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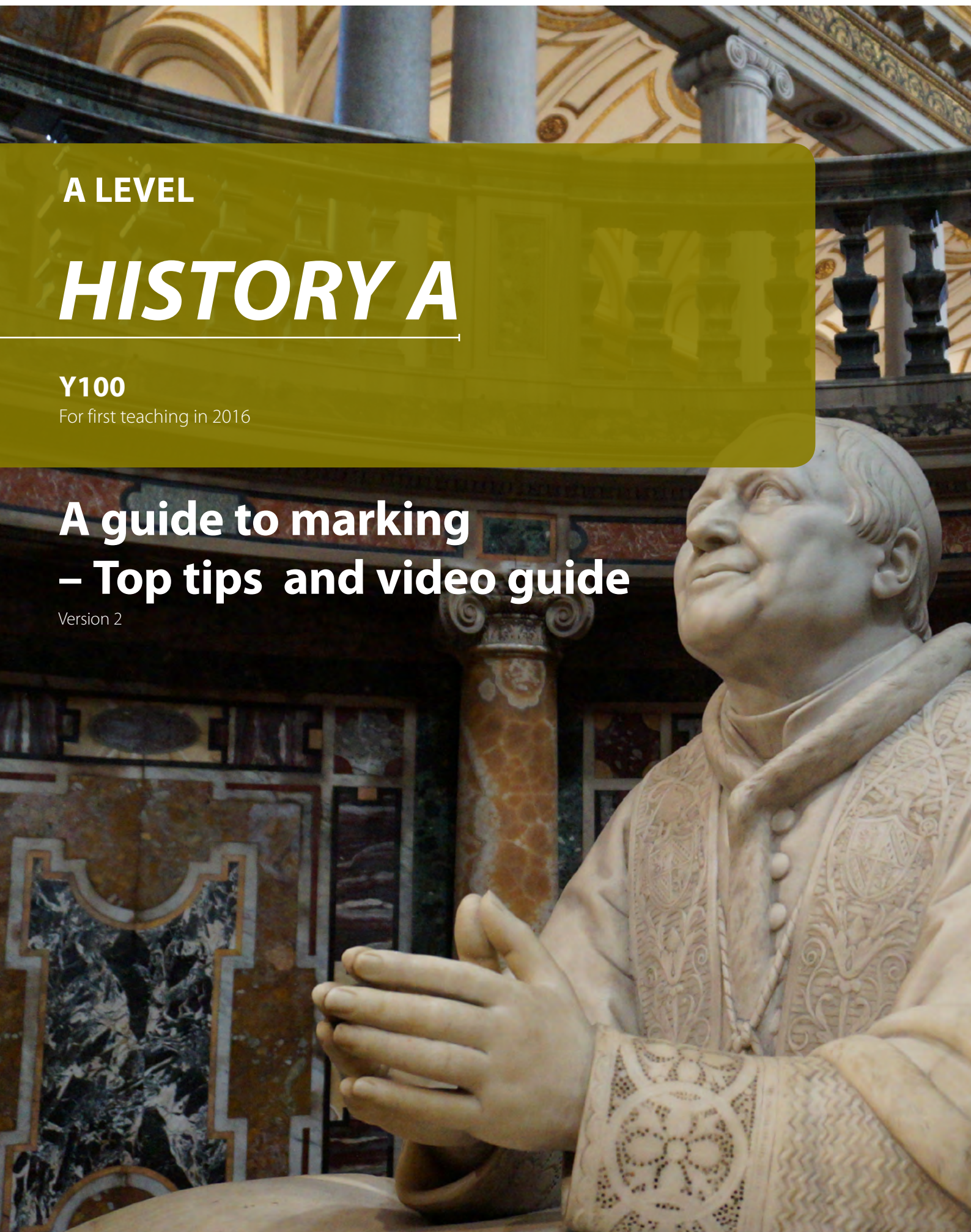
# *HISTORY A*

**Y100**

For first teaching in 2016

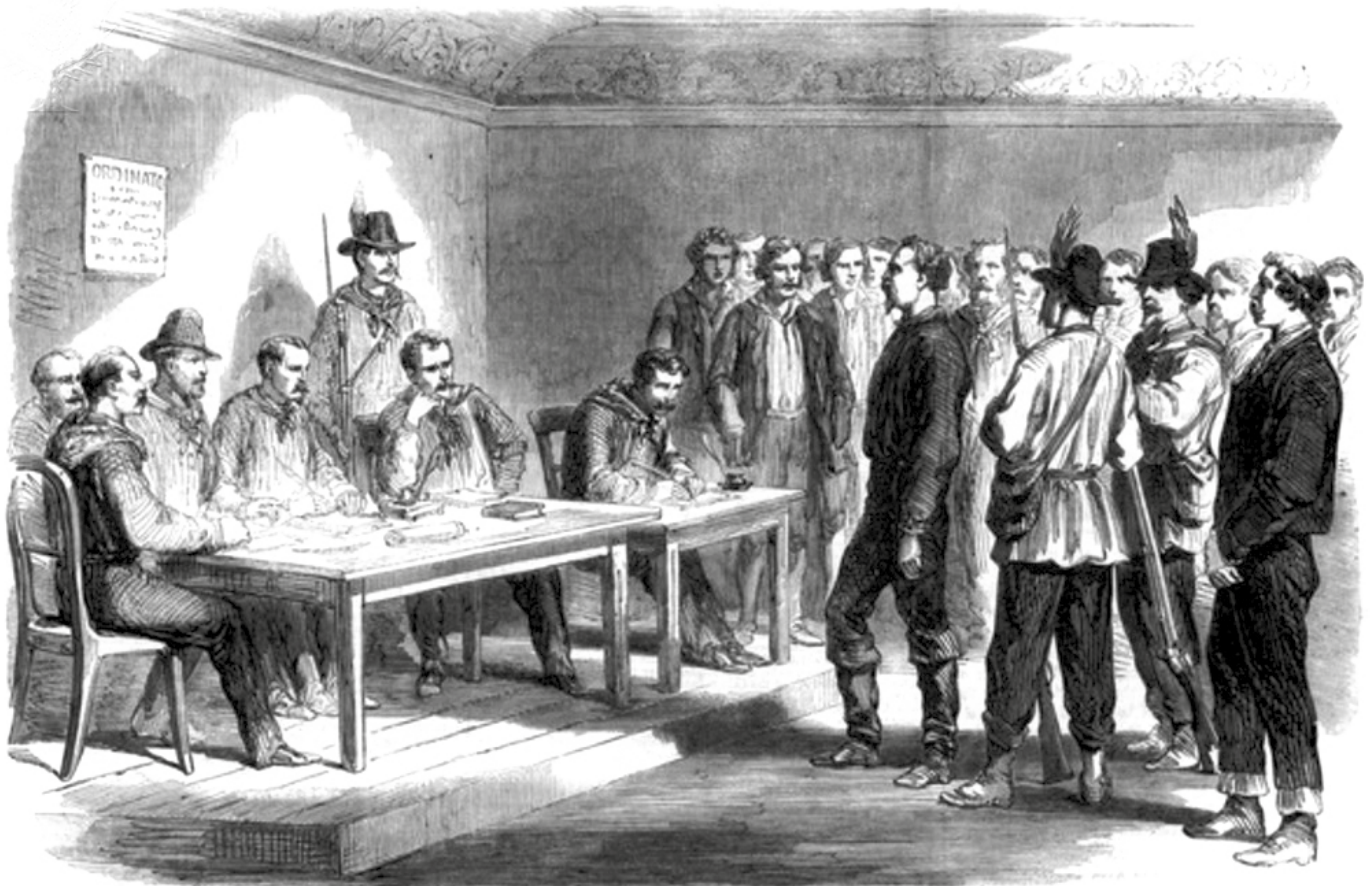
## **A guide to marking – Top tips and video guide**

Version 2



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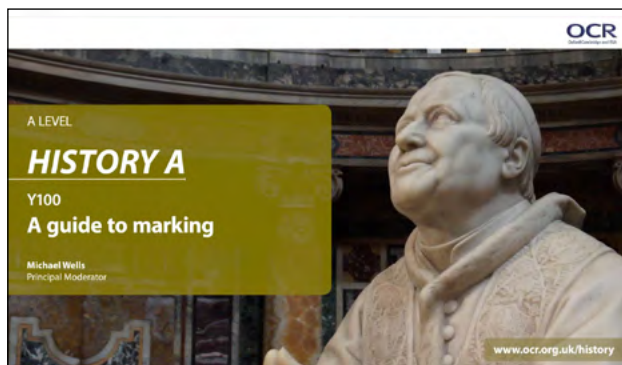


The Revolution in Sicily, Trial of the Supposed Brigand Chief, Santomeli, by a Council of War, at Villafraati.  
Illustration for *The Illustrated London News*, 4 August 1860.

# Introduction

This booklet accompanies the video *Y100 A guide to marking* which can be viewed here:

[LINK](#)



We hope you find this video useful. As a supporting document, we've summarised just a few of its key messages below. But for full exemplification, and more tips and guidance, watch the whole video. And let us know what you think!

The pages used in the video can be found on page 1.

## The essay's introduction

There's a couple of noteworthy points here. All approved Y100 questions will set up a judgement over a historical problem, and this essay deftly – and without wasting time or words – sets out the debate.

The student also gives their own opinion, indicating what they are going to argue. It is never wrong for candidates to say what they think early on; in fact this can help ensure the 'consistent focus on the question throughout the answer' that is required for the top level of the mark scheme.

**Tip: encourage students to set out their line of argument and opinion in their introduction**

And, relatedly, candidates shouldn't shy away from returning to the wording of their question in the essay. As Mike Wells explains in the video, not doing so can leave more work for the marker and moderator. There is an instance early in this essay where the candidate could be more explicit, rather than leaving it to the reader to infer that they are talking about the extent of unification, and going back to the wording in the question would have helped.

**Tip: Keep returning to the wording of the question to ensure focus is maintained**

## The essay's conclusion

Y100 is a knowledge and argument driven exercise, requiring a judgement. This can lead some candidates to feel that they have to plump fully for one factor or another as being the most important. And this in turn can lead to their judgement becoming less convincing or substantiated. A nice feature of this essay is its nuanced conclusion, which follows naturally from the arguments made within the essay.

**Tip: convincing and substantiated conclusions are often nuanced**

## Sources

The essay uses a fully appropriate range of both primary sources and interpretations. The interpretations sometimes come from A Level books, and that is absolutely fine for Y100.

However, the first use of a primary source comes 4 pages into the essay. We don't expect to see sources used on every page, but for a student to be so far into the essay without bringing any in could ring alarm bells. Is it going to be possible for the essay to contain 'excellent evaluation of a fully appropriate range of different sources' as required by the mark scheme's top level?

Theoretically it could be, though it becomes less likely the further on we go. So if this essay were handed in as a draft, it would be appropriate for the teacher to remind the candidate of the requirement to evaluate primary as well as secondary material.

**Tip: when you read the your students' drafts, use that opportunity to remind them, as necessary, in general terms about the requirements of each AO**

And in fact it is AO2 that is the weakest area of the essay.

## Primary Sources

One of the reasons we selected this particular essay is that although very good, it does contain some unevenness. So it is useful for illustrating different levels. This is with regard to AO2, the evaluation of primary sources.

### Some, Good, or Excellent?

For example, the first primary source used comes from an economist (bottom of page 4) – but the evaluation of its utility is rather stock: after all, all economists are ‘qualified professionals’ – so this comment could apply to anyone. It can’t really be considered to be any more than some evaluation, which should be the marginal annotation.

As Mike Wells’ commentary in the video explains, the same applies to the next primary source, the Syllabus of Errors, dealt with on page 5. This is described as being ‘essentially a piece of propaganda’, albeit one that ‘gives a valuable insight into the papal mindset’. But again, these are fairly generic comments. ‘Some evaluation’ remains an appropriate annotation.

Contrast these with the use of detailed knowledge to test historians’ interpretations (eg the evaluation of Stapleton’s views again on page 4), which is excellent.

**Tip: avoid ascribing a numerical level to a part of the essay in your marginal annotations. Instead, use a descriptor from the mark scheme (‘excellent/good/limited eval’ etc) – the final level you place the essay in will follow from these**

Evaluation of primary sources improves as the essay continues. Pages 7-8 analyse and evaluate an account by Farini to Cavour. Here, the evaluation is stronger with specific knowledge used (‘Farini’s view is tainted by the fact that he was a close supporter of Cavour’). This could be developed, but it is a step up, and this can be classified as good evaluation.

What we are looking for in AO2 for the top level, is explanation (analysing the source in relation to the issue in the question), consideration of provenance, and supporting knowledge to evaluate. And in fact this is achieved, to an extent, towards the end of the essay (eg pages 10-11).

So, the task is to decide what mark to award for AO2. It can’t go into the top level, as some of the evaluation is just too basic. Although not every source has to be evaluated, the essay doesn’t meet the descriptor ‘excellent evaluation of a fully appropriate range of primary sources’. Also, the evaluation clearly goes above ‘some’ for several sources. So it has to be a mark in band 4 or 5, and here a mark of 7 was awarded, which guided by appropriate marginal annotations, moderators would have no hesitation in agreeing.

Again, a useful contrast is with the consistently excellent evaluation of interpretations. The essay deservedly scores 10/10 for AO3.

For more support specifically on AO2, see our marking guide at <https://ocr.org.uk/Images/553686-y100-assessing-ao2.pdf>.

# Annotated script

## To what extent, was Italy united by 1896?

The united Italy has been certainly viewed by historians Christopher Duggan, Terry Morris, and Derrick Murphy as an anti-climax to the Risorgimento; the Italy that was created was 'nothing' and 'predominated' by Piedmont-Sardinia.<sup>1</sup> It is undeniable that Italy failed to unite its people and improve standards of living. This failure is vital to study because it ultimately led to the rise of fascism and contributed to the Second World War – a conflict that killed millions and devastated the entire globe. This representation is permeated by various speeches,

INT

articles, and data from this period. However, historians, such as F.G Stapleton, question the extent of this disunity and argue the very fact that a liberal Italy survived this tumultuous period is testament to its underlying strength.<sup>2</sup> There are several principal areas where historians argue the extent of unity. The economy will be examined in the first section investigating the extent

Alternative  
INT

to which the disparity of wealth – or lack of it – caused disunity. A second section will delve into the relations between Church and State and how this divided the loyalties of Catholic Italians and explore the North South divide and its development into the Brigands War. The third and last section will deal with the failure demonstrated by Italy's pretence of a parliamentary democracy and its policy of trasformismo. While the economic and social factors are crucial in assessing the unity of the Italian state, the political factors and the failure of an effective representative government will be the most important in illustrating that Italy was disunited.

Sets out  
structureLine of  
argument

### Economy

In order to assess the extent of Italy's disunity, one must consider the impact of the rural economy and poverty, which is a primary area of debate. Some have argued it generated a dangerous level of apathy towards the new regime, suggesting that "a much more insidious

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge Press 1994) P.1-2

Terry Morris and Derrick Murphy *Europe 1870-1991* (Harper Collins Publishers 2004) P.254

<sup>2</sup> FG Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?* (History review 2001) P.34-38

To what extent, was Italy united by 1896?

Page 2

long-term threat, however, to the survival of the new state was the absence of any real commitment or loyalty to the kingdom”, which is the view that Duggan advocates.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Spencer M. di Scala argues ‘Misery and lack of investment produced a harvest of social agitation’.<sup>4</sup> These interpretations are convincing because it is supported by evidence such as data on the agricultural workforce in Italy 1861–1951, which clearly shows how critical the failure to improve agriculture was – adding weight to interpretation because it suggests ‘in 1881 9.5 million people worked in agriculture which was 62.6% of the total working population’.<sup>5</sup> This shows that cost of failure was colossal – the majority of Italians worked in agriculture, therefore, failing would generate a feeling of disillusionment and apathy towards the new state amongst the vast majority of the population. Such a representation is not constituent with Stapleton’s argument that Italy was united. Moreover, the view by Duggan and M. di Scala is further corroborated when we consider regional differences that blotched Italian agriculture. For instance, areas such as Lombardy, Piedmont, and Bologna all benefitted from the reforms of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century and the capitalist undertones of the Enlightenment.<sup>6</sup> This is further illustrated by areas in the north such as Vercelli farms that were relatively prosperous – investment was high and farm labourers were plenty – 112,000 in Novarra province in 1871. However, in contrast to the north, the disunity in agriculture were more profound in southern Italy, where social and economic conditions were far worse than in the northern regions and thus further adds weight to the view argued by M. Di Scala and Duggan because southern Italy, especially Sicily, was dominated by the large feudal estates, latifundia, owned by the bourgeois and the nobility. The owners then rented the land to people who paid day labourers to work the land.<sup>7</sup> This supports the interpretation by M. di Scala and Duggan

Ints

A03  
Knowledge  
used to  
assess  
interpretation

A01  
Detailed  
knowledge

A03 eval

<sup>3</sup> Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* P.1-2

<sup>4</sup> Spencer M. di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* (Westview Press 2004) P.152-158

<sup>5</sup> Appendix – Item 1: Pedro Loins and Vincent Pinilla, *Agricultural and Economic Development in Europe since 1870* (Routledge 2008) P.24

<sup>6</sup> M. Di. Scala, *Italy: From revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.153

because this system produced low crops yields, stagnantly low wages, and resulted in high profit margins for the landowners. This, consequently, led to a large minority living in the harshest conditions – barely living above subsistence levels – calculated to be over 40% in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.<sup>7</sup> This disparity in wealth produced a massive wave of discontent and social agitation, which further supports the interpretation because failure to properly reform led to social unrest developing into the phenomenon of brigandage and the Brigands War. This illustrates why the agriculture is important for considering how unified Italy was because brigandage and the Brigands War damaged the new State's unity and threatened to destabilise an already fragile society. However, the weight of M. di Scala and Duggan's argument is reduced by the fact that there were some relatively prosperous regions in the south of Italy. For example, the Bay of Naples and the Golden Horn near Palermo. In fact, the most productive region of the south was the Tyrrhenian Coast, which was relatively disease free and production of fruit and olives flourished.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, according to FG. Stapleton, 'in the 1880s and 1890s modernisation of agriculture was encouraged and financed in all regions.... between 1873 and 1913 wheat production doubled'.<sup>9</sup> This evidence could reduce the credibility of Stapleton's view, however, this patchwork of improvement and backwardness could, in turn, support the interpretation because it suggests that some regions saw the benefits of investment and some did not, thus widened the divisions that were prevalent and makes the view of the interpretation that agriculture was fundamental to the failure of Italy to establish a unified identity much more compelling.

So, while Duggan and M. di Scala argue that Italy was less united, evidence from the industrial economy would suggest that Italy was, to a limited extent, united and should not be

<sup>7</sup> M. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>8</sup> M. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>9</sup> Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?* P.35

A03  
Sustained  
eval

A01  
Detailed  
knowledge  
to evaluate

Some  
confusion  
here

A03  
Critical of  
named  
historians

disregarded. This view is put forth by FG Stapleton, who suggests that there were 'marked successes' in the state of the industrial economy.<sup>10</sup> This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Italian government had started to invest in the modernisation of industry as early as 1870. For example, between 1870 and 1883, 21,000 kilometres of road were constructed.<sup>11</sup>

A03  
supported  
eval

Furthermore, no less significant is the spread of the railways; in 1868 only 2,404km across Italy but, by 1900, over 16,429km were constructed. This clearly reinforces Stapleton's argument and adds weight to the interpretation because railways were vital lines of communication for goods, ideas, and people, therefore, this strengthens the argument that Italy was relatively unified because the development of the railways and roads would have allowed for better communication between the peoples of Italy and allowed the spread of ideas thus illustrating Italians may have felt that they were, for the first time, Italians. However, the weight

of this interpretation is fundamentally reduced when one considers evidence showing the regional differences in economic performance.<sup>12</sup> This source seriously reduces the weight of

A03  
eval  
excellent  
support

Stapleton's argument because it demonstrates the gap between the north and the south. For example, in Piedmont 850km of railway was in use, compared to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies' 99km. In Lombardy, value of agriculture production was 238 lire per hectare compared to the south which was 81 lire per hectare. This source undermines the view of the interpretation because it suggests that economic growth was largely confined to the north and the patchwork of economic success in the south was severely limited, in a similar respect to poverty and agriculture. Consequently, this undermined efforts to further consolidate the unification of Italy's economic system and thus weakened the new state – undermining Stapleton's argument.

Moreover, this gains further credibility by a distinguished economist condemning Italy's economy in a statement to the government. For example, he articulates, 'little in our economic

A02  
P.S.

<sup>10</sup> Stapleton, 'Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?' P.37

<sup>11</sup> Stapleton, 'Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-maligned State?' P.37

<sup>12</sup> Appendix Item 2: Duggan, 'A Concise History of Italy' P.152



To what extent, was Italy united by 1896?

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situation that shows unity: indeed, we may end up losing Naples and Sicily.’<sup>13</sup> This seriously reduces the weight of interpretation because this was a qualified professional in full view of the economic picture of Italy suggesting that Italy’s dire economic crisis actually threatened the constitutional integrity of the new state. Furthermore, as this was a report to the government, it is unlikely that elements would have been exaggerated as he would have little to gain from it. In light of this convincing evidence, while there was some marked progress, Stapleton’s view that Italy was economically united appears to have very little weight when the view of the economist is considered.

A02  
Some  
PS  
eval

notes  
origin  
of PS  
but not  
very  
developed

It can be argued Stapleton’s view ignores the social factors that impacted on Italy’s unity, with Pearce and Stiles submitting the view that a ‘veritable Cold War existed between Church and State’ after the new State seized almost all of the Papal States except Rome.<sup>14</sup> This left a gaping chasm at the heart of the new Italy and certainly undermined efforts to declare Catholicism as the state religion. This interpretation certainly has credibility because, in his Syllabus of Errors 1864, Pope Pius IX condemned and rejected modern liberalism and thinking, suggesting the view that “the Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.” is ahead to the view of the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup>

Use of  
PS to  
eval  
historian

This source’s reliability could be questioned as it is essentially as a piece of propaganda denouncing anyone who does not profess to be pontiff loving Catholic and any deviation from traditional, conservative views would likely lead to a further reduction of Papal influence.

However, it is a valuable piece of evidence that supports the interpretation of Pearce and Stiles because it gives a valuable insight into the papal mind-set at this time and illustrates that Pius IX clearly felt threatened by the new state and its founding principles of liberalism and thus

<sup>13</sup> Appendix: Item 3 - Source B

<sup>14</sup> Peace and Stiles, ‘Unification of Italy’ (Hodder and Education 2015) P.113

<sup>15</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors\\_247/pius\\_ix\\_pope\\_quanta\\_cura\\_and\\_the\\_syllabus\\_of\\_error\\_s\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors_247/pius_ix_pope_quanta_cura_and_the_syllabus_of_error_s_djvu.txt) 26/09/27 12:10

A03

Some  
eval  
of PS

Some  
comment  
on PS

had to respond to defend his position as Pope. This is given further credence by the fact that the new Italy worsened relations with the Church with the introduction of anticlericalism as government policy. For example, pilgrimages were prohibited, church land was broken up and sold off. From 1866, over the next 15 years, a million hectares were disposed of with the proceeds going directly into the new state's coffers.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, this strengthens Pearce and Stiles' view because this evidence shows that the Pope had reason to object to the existence of the new state and, consequently in response, Pius IX ordered all Catholics to abstain from voting in elections, from partaking in the government at all costs, and excommunicated Victor Emmanuel II and his entire government from the Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup> This further adds weight to Pearce and Stiles' argument because these reactionary measures from both sides of the divide demonstrated the fractious relationship between Church and State and, perhaps more seriously, is the fact these actions divided the loyalties of Italian Catholics between their religion and their allegiance to their country – a precarious situation for a newly unified nation. However, this view is challenged by Victor Emmanuel's speech to Parliament in 1871, which states, "We have proclaimed the separation of Church and State. Having recognized the absolute independence of the spiritual authority, we are convinced that Rome, the capital of Italy, will continue to be the peaceful and respected seat of the Pontificate."<sup>18</sup> Although Victor Emmanuel clearly had a vested interest, as Head of State, in preserving the stability of Italy, this source contests the view of Pearce and Stiles because it suggests that a delicate balanced equilibrium existed between the Church and State and is not suggestive of friction between the two institutions so reduces the weight of the interpretation. Moreover, the interpretation is reduced further because the Law of Guarantees of 1871 granted the Pope several concessions such as rights and privileges of a sovereign, an annuity of 3,225,000 lire and immunity to taxation and

<sup>16</sup> Duggan, 'Concise History of Italy' P.35

<sup>17</sup> Morris and Murphy, 'Europe 1870-1991' P.259

<sup>18</sup> Appendix: Item 5 - <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1871victoremm.asp>

A03  
Evidence  
used

Use of PS  
to assess  
secondary  
source

arrest. This suggests that relations were friendlier because this was the first real attempt by the Italian State to reach across the divide and heal the divisions caused by the seizure of papal land and the creation of a unified Italy. Despite this evidence, when reviewing Pearce and Stiles' interpretation, that there was disunity between the Catholic Church and the new Italy, it is clear that their interpretation is more convincing and has considerable weight.

Sustains  
eval  
Excellent  
AO3

When deliberating the extent of Italy's unity, it is vital to assess the North South divide; Christopher Duggan, argues that "the new state was left with its identity unresolved and its future far from certain".<sup>19</sup> This implies the extent of Italian disunity because it suggests that Italy, after unification, could not reconcile its two populations in the north and south and unite them into one strong and stable country. For example, the extent of the challenge of uniting Italy is apparent when one considers the diversity in Italian dialects – only 2% of Italians spoke Italian.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the new King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, and his court did not speak the Italian dialect either – the language of the new court was either French or Piemontese.<sup>21</sup> As a result, this invigorates the interpretation because it made the divisions between the north and south more defined, therefore, reinforced the mistrust between the two regions and underlined the fact that Italy was not united. Furthermore, the evidence of divisions between north and south were illustrated by Luigi Farini in an account to Cavour on Victor Emmanuel's first meeting with Garibaldi. He states, "What barbarism. This is not Italy. This is Africa. The Bedouins are the flower of civic virtue compared to these peasants."<sup>22</sup> This source is credible evidence because it is the view of a person from the north therefore represents the opinions and attitudes of the northern ruling elite towards the southern population, thus shows the deep

AO3  
Knowledge  
used

Use of  
PS

good  
eval

<sup>19</sup> Duggan, 'A Concise History of Italy' P.142

<sup>20</sup> Martin Clark, 'Italian Risorgimento' (Pearson Longman Second edition 2009) P.121

<sup>21</sup> Appendix: Item

[https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors\\_247/pius\\_ix\\_pope\\_quanta\\_cura\\_and\\_the\\_syllabus\\_of\\_errors\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors_247/pius_ix_pope_quanta_cura_and_the_syllabus_of_errors_djvu.txt)

<sup>22</sup> Appendix: Item 6- Clarke, 'Italian Risorgimento' P.121

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divisions and mistrust between the two regions of Italy. On the other hand, Farini's view is tainted by the fact he was a close supporter of Cavour and his policy of annexing northern Italy to Piedmont therefore any criticism of the idea of a united north and south is likely to be reflected in his opinion of the southern population. This source, despite this, does add weight to the interpretation because it suggests that the north viewed the south as different and uncivilised – reinforced by their cultural differences. It implies that southern Italians were strange and foreign and therefore not even worthy of being called Italians, illustrating the extent of disunity. Moreover, certain economic conditions in the south are intrinsically linked to the lack of social cohesion and contributed to making the divisions worse. Peasants in the south were dominated by the large latifundia and were controlled by their local landowner. This system produced low wages, poor living conditions and a complete lack of technological innovation that made the lives of peasants a misery.<sup>23</sup> The consequence of this toxic concoction of economic factors and poor social cohesion was the Brigands War between 1861 and 1865.

This supports Duggan's view because this 'Brigands War' could be better described as a four-year long exercise in butchery. The savagery exhibited by the 100,000 mostly northern Italian troops was extreme – the judiciary was purged; all dissent was crushed; over 16,000 people were killed in the conflict – more than in all the wars of independence combined.<sup>24</sup> This clearly

supports the view that Italy was disunified because it illustrates the extent to which the north of Italy failed to identify with the south and recognise them as their fellow countrymen. This is further supported by General Ferdinando Pinelli in a statement to his troops, which states that the southern Italians were "cowards" and to "be as merciless as fate" when dealing them.<sup>25</sup>

The credibility of Pinelli's statement, however, is questionable because it could be interpreted in the following ways: on the one hand, this is a speech that was designed to motivate his troops

<sup>23</sup> Spencer, *Italy: Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>24</sup> Clarke, *The Italian Risorgimento* P.90

<sup>25</sup> Appendix: Item 7- Clarke, *The Italian Risorgimento* P.124

Some  
knowledge  
used

Knowledge  
linked to  
historian

Excellent  
AO3  
Uses  
knowledge  
and PS

detail

use of  
PS

eval

To what extent, was Italy united by 1896?

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therefore parts may have been embellished and exaggerated to meet this purpose. However, despite this, the source is beneficial and does add weight to Duggan's argument because if interpreted as a personal reflection from a senior official of the Italian State, then, this source is far more useful as it gives us an insight into the thoughts of the Italian government. As a result of the combined weight of these sources, Duggan's interpretation that Italy lacked an identity and therefore unity is more convincing.

Value  
AO2  
good eval  
(limited  
knowledge  
used)

While Duggan's view seems to suggest Italy was disunited, FG Stapleton contradicts this as he suggests Italy was politically unified when he says, 'it was the remarkable apotheosis of nineteenth century liberal inspired nationalism'.<sup>26</sup> This is supported by the fact the whole of Italy adopted the same constitution, based heavily on Piedmont's Statute of 1848, the same legal code in 1865, and the same king, Victor Emmanuel II. This was a remarkable achievement – considering the patchwork of states and legal codes that existed before 1861 – achieved with the political skill of Cavour and the luck and bravado of Garibaldi. Stapleton's interpretation is supported by Victor Emmanuel's address to Parliament in 1871, which says "the work to which we consecrated our life is accomplished. After long trials of expiation Italy is restored to herself and to Rome."<sup>27</sup> This source clearly supports the view of the interpretation that Italy was united because it illustrates that in the eyes of the political establishment of the new Italy, the unthinkable had occurred and the patchwork of states was unified under the flag of House of Savoy with the same institutions and values. However, this view, that Italy was unified under the same institutions and flag and therefore unified, is less credible when one considers that it was Piedmont's institutions that were imposed on Italy, it was Piedmont's king that became King of Italy, - noting that Victor Emmanuel refused to alter his title from Victor Emmanuel II to the Victor Emmanuel I of Italy – and it was Piedmont's constitution that was adopted as the

Use of  
knowledge

Uses  
PS

AO2

Uses  
knowledge  
Very good  
eval

<sup>26</sup> Stapleton, 'Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or the Much-Maligned State?' P.33

<sup>27</sup> Appendix: Item 7 - <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1871victoremm.asp> 25/09/17

constitution of Italy therefore this suggests Piedmont-Sardinia annexed the Italian Peninsular rather than unified. As Terry and Murphy argue, 'Cavour spent the last months of his life ensuring the Piedmontese authority and institutions would predominate', thus this clearly shows that Piedmont imposed its own system of government on the rest of Italy without debate or consideration given to constitutional alternatives and the discussion of the profound consequences of this action on the unity and stability of Italy.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Giuseppe Mazzini's damning indictment of the new Italy in a letter to Giuseppe Ferretti in 1871 as a 'dead corpse' directly challenges the interpretation because it literally suggests that the new regime had no hope of survival.<sup>29</sup> While Mazzini was an important figure in the years of the Risorgimento, inspiring many figures such as Garibaldi, it is important to recognise that the unified Italy in 1860 was not Mazzini's vision for a united Italy, therefore, he was likely to have been more critical of the new Italy as it was not constructed to his ideals. Although this does severely reduce the weight of Stapleton's argument, his interpretation does have credibility and cannot be disregarded because Italy remained unified until at the Second World with the Statuo not being amended until 1946.

AO2  
use of  
PS

Knowledge

Knowledge  
AO2  
Very good  
eval

To a substantial extent, Stapleton's view that Italy was politically united is challenged by Pearce and Stiles, who suggest that Italy's political system 'was a parliamentary game...and one that ignored the needs of the country'.<sup>30</sup> This view suggests that the policy of 'trasformismo' and centralisation created massive political instability that arguably underpins all of the problems that the new Italy was faced – the fact that Italy's failure to establish an effective, representative government, that properly represented its people, resulted in none of the problems, such as the stagnant growth of agricultural and industrial economy or the relations with the Church, were being resolved and therefore keeping Italy divided. The

AO3  
Critical  
eval

<sup>28</sup> Terry and Murphy, *Europe 1810-1991* P.254

<sup>29</sup> Appendix: Item 8 - Vyvyan Brendon, *The Making of Modern Italy 1800-71* (Hodder and Stoughton) P.116

<sup>30</sup> Pearce and Stiles, *The Unification of Italy: 1789-1896* P.119-P.122

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credibility of this interpretation is clear when the extent of the political instability is examined. For example, with no official parties, the Italian parliament suffered from shifting allegiances and interests; deputies in the Chamber of Deputies wielded massive influence – if a minister failed to support a deputy's request, then the government lost that deputy's vote. If deputy failed to pressure the government, then it was likely that the deputy would lose the votes of their constituents, thus, by 1892, the new Italy had had 28 governments in 32 years.<sup>31</sup> This policy of trasformismo clearly adds weight to the Pearce and Stiles' argument because this created a system that was unstable and failed to fairly represent the people of Italy; the electorate of the new state was limited to those, who were literate and paid 40 lire in taxes – around 500,000. As a result, the politicians had no reason to further the interests of their fellow Italians as they had little incentive. Consequently, the feeling of disillusionment of the establishment contributed more to disunity than any other factor as the elite failed to meet the expectations of Italians. Moreover, a statement by Marco Minghetti adds weight to the Pearce and Stiles' view because it suggests that 'it has proved a difficult task to unify administratively kingdom formed of independent state.... unity could not be achieved except by eliminating every trace of the old order' therefore suggesting the problems that Italians faced in politically unifying the country and the difficulty in devising solutions.<sup>32</sup> This source has credibility and therefore supports the interpretation because Minghetti was a former Prime Minister of Italy therefore he understood the difficulties in ruling the newly unified state. The source also acknowledges the new regimes desire to exterminate the old order led to difficulties in unifying Italy. However, the solution that the source suggests – centralisation – failed to unify the country. This is highlighted by the fact that regions outside Piedmont were forced to accept Piedmont laws, taxes and ruled by Pietmontese officials. Furthermore, these prefects were

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<sup>31</sup> Clarke, 'Modern Italy: 1871-1982' P.61-673

<sup>32</sup> Appendix: Item 9 – Source A

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appointed by the Crown to administer local affairs and mayors were answerable only to the prefect. This adds weight to the interpretation because we see Piedmont imposing its institutions and system of government on the rest of Italy – ignoring the diversity of culture. Forcing people to conform to the new ‘Piedmontised’ regime increased dissatisfaction and disillusionment, reinforcing the divisions between the state and the people it was meant to serve. This imposition of the Piedmont’s regime can fervently be supported by a letter written to Victor Emmanuel by Cavour in December 1860, which states that national unification must be imposed by “moral force, and, if not sufficient, then physical force”.<sup>33</sup> This evidence is crucial for demonstrating the weight of Pearce and Stiles’ argument because it clearly shows that Cavour was ruthless in his attempt to secure unification without consideration of other alternatives and make certain it was completed according to his ideas. Moreover, the fact that Cavour never supported the idea of a united north and south and it was only Garibaldi’s actions in May and October of 1860 that unified Italy, further adds weight to the view of the source because it forced Cavour to deal with situation that he was unprepared for and consequently caught him off guard. Furthermore, it illustrates the complete disregard shown by the regime’s government towards the southern population and certainly supports the view the Italy’s needs were ignored and neglected. However, the interpretation’s weight is reduced when one considers Francesco Crispi’s reforms of the late 1880s and early 1890s. For example, in 1889 suffrage at local elections was increased with all literate males over the age of twenty had the able to vote, increasing the electorate from 1.5 million to 3.5 million.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he introduced crucial social reforms such as the introduction of free and compulsory education and the abolition of the dreaded grist tax in 1882.<sup>35</sup> This reduces the weight of the interpretation because this shows that there was some attempt to relieve the massive social tensions between

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<sup>33</sup> Appendix: Item 10- Denis Mack Smith, *The Making of Modern Italy 1796-1866* (Macmillan 1992) P.332

<sup>34</sup> Clarke, *Modern Italy: 1871-1982* P.61-67

<sup>35</sup> Pearce and Stiles, *The Unification of Italy* P.119-122



the ruled and rulers and ensure that there was more representation in government. However, when reviewing the interpretation of Clarke, Pearce, and Stiles, that the new Italy failed to meet the needs of its citizens, the evidence makes their view more credible because any reforms that were introduced came too late and were limited in their scope and scale to make any real impact thus reflecting the extent of political disunity.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that Italy faced significant challenges that impeded her unity. The interpretation by Duggan, Terry and Murphy, therefore, may have considerable credibility because of the massive divisions between the north and south effectively divided the country in two; its economy was in dire crisis; suffering from stagnant growth throughout this period, and failed to improve standards of living or generate wealth. Perhaps, the most fundamental cause of disunity was Italy's pretence of a parliamentary democracy. Although there were some improvements by Francesco Crispi from the late 1880s onwards, these reforms were largely limited in scope and scale. Suffice to say the government of the new Italy failed in its duty to protect its people and improve their wellbeing. Arguably, if Italy had had a more stable government with official parties, then possibly the other factors: relations between north and south and the Church and problems with economy could have been solved more effectively, thus, creating a more cohesive, unified society. However, the interpretation by Stapleton cannot be disregarded entirely. The fact remains that Italy's divisions and challenges never led to the collapse of the new regime and, although these divisions ultimately led to the rise of fascism, Italy remained intact until the Second War either through sheer luck or a testament to its underlying strength – this is summarised by the historian Peter Browning who says 'Although a single nation state had been formed, the people of Italy remained disunited'.<sup>36</sup> Consequently,

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<sup>36</sup> Denis Mack Smith, 'The Making of Modern Italy 1796-1866' (Macmillan 1992) P.59

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instead of regarding Italy as disunited, perhaps a more apt description of the new Italy is incompetent, dysfunctional but intact.

**Word Count: 4614**

A01 Consistently focused on issues  
evaluates different interpretations  
and reaches a nuanced judgement

L6  
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A02 There is some very good evaluation  
but the support is variable

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A03 There is a high level of evaluation  
of secondary sources which uses  
detailed knowledge and is balanced

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37

# Unannotated script

## To what extent, was Italy united by 1896?

The united Italy has been certainly viewed by historians Christopher Duggan, Terry Morris, and Derrick Murphy as an anti-climax to the Risorgimento; the Italy that was created was ‘nothing’ and ‘predominated’ by Piedmont-Sardinia.<sup>1</sup> It is undeniable that Italy failed to unite its people and improve standards of living. This failure is vital to study because it ultimately led to the rise of fascism and contributed to the Second World War – a conflict that killed millions and devastated the entire globe. This representation is permeated by various speeches, articles, and data from this period. However, historians, such as F.G Stapleton, question the extent of this disunity and argue the very fact that a liberal Italy survived this tumultuous period is testament to its underlying strength.<sup>2</sup> There are several principal areas where historians argue the extent of unity. The economy will be examined in the first section investigating the extent to which the disparity of wealth – or lack of it – caused disunity. A second section will delve into the relations between Church and State and how this divided the loyalties of Catholic Italians and explore the North South divide and its development into the Brigands War. The third and last section will deal with the failure demonstrated by Italy’s pretence of a parliamentary democracy and its policy of trasformismo. While the economic and social factors are crucial in assessing the unity of the Italian state, the political factors and the failure of an effective representative government will be the most important in illustrating that Italy was disunited.

In order to assess the extent of Italy’s disunity, one must consider the impact of the rural economy and poverty, which is a primary area of debate. Some have argued it generated a dangerous level of apathy towards the new regime, suggesting that “a much more insidious

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge Press 1994) P.1-2

Terry Morris and Derrick Murphy *Europe 1870-1991* (Harper Collins Publishers 2004) P.254

<sup>2</sup> FG Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?* (History review 2001) P.34-38

long-term threat, however, to the survival of the new state was the absence of any real commitment or loyalty to the kingdom”, which is the view that Duggan advocates.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Spencer M. di Scala argues ‘Misery and lack of investment produced a harvest of social agitation’.<sup>4</sup> These interpretations are convincing because it is supported by evidence such as data on the agricultural workforce in Italy 1861–1951, which clearly shows how critical the failure to improve agriculture was – adding weight to interpretation because it suggests ‘in 1881 9.5 million people worked in agriculture which was 62.6% of the total working population’.<sup>5</sup> This shows that cost of failure was colossal – the majority of Italians worked in agriculture, therefore, failing would generate a feeling of disillusionment and apathy towards the new state amongst the vast majority of the population. Such a representation is not constituent with Stapleton’s argument that Italy was united. Moreover, the view by Duggan and M. di Scala is further corroborated when we consider regional differences that blotched Italian agriculture. For instance, areas such as Lombardy, Piedmont, and Bologna all benefitted from the reforms of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century and the capitalist undertones of the Enlightenment.<sup>6</sup> This is further illustrated by areas in the north such as Vercelli farms that were relatively prosperous – investment was high and farm labourers were plenty – 112,000 in Novarra province in 1871. However, in contrast to the north, the disunity in agriculture were more profound in southern Italy, where social and economic conditions were far worse than in the northern regions and thus further adds weight to the view argued by M. Di Scala and Duggan because southern Italy, especially Sicily, was dominated by the large feudal estates, latifundia, owned by the bourgeois and the nobility. The owners then rented the land to people who paid day labourers to work the land.<sup>7</sup> This supports the interpretation by M. di Scala and Duggan

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<sup>3</sup> Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* P.1-2

<sup>4</sup> Spencer M. di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* (Westview Press 2004) P.152-158

<sup>5</sup> Appendix – Item 1: Pedro Loins and Vincent Pinilla, *Agricultural and Economic Development in Europe since 1870* (Routledge 2008) P.24

<sup>6</sup> M. Di. Scala, *Italy: From revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.153

because this system produced low crops yields, stagnantly low wages, and resulted in high profit margins for the landowners. This, consequently, led to a large minority living in the harshest conditions – barely living above subsistence levels – calculated to be over 40% in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.<sup>7</sup> This disparity in wealth produced a massive wave of discontent and social agitation, which further supports the interpretation because failure to properly reform led to social unrest developing into the phenomenon of brigandage and the Brigands War. This illustrates why the agriculture is important for considering how unified Italy was because brigandage and the Brigands War damaged the new State's unity and threatened to destabilise an already fragile society. However, the weight of M. di Scala and Duggan's argument is reduced by the fact that there were some relatively prosperous regions in the south of Italy. For example, the Bay of Naples and the Golden Horn near Palermo. In fact, the most productive region of the south was the Tyrrhenian Coast, which was relatively disease free and production of fruit and olives flourished.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, according to FG. Stapleton, 'in the 1880s and 1890s modernisation of agriculture was encouraged and financed in all regions.... between 1873 and 1913 wheat production doubled'.<sup>9</sup> This evidence could reduce the credibility of Stapleton's view, however, this patchwork of improvement and backwardness could, in turn, support the interpretation because it suggests that some regions saw the benefits of investment and some did not, thus widened the divisions that were prevalent and makes the view of the interpretation that agriculture was fundamental to the failure of Italy to establish a unified identity much more compelling.

So, while Duggan and M. di Scala argue that Italy was less united, evidence from the industrial economy would suggest that Italy was, to a limited extent, united and should not be

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<sup>7</sup> M. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>8</sup> M. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>9</sup> Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?* P.35

disregarded. This view is put forth by FG Stapleton, who suggests that there were ‘marked successes’ in the state of the industrial economy.<sup>10</sup> This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Italian government had started to invest in the modernisation of industry as early as 1870. For example, between 1870 and 1883, 21,000 kilometres of road were constructed.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, no less significant is the spread of the railways; in 1868 only 2,404km across Italy but, by 1900, over 16,429km were constructed. This clearly reinforces Stapleton’s argument and adds weight to the interpretation because railways were vital lines of communication for goods, ideas, and people, therefore, this strengthens the argument that Italy was relatively unified because the development of the railways and roads would have allowed for better communication between the peoples of Italy and allowed the spread of ideas thus illustrating Italians may have felt that they were, for the first time, Italians. However, the weight of this interpretation is fundamentally reduced when one considers evidence showing the regional differences in economic performance.<sup>12</sup> This source seriously reduces the weight of Stapleton’s argument because it demonstrates the gap between the north and the south. For example, in Piedmont 850km of railway was in use, compared to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies’ 99km. In Lombardy, value of agriculture production was 238 lire per hectare compared to the south which was 81 lire per hectare. This source undermines the view of the interpretation because it suggests that economic growth was largely confined to the north and the patchwork of economic success in the south was severely limited, in a similar respect to poverty and agriculture. Consequently, this undermined efforts to further consolidate the unification of Italy’s economic system and thus weakened the new state – undermining Stapleton’s argument. Moreover, this gains further credibility by a distinguished economist condemning Italy’s economy in a statement to the government. For example, he articulates, ‘little in our economic

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<sup>10</sup> Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-Maligned state?* P.37

<sup>11</sup> Stapleton, *Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or a Much-maligned State?* P.37

<sup>12</sup> Appendix Item 2: Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* P.152

situation that shows unity: indeed, we may end up losing Naples and Sicily.’<sup>13</sup> This seriously reduces the weight of interpretation because this was a qualified professional in full view of the economic picture of Italy suggesting that Italy’s dire economic crisis actually threatened the constitutional integrity of the new state. Furthermore, as this was a report to the government, it is unlikely that elements would have been exaggerated as he would have little to gain from it. In light of this convincing evidence, while there was some marked progress, Stapleton’s view that Italy was economically united appears to have very little weight when the view of the economist is considered.

It can be argued Stapleton’s view ignores the social factors that impacted on Italy’s unity, with Pearce and Stiles submitting the view that a ‘veritable Cold War existed between Church and State’ after the new State seized almost all of the Papal States except Rome.<sup>14</sup> This left a gaping chasm at the heart of the new Italy and certainly undermined efforts to declare Catholicism as the state religion. This interpretation certainly has credibility because, in his Syllabus of Errors 1864, Pope Pius IX condemned and rejected modern liberalism and thinking, suggesting the view that “the Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.” is ahead to the view of the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup> This source’s reliability could be questioned as it is essentially as a piece of propaganda denouncing anyone who does not profess to be pontiff loving Catholic and any deviation from traditional, conservative views would likely lead to a further reduction of Papal influence. However, it is a valuable piece of evidence that supports the interpretation of Pearce and Stiles because it gives a valuable insight into the papal mind-set at this time and illustrates that Pius IX clearly felt threatened by the new state and its founding principles of liberalism and thus

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<sup>13</sup> Appendix: Item 3 - Source B

<sup>14</sup> Pearce and Stiles, *Unification of Italy* (Hodder and Education 2015) P.113

<sup>15</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors\\_247/pius\\_ix\\_pope\\_quanta\\_cura\\_and\\_the\\_syllabus\\_of\\_error\\_s\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors_247/pius_ix_pope_quanta_cura_and_the_syllabus_of_error_s_djvu.txt) 26/09/27 12:10

had to respond to defend his position as Pope. This is given further credence by the fact that the new Italy worsened relations with the Church with the introduction of anticlericalism as government policy. For example, pilgrimages were prohibited, church land was broken up and sold off. From 1866, over the next 15 years, a million hectares were disposed of with the proceeds going directly into the new state's coffers.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, this strengthens Pearce and Stiles' view because this evidence shows that the Pope had reason to object to the existence of the new state and, consequently in response, Pius IX ordered all Catholics to abstain from voting in elections, from partaking in the government at all costs, and excommunicated Victor Emmanuel II and his entire government from the Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup> This further adds weight to Pearce and Stiles' argument because these reactionary measures from both sides of the divide demonstrated the fractious relationship between Church and State and, perhaps more seriously, is the fact these actions divided the loyalties of Italian Catholics between their religion and their allegiance to their country – a precarious situation for a newly unified nation. However, this view is challenged by Victor Emmanuel's speech to Parliament in 1871, which states, "We have proclaimed the separation of Church and State. Having recognized the absolute independence of the spiritual authority, we are convinced that Rome, the capital of Italy, will continue to be the peaceful and respected seat of the Pontificate."<sup>18</sup> Although Victor Emmanuel clearly had a vested interest, as Head of State, in preserving the stability of Italy, this source contests the view of Pearce and Stiles because it suggests that a delicate balanced equilibrium existed between the Church and State and is not suggestive of friction between the two institutions so reduces the weight of the interpretation. Moreover, the interpretation is reduced further because the Law of Guarantees of 1871 granted the Pope several concessions such as rights and privileges of a sovereign, an annuity of 3,225,000 lire and immunity to taxation and

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<sup>16</sup> Duggan, *'Concise History of Italy'* P.35

<sup>17</sup> Morris and Murphy, *'Europe 1870-1991'* P.259

<sup>18</sup> Appendix: Item 5 - <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1871victoremm.asp>



arrest. This suggests that relations were friendlier because this was the first real attempt by the Italian State to reach across the divide and heal the divisions caused by the seizure of papal land and the creation of a unified Italy. Despite this evidence, when reviewing Pearce and Stiles' interpretation, that there was disunity between the Catholic Church and the new Italy, it is clear that their interpretation is more convincing and has considerable weight.

When deliberating the extent of Italy's unity, it is vital to assess the North South divide; Christopher Duggan, argues that "the new state was left with its identity unresolved and its future far from certain".<sup>19</sup> This implies the extent of Italian disunity because it suggests that Italy, after unification, could not reconcile its two populations in the north and south and unite them into one strong and stable country. For example, the extent of the challenge of uniting Italy is apparent when one considers the diversity in Italian dialects – only 2% of Italians spoke Italian.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the new King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, and his court did not speak the Italian dialect either – the language of the new court was either French or Piemontese.<sup>21</sup> As a result, this invigorates the interpretation because it made the divisions between the north and south more defined, therefore, reinforced the mistrust between the two regions and underlined the fact that Italy was not united. Furthermore, the evidence of divisions between north and south were illustrated by Luigi Farini in an account to Cavour on Victor Emmanuel's first meeting with Garibaldi. He states, "What barbarism. This is not Italy. This is Africa. The Bedouins are the flower of civic virtue compared to these peasants."<sup>22</sup> This source is credible evidence because it is the view of a person from the north therefore represents the opinions and attitudes of the northern ruling elite towards the southern population, thus shows the deep

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<sup>19</sup> Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* P.142

<sup>20</sup> Martin Clark, *Italian Risorgimento* (Pearson Longman Second edition 2009) P.121

<sup>21</sup> Appendix: Item

[https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors\\_247/pius\\_ix\\_pope\\_quanta\\_cura\\_and\\_the\\_syllabus\\_of\\_errors\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/QuantaCuraTheSyllabusOfErrors_247/pius_ix_pope_quanta_cura_and_the_syllabus_of_errors_djvu.txt)

<sup>22</sup> Appendix: Item 6- Clarke, *Italian Risorgimento* P.121

divisions and mistrust between the two regions of Italy. On the other hand, Farini's view is tainted by the fact he was a close supporter of Cavour and his policy of annexing northern Italy to Piedmont therefore any criticism of the idea of a united north and south is likely to be reflected in his opinion of the southern population. This source, despite this, does add weight to the interpretation because it suggests that the north viewed the south as different and uncivilised – reinforced by their cultural differences. It implies that southern Italians were strange and foreign and therefore not even worthy of being called Italians, illustrating the extent of disunity. Moreover, certain economic conditions in the south are intrinsically linked to the lack of social cohesion and contributed to making the divisions worse. Peasants in the south were dominated by the large latifundia and were controlled by their local landowner. This system produced low wages, poor living conditions and a complete lack of technological innovation that made the lives of peasants a misery.<sup>23</sup> The consequence of this toxic concoction of economic factors and poor social cohesion was the Brigands War between 1861 and 1865. This supports Duggan's view because this 'Brigands War' could be better described as a four-year long exercise in butchery. The savagery exhibited by the 100,000 mostly northern Italian troops was extreme – the judiciary was purged; all dissent was crushed; over 16,000 people were killed in the conflict – more than in all the wars of independence combined.<sup>24</sup> This clearly supports the view that Italy was disunited because it illustrates the extent to which the north of Italy failed to identify with the south and recognise them as their fellow countrymen. This is further supported by General Ferdinando Pinelli in a statement to his troops, which states that the southern Italians were "cowards" and to "be as merciless as fate" when dealing them.<sup>25</sup> The credibility of Pinelli's statement, however, is questionable because it could be interpreted in the following ways: on the one hand, this is a speech that was designed to motivate his troops

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<sup>23</sup> Spencer, *Italy: Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the present* P.154

<sup>24</sup> Clarke, *The Italian Risorgimento* P.90

<sup>25</sup> Appendix: Item 7- Clarke, *The Italian Risorgimento* P.124

therefore parts may have been embellished and exaggerated to meet this purpose. However, despite this, the source is beneficial and does add weight to Duggan's argument because if interpreted as a personal reflection from a senior official of the Italian State, then, this source is far more useful as it gives us an insight into the thoughts of the Italian government. As a result of the combined weight of these sources, Duggan's interpretation that Italy lacked an identity and therefore unity is more convincing.

While Duggan's view seems to suggest Italy was disunited, FG Stapleton contradicts this as he suggests Italy was politically unified when he says, 'it was the remarkable apotheosis of nineteenth century liberal inspired nationalism'.<sup>26</sup> This is supported by the fact the whole of Italy adopted the same constitution, based heavily on Piedmont's Statute of 1848, the same legal code in 1865, and the same king, Victor Emmanuel II. This was a remarkable achievement – considering the patchwork of states and legal codes that existed before 1861 – achieved with the political skill of Cavour and the luck and bravado of Garibaldi. Stapleton's interpretation is supported by Victor Emmanuel's address to Parliament in 1871, which says "the work to which we consecrated our life is accomplished. After long trials of expiation Italy is restored to herself and to Rome."<sup>27</sup> This source clearly supports the view of the interpretation that Italy was united because it illustrates that in the eyes of the political establishment of the new Italy, the unthinkable had occurred and the patchwork of states was unified under the flag of House of Savoy with the same institutions and values. However, this view, that Italy was unified under the same institutions and flag and therefore unified, is less credible when one considers that it was Piedmont's institutions that were imposed on Italy, it was Piedmont's king that became King of Italy, - noting that Victor Emmanuel refused to alter his title from Victor Emmanuel II to the Victor Emmanuel I of Italy – and it was Piedmont's constitution that was adopted as the

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<sup>26</sup> Stapleton, 'Liberal Italy: The Midwife of Fascism or the Much-Maligned State?' P.33

<sup>27</sup> Appendix: Item 7 - <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1871victoremm.asp> 25/09/17

constitution of Italy therefore this suggests Piedmont-Sardinia annexed the Italian Peninsula rather than unified. As Terry and Murphy argue, 'Cavour spent the last months of his life ensuring the Piedmontese authority and institutions would predominate', thus this clearly shows that Piedmont imposed its own system of government on the rest of Italy without debate or consideration given to constitutional alternatives and the discussion of the profound consequences of this action on the unity and stability of Italy.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Giuseppe Mazzini's damning indictment of the new Italy in a letter to Giuseppe Ferretti in 1871 as "a dead corpse" directly challenges the interpretation because it literally suggests that the new regime had no hope of survival.<sup>29</sup> While Mazzini was an important figure in the years of the Risorgimento, inspiring many figures such as Garibaldi, it is important to recognise that the unified Italy in 1860 was not Mazzini's vision for a united Italy, therefore, he was likely to have been more critical of the new Italy as it was not constructed to his ideals. Although this does severely reduce the weight of Stapleton's argument, his interpretation does have credibility and cannot be disregarded because Italy remained unified until at the Second World War with the Statute not being amended until 1946.

To a substantial extent, Stapleton's view that Italy was politically united is challenged by Pearce and Stiles, who suggest that Italy's political system 'was a parliamentary game...and one that ignored the needs of the country'.<sup>30</sup> This view suggests that the policy of 'trasformismo' and centralisation created massive political instability that arguably underpins all of the problems that the new Italy was faced – the fact that Italy's failure to establish an effective, representative government, that properly represented its people, resulted in none of the problems, such as the stagnant growth of agricultural and industrial economy or the relations with the Church, were being resolved and therefore keeping Italy divided. The

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<sup>28</sup> Terry and Murphy, *Europe 1810-1991* P.254

<sup>29</sup> Appendix: Item 8 - Vyvyan Brendon, *The Making of Modern Italy 1800-71* (Hodder and Stoughton) P.116

<sup>30</sup> Pearce and Stiles, *The Unification of Italy: 1789-1896* P.119-P.122

credibility of this interpretation is clear when the extent of the political instability is examined. For example, with no official parties, the Italian parliament suffered from shifting allegiances and interests; deputies in the Chamber of Deputies wielded massive influence – if a minister failed to support a deputy's request, then the government lost that deputy's vote. If a deputy failed to pressure the government, then it was likely that the deputy would lose the votes of their constituents, thus, by 1892, the new Italy had had 28 governments in 32 years.<sup>31</sup> This policy of *trasformismo* clearly adds weight to the Pearce and Stiles' argument because this created a system that was unstable and failed to fairly represent the people of Italy; the electorate of the new state was limited to those, who were literate and paid 40 lire in taxes – around 500,000. As a result, the politicians had no reason to further the interests of their fellow Italians as they had little incentive. Consequently, the feeling of disillusionment of the establishment contributed more to disunity than any other factor as the elite failed to meet the expectations of Italians. Moreover, a statement by Marco Minghetti adds weight to the Pearce and Stiles' view because it suggests that 'it has proved a difficult task to unify administratively a kingdom formed of independent state.... unity could not be achieved except by eliminating every trace of the old order' therefore suggesting the problems that Italians faced in politically unifying the country and the difficulty in devising solutions.<sup>32</sup> This source has credibility and therefore supports the interpretation because Minghetti was a former Prime Minister of Italy therefore he understood the difficulties in ruling the newly unified state. The source also acknowledges the new regimes desire to exterminate the old order led to difficulties in unifying Italy. However, the solution that the source suggests – centralisation – failed to unify the country. This is highlighted by the fact that regions outside Piedmont were forced to accept Piedmont laws, taxes and ruled by Piedmontese officials. Furthermore, these prefects were

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<sup>31</sup> Clarke, *Modern Italy: 1871-1982* P.61-673

<sup>32</sup> Appendix: Item 9 – Source A

appointed by the Crown to administer local affairs and mayors were answerable only to the prefect. This adds weight to the interpretation because we see Piedmont imposing its institutions and system of government on the rest of Italy – ignoring the diversity of culture. Forcing people to conform to the new ‘Piedmontised’ regime increased dissatisfaction and disillusionment, reinforcing the divisions between the state and the people it was meant to serve. This imposition of the Piedmont’s regime can fervently be supported by a letter written to Victor Emmanuel by Cavour in December 1860, which states that national unification must be imposed by “moral force, and, if not sufficient, then physical force”.<sup>33</sup> This evidence is crucial for demonstrating the weight of Pearce and Stiles’ argument because it clearly shows that Cavour was ruthless in his attempt to secure unification without consideration of other alternatives and make certain it was completed according to his ideas. Moreover, the fact that Cavour never supported the idea of a united north and south and it was only Garibaldi’s actions in May and October of 1860 that unified Italy, further adds weight to the view of the source because it forced Cavour to deal with situation that he was unprepared for and consequently caught him off guard. Furthermore, it illustrates the complete disregard shown by the regime’s government towards the southern population and certainly supports the view the Italy’s needs were ignored and neglected. However, the interpretation’s weight is reduced when one considers Francesco Crispi’s reforms of the late 1880s and early 1890s. For example, in 1889 suffrage at local elections was increased with all literate males over the age of twenty had the able to vote, increasing the electorate from 1.5 million to 3.5 million.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he introduced crucial social reforms such as the introduction of free and compulsory education and the abolition of the dreaded grist tax in 1882.<sup>35</sup> This reduces the weight of the interpretation because this shows that there was some attempt to relieve the massive social tensions between

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<sup>33</sup> Appendix: Item 10- Denis Mack Smith, *The Making of Modern Italy 1796-1866* (Macmillan 1992) P.332

<sup>34</sup> Clarke, *Modern Italy: 1871-1982* P.61-67

<sup>35</sup> Pearce and Stiles, *The Unification of Italy* P.119-122

the ruled and rulers and ensure that there was more representation in government. However, when reviewing the interpretation of Clarke, Pearce, and Stiles, that the new Italy failed to meet the needs of its citizens, the evidence makes their view more credible because any reforms that were introduced came too late and were limited in their scope and scale to make any real impact thus reflecting the extent of political disunity.

Overall, it is clear that Italy faced significant challenges that impeded her unity. The interpretation by Duggan, Terry and Murphy, therefore, may have considerable credibility because of the massive divisions between the north and south effectively divided the country in two; its economy was in dire crisis; suffering from stagnant growth throughout this period, and failed to improve standards of living or generate wealth. Perhaps, the most fundamental cause of disunity was Italy's pretence of a parliamentary democracy. Although there were some improvements by Francesco Crispi from the late 1880s onwards, these reforms were largely limited in scope and scale. Suffice to say the government of the new Italy failed in its duty to protect its people and improve their wellbeing. Arguably, if Italy had had a more stable government with official parties, then possibly the other factors: relations between north and south and the Church and problems with economy could have been solved more effectively, thus, creating a more cohesive, unified society. However, the interpretation by Stapleton cannot be disregarded entirely. The fact remains that Italy's divisions and challenges never led to the collapse of the new regime and, although these divisions ultimately led to the rise of fascism, Italy remained intact until the Second War either through sheer luck or a testament to its underlying strength – this is summarised by the historian Peter Browning who says 'Although a single nation state had been formed, the people of Italy remained disunited'.<sup>36</sup> Consequently,

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<sup>36</sup> Denis Mack Smith, 'The Making of Modern Italy 1796-1866' (Macmillan 1992) P.59

instead of regarding Italy as disunited, perhaps a more apt description of the new Italy is incompetent, dysfunctional but intact.

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