exploitation and development in their 2 chosen areas.

General points which could be discussed are:

- Some areas remained untouched by exploitation and development and continued with traditional low-productivity local economies.
- Exploitation required transport, so railways were built, but railways also brought increased trade and prosperity to the Africans in the area.
- Africa not industrialised by Europeans, but this was due to lack of local capital and skills rather than a deliberate policy to keep Africa undeveloped.

#### British Economic Policy

Uganda – cotton programme a success; cash crop farming directed by colonial government with the aim of making country self-supporting. Scientific and Forestry Department set up. Conditions suited to cotton growing, world market needed cotton, and enterprise managed well - health improvements, high quality seed, modern machinery, progressive policies, central control. Few settlers allowed. Roads, railways, schools and hospitals developed.

Kenya – building of Uganda railway 1895 important as a British-sponsored development. Boom in African farming now possible. Some Indians stayed on as traders and railway workers. Huge growth in economy and urbanisation after railway built. By 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance Britain allocated lands thought to be empty without understanding African patterns of shifting cultivation. White farmers pioneered new crops.

#### German Economic Policy

In Tanganyika the Germans combined encouragement of white-settler economy and plantation farming with aid to African peasant producers. Attitude changed after the Maji-Maji. A Biological and Agricultural Institute was established in the Usambara Mountains at Amani where scientists experimented with soils, crops and fertilizers. African farmers were encouraged to grow cash crops. White settlers developed sisal, coffee, rubber and cotton plantations, but they were of less importance than the African farms. Africans resented forced labour, taxation and the cotton programme to supply German industry which meant doing jobs other than working their land; there were harsh punishments.

#### Portuguese Economic Policy

Based on white settlers and African labour bringing surplus revenue to the Crown. Contract labour replaced slavery, but policy still exploitative. African labourers were treated badly. In Mozambique the prazos were transformed by legislation in 1892 into estates leased to white settlers who were government agents obeying standard laws about taxation, development and justice. A high hut tax was imposed. Capital was limited, so development of the African economy mostly ignored. Forced labour was used on sugar plantations and for public works. Few schools and hospitals built. African labour was recruited for the Rand where wages low and death rates high.

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**9 How far do you agree that the rapid growth of Islam in West Africa after 1880 was due to colonial expansion?**

It is clear that colonial expansion did facilitate the spread of Islam in West Africa by removing and extending traditional frontiers, improving communications and encouraging religious zeal, but balancing this are other factors. Islam was already firmly established in the Western Sudan and had begun to reform itself by jihads earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Non-colonial factors**

As a religion, Islam had a lot of things to commend it to Africans:

- It preached universal brotherhood.
- It was easy to understand, requiring only acknowledgement of the Prophet Muhammad and no complex theological teaching.
- It was spread by African missionaries who could more easily understand the spiritual and social concerns of converts.
- It was not identified with the colonial masters' culture.
- It allowed polygamy and was therefore more acceptable to traditional society.
- Islam had been present in the Western Sudan for over 1000 years. The Tokolor, Mandinka and Sokoto empires were based on the state-building and reforming zeal of the Muslim Brotherhoods which had spread common ideals through Koranic schools.

**Colonial factors**

- The turbulence of colonial times meant that many people turned to religion as their anchor.
- One way in which Islam spread was by migrant labourers. The West African economy depended upon migrant labour e.g. for cocoa farms and gold mines in the Gold Coast, and for the groundnut plantations in Senegal. Muslims from other areas e.g. Mossi from Upper Volta moved to these areas and converted fellow workers.
- Some Muslim groups adapted to new economic conditions: the Muridiyya in Senegal showed that Islam could take part in the colonial economy and benefit. This group was founded by Ahmadou Bamba in about 1886 and followed the doctrine of 'reward in heaven for labour on earth' rather than strictly enforcing Muslim religious practices. Many young Wolof converts set up their own Mouride villages for the cultivation of groundnuts.
- Lugard's policies in Northern Nigeria were particularly favourable to the Muslims. He worked through the local emirs to establish indirect rule and gave specific instructions that Muslims were not to be upset. Christian missionaries were not allowed to work in the Caliphate of Sokoto, an area where Islam was likely to be hostile. This was also true in the interior of Senegal where the French banned Christian missionaries.
- Colonial expansion brought roads, railways and infrastructure which enabled Muslims to open up new areas for converts. Some rigidly traditional areas such as the Hausa state of Kebbi in Northern Nigeria and Bambara in Mali were penetrated by colonial rulers and followed by Muslim missionaries.

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**10 Why did the French adopt a policy of 'association' or 'paternalism' in their West African colonies? How similar or different was this policy to indirect rule?**

Why did the French adopt a policy of Association?

- The original policy of 'Assimilation' aimed to make Africans into French citizens, absorbing them into French culture and accepting them as equal partners. This was only possible when French territory was limited to Senegal.
- It was too expensive to educate Africans to the same standards as Frenchmen.
- Africans could in theory outnumber the French in the metropolitan parliament.
- Economically it was undesirable to have African businessmen competing on an equal footing.
- Few Africans really wanted to become Frenchmen.

Therefore Association gradually replaced Assimilation. It was a practical solution to ruling a vast empire cheaply.

How did Association differ from Indirect Rule?

- Both used traditional rulers, but the French used Africans only to collect taxes, control forced labour and recruit soldiers.
- The French system was federal, and the French colonies were regarded as part of the mother country; common laws were made regardless of local conditions. The British made more allowance for local conditions.
- The British ruled with the aim of creating self-governing colonies, the French did not.
- The British tried to balance the development of colonies with economic benefit; French policy was based on more exploitation and their rule was harsher.
- French administrators had greater judicial powers than British colonial officers who were 'Residents' working as advisers supporting the local courts applying customary law.
- The French only used lesser chiefs, with 5 layers of French administrators above them. Any chief not compliant was removed.

Evaluation of the differences

Indirect rule seemed more enlightened, but it could be seen as 'direct rule through indirect means'. Lugard had little time for the educated elite and did not prepare Africans for self-government. He aimed at maintaining 'white prestige' which was really the 'paternalism' of the French. Also, Lugard was only able to rule indirectly when there was an existing structure of centralised traditional government (e.g. the Fulani-Hausa in Northern Nigeria, but not among the Igbo further south). Indirect rule became a barrier to modernisation, but under Association some modernisation of systems could be imposed. Both French and British had little faith in the ability of Africans to reform or remove abuses themselves.