



# **Examiners' Report June 2023**

**GCE History 9HI0 36**

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## Introduction

It was pleasing to see that candidates were able to engage effectively across the ability range in this series of exams with A Level paper 9HI036 that deals with Protest, agitation and parliamentary reform in Britain, c1780-1928 (9HI036.1) and Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923 (9HI036.2).

The paper is divided into three sections. Section A contains a compulsory question that is based on two enquiries linked to one source. It assesses source analysis and evaluation skills (AO2). Section B comprises a choice of essays that assess understanding of the period in depth (AO1) by targeting five second order concepts – cause, consequence, change and continuity, similarity and difference, and significance. Section C comprises a choice of essays that relate to aspects of the process of change over a period of at least 100 years (AO1). Most candidates appeared to organise their time effectively and there was little evidence of candidates being unable to attempt all three sections of the paper within the time allocated. There does appear to have been an increase this year in the number of scripts that were seen that posed problems for examiners with a lack of legibility of handwriting; examiners are only able to give credit for what they can read.

In Section A, the strongest answers demonstrated an ability to draw out and develop reasoned inferences from the source for both enquiries and to evaluate the source thoroughly in relation to the demands of the two enquiries on the basis of both contextual knowledge and the nature, origin and purpose of the source. Some candidates used their contextual knowledge to continue to describe events, sometimes with only tangential links to what is in the source, in great detail, rather than using it to illuminate and to discuss the sources. This sometimes resulted in candidates not dealing with the sources adequately. In other cases, candidates might offer up no contextual knowledge to support their arguments and analysis. It is disappointing to note that a number of candidates talked in general terms rather than explicitly addressing the focus of the enquiries or that candidates overlooked some element of the question .

In Section B, examiners were impressed by the number of responses that clearly understood the importance of identifying the appropriate second order concept that was being targeted by the question and shaped their responses appropriately to meet the demands of the question. More responses were seen this summer that had a tendency to only deal with one side of an argument; some of these were a sophisticated analysis of that one side, showing the links between the issues that were raised, but it is essential that candidates acknowledge the existence of a counter argument, where appropriate. Candidates need to be aware of the chronological parameters of questions and to ensure that they write across the chronology. Equally, the evidence that is presented should come from within the timeframe of the chronology of the question. It was disappointing this summer to note that a number of candidates seemed to have only a weak grasp on the timing of key events. In both Sections B and C, it would appear that there are some candidates who are not reading the question with sufficient care and who are using a slightly different question focus to the one that has been indicated on the paper. This clearly has an impact on achievement.

Section C requires candidates to answer a breadth question. The questions in this section are set to encompass a minimum of 100 years. Candidates are reminded that, as has been pointed out in previous Principal Examiner reports, this has important implications for the higher levels in bullet point 2 of the mark scheme. To access bullet point 2 at level 5 candidates are expected to have responded 'fully' to the demands of the question. The requirements of questions will vary and key developments relating to the question may be more specific to the entire chronological range in some questions and options than in others. However, it was judged not possible for candidates to have 'fully met' the demands of any section C question unless at least 75% of the chronological range of the question was addressed. To access bullet point 2 at level 4 candidates need to meet most of the demands of the question. It was unlikely that most of the demands of the question would be met if the answer had a restricted range that covered less than 60% of its chronology. It should also be pointed out that the practice of 'bookending' the chronology, but having little between those 'bookends' is unlikely to meet the demands of the higher levels in bullet point 2.

The candidates' performance on individual questions is considered in the next section.

## Question 1

Candidates at all levels were able to access this source. Most candidates were able to demonstrate how the source could be used for both enquiries, through the use of direct quotes and paraphrasing. Stronger responses interrogated the evidence of the source with confidence, evaluating the weight that the evidence could bear and offering contextual knowledge relevant to the question premise and the date of 1912. Such candidates were able to use contextual knowledge effectively to support their interrogation of the source and, on occasions, their evaluation. However, weaker candidates simply described contextual knowledge from across a chronology that was much wider than the remit of the question. In these cases, analysis was limited, with the source being used as evidence to build an argument about the effectiveness or otherwise of the WSPU, with limited focus on the demands of the two enquiries. Stronger candidates recognised that although Strachey was a member of the NUWSS she was not necessarily disparaging the WSPU or Pankhurst in her piece. Weaker candidates discussed her 'bias' with assertions that were not supported by the content of the source. A surprising number appeared to believe that she was a member of the WSPU, despite the information in the provenance.

~~The source~~ For the purpose of this essay, I will be arguing that the ~~is~~ source is very valuable in revealing changing attitudes towards the WSPU in the 1912 and the importance of Emmeline Pankhurst. The source is provided directly from a member of the suffragette movement thus allowing for a detail analysis and reliable view of the changing attitudes as well as a direct view on Emmeline Pankhurst's importance in the WSPU. However, while the source ~~is~~ presents both factor, it is, by far, more focused on the changing attitudes towards the WSPU, thus proving more valuable in revealing that. Ultimately the source is valuable.

To begin with, the provenance of the source is of great value in revealing the changing attitudes towards the WSPU. It is an extract from Ray Strachey, who was involved in the suffrage campaign from 1905. Being an active member from the early stages of the movement, Strachey would have

changing attitudes of  
been witness to ~~the~~ public towards the WSPU  
throughout the years, where the early stages  
of the WSPU with more peaceful tactics  
bought sympathy towards their cause compared  
to a shift in a chain of public disagreement  
caused by the WSPU's shift in extremely  
militant tactics. Statchey seems to be  
recognising this shift ~~as~~ in the attitudes  
of the society and presents it in the  
extract with a critical tone, pointing out  
that the "militant methods [...] caused a  
great deal of astonishment and indignation"  
and calling both Pankhurst and Petrick Lawrence  
clear "political offenders". While Statchey  
~~more~~ points out the the astonishment towards  
the militant ~~the~~ methods, her label of  
"political offenders" appears to be more of  
her personal opinion which may have  
been influenced by the fact that she  
was a leading member of the women's  
suffrage organisation, the National Union  
of women's suffrage societies, a far  
more peacefully inclined organisation than  
WSPU so she may disagree with  
the tactics used by the WSPU in 1912

Furthermore, Strachey suggests that the "militant movement was now at the end of its importance" and that in fact, "the Press and the Public had grown tired of the news of 'outrages'" attracting "little attention". Indeed throughout the 1912 the WSPU caused a chain of destruction causing damage to pieces of art, Parliament properties ~~and~~ and harassing political figures. Asquith particularly became a target, having been assaulted by the WSPU on a golf match, but this only encouraged Asquith ~~to~~ in ignoring ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> WSPU's ~~demands~~ <sup>requests</sup> even further. Other events like damaging 13 pieces of art and the burning of a university and window smashing of members of the parliaments caused the WSPU to become unpopular amongst the public thus causing a change in attitudes. Strachey recognises this in her extract, thus making the source valuable in revealing the changing attitudes towards the WSPU in 1912.

Furthermore, the source is valuable in revealing the importance of Emmeline

Pankhurst. Being a leader of a women's suffrage organisation, Strachey may have perhaps communicated or worked along Pankhurst, thus she is able to provide a first hand view on the role Emmeline had. Strachey says that "his Pankhurst was determined ~~to~~ that the fight should be intensified." This indeed was true, as, as leading figure of the WSPU, Pankhurst managed to increase the number of branches ~~in 1906~~ from 3 in 1906 to 128 by 1911, thus showing her determination and skills in increasing the WSPU support. Furthermore, Strachey mentions that Pankhurst was a source of inspiration for her daughter Christabel Pankhurst, who "determined by the example of her mother, grew more and more restless". This is further evidenced by the fact that both Emmeline and Christabel underwent hunger strikes while in prison, and Christabel followed Emmeline's advice to be "be militant, each in your way!", being imprisoned for two months for arson and window

smashing. Moreover, Conice Statchey has a critical tone in terms of changing attitudes towards the WSPU, her argument about Emmeline Pankhurst, specifically her stating that Pankhurst "inspired her followers, and their passionate admiration and hero-worship gathered ever more closely around her" portraying a far more positive view. Indeed, ~~the~~ the WSPU underwent a split throughout the years, as said by Emmeline Pankhurst herself, however, her leadership managed to ~~replace~~ re-organise the organisation together.

Therefore, the source is valuable in revealing the importance of Emmeline Pankhurst in the WSPU.

Ultimately, the source proves of great value in revealing changing attitudes towards the WSPU in 1912 and Emmeline Pankhurst's importance in the WSPU. Statchey has a far more focused argument on the changing attitudes suggesting that these were caused by the militant methods of the WSPU and that these caused its unpopularity amongst the public.

thus being more valuable in revealing the change in attitudes, however the source also ~~is~~ reveals Pankhurst's importance in the WSPU by acknowledging her passion and determination to fight for ~~the~~ women's suffrage. However, Pankhurst ~~is~~ is very briefly mentioned, thus the source is more valuable in revealing the changing attitudes towards the WSPU. Overall, the source is valuable in revealing both the changing attitudes towards the WSPU in 1912 as well as Emmeline Pankhurst's importance in the WSPU.



This is a level 4 response. This response interrogates the evidence for both enquiries. When looking at the importance of Emmeline Pankhurst, the response uses its analysis to show the qualities of her leadership and supports this with the use of contextual knowledge to illuminate what can be gained from the source. The response also demonstrates a secure understanding of Strachey's position and the weight that can be put on this source as a result.

## Question 2

This question was accessible to candidates at all levels and both enquiries were addressed by the majority of candidates. Stronger candidates were able to make perceptive inferences around the fact that by having to address issues of potential harm to British trade, it would also mean that there clearly were these concerns among the British. The best responses used contextual knowledge in effective ways, for example, to assess attitudes towards the removal of trade restrictions, including the issues of empire. Some candidates struggled to include appropriate contextual knowledge to support their analysis and arguments. Some very strong responses were able to test the provenance and the role of Adam Smith, noting that he was trying to convince the British government of the strengths of free trade. However, even weaker responses were able to use the information provided in the caption to draw some valid conclusions about its significance for the response. Some weaker responses restricted themselves to assessing the source as a private letter whilst stronger ones recognised that Dundas was seeking views he would share with colleagues. A minority of candidates merely repeated the wording of the caption.

## Plan

① British attitudes. → "rivalry" - competition. → <sup>refers - rural economy</sup>  
↳ land ownership

→ "dominant portion of some towns in Scotland and England" would suffer.

↓  
Wool - War      Manchester - cotton.

② Impact of removal of trade → greater resources.  
↳ natural. rural. Potatoes, corn etc.

→ colonies - empire

↳ help Ireland on side.

Proclamation - 1779 - boycott - climate raw

- economic

- political

③ Most useful for British attitudes → letters if Britain were free.  
import addresses concern  
↳ trade fears.

The removal of trade restrictions on Ireland in the 1770s marked ~~the~~ one of the first major concessions laid out by the British government. This source is useful for revealing the attitudes of Britain towards this policy in regards to fear of increased competition and the threat to Scottish and English industry, as well as the proposed impact the removal of trade would have on Ireland which is regards to the benefits of trade within the British empire. This source is most useful when examining the

attitudes of Britain because the purpose of this letter is to calm British fears and in doing so the reasons behind the fears are laid bare.

This source was written in 1779 during a period of heightened tensions regarding the policy of free trade and boycotts of British imports by the Irish people. Hence, this source reveals the typical nature of free trade and the importance of this issue. Furthermore, the fact that a British MP has been tasked with investigating the possibility of removing trade restrictions for Ireland suggests that the British government had this issue under genuine consideration and that it was a pressing issue for them. Moreover, it displays that the trade policy was not a clear cut case but one which warranted debate and consideration due to the perceived severity of the policy. This source would take a pro-free trade stance due to the fact that Smith is a supporter of free trade. Furthermore, Smith as an economist would have a view which is supported and respected due to the nature of his work and his claims could be perceived as accurate due to the research undertaken to arrive at his conclusion.

This source is also useful at examining the British attitudes towards the removal of trade restrictions on Irish trade in the late 1770s in regards to perceived competition and threat to British industry. Source 2 suggests that Britain's major concern is fear of rivalry and competition with Irish industry in which Ireland would win. Although, Ireland

possessed many resources most were natural resources due to the agricultural nature of the economy. ~~hence~~ Nevertheless, there was fear amongst the British that in the free market Ireland would be able to ~~offer~~ demand lower prices and Britain would suffer economically as a result. The source shows that ~~these~~ fears are misguided because it acknowledges that "Ireland has neither the skill nor the supplies to enable her to rival England". The winds of industrialisation had not yet set foot on Irish soil and hence Britain and Ireland were not direct competitors. Furthermore, the placement of this claim at the beginning of the letter shows that it was a primary concern which Smith felt needed to be repeated from the outset. The source also, claims that Britain fears that free trade for Ireland would put the dominant position of some towns and in England and Scotland in jeopardy. Glasgow had a thriving ~~cotton~~ wool industry which would be in direct competition with Ireland similarly the cottonopolis Manchester would be ~~put~~ threatened by any industrial advancements in Ireland. Hence, British attitudes towards free trade in Ireland was governed by fear. Fear of increased competition and losing out in the unregulated world of free market ideology and fear of the impact of Ireland on their industrial overtures. Therefore, this source is <sup>most</sup> useful in understanding British attitudes towards the removal of trade restrictions in the late 1770s because it addresses ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~competition~~ ~~and~~ ~~loss~~ ~~of~~ ~~dominance~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~stage~~. ~~As well as, the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~the~~ ~~nature~~ ~~of~~ ~~Smith's~~ ~~letter~~ ~~to~~ ~~report~~ ~~his~~ ~~findings~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~

This source is also useful in examining the impact which the removal of trade restrictions was expected to have on Ireland.

The source claims that Britain would have availability to greater resources ~~which~~ beyond the English and Scottish manufacturing towns. The agricultural nature of the Irish economy provided a unique benefit for the British. ~~The~~ ~~best~~ Crop including potato and wheat were in excess in Ireland due to widespread farming in the country. Hence, this source is attempting to display the benefits of the removal of free trade in Ireland, increased access to natural resources for Britain in an era of increasing industrialisation and manufacturing.

This new frontier of trade was an exciting opportunity and could guarantee Britain's food supply for years to come. Therefore, this source suggests that free trade was not a threat but instead a benefit. This source also claims that Ireland would be

able to trade with the "African and American colonies". The ~~the~~ opening up of availability to the wider British empire would be of benefit to Ireland particularly for their grain, wool and cotton industries which would prosper under this ~~trading~~ trading network. Furthermore, Smith includes this in the letter in order to ~~play to~~ pander to the hearts and minds of the

British government and British authorities ~~who~~ who possessed great pride in the empire and ~~would have~~ Moreover, the Irish people would understand the benefits of colonial rule which was necessary in order to keep a colony of geographical importance.

Therefore, this source is useful in examining the impact of the removal of trade restrictions in regard to the benefits ~~to~~ economically and for

wider geopolitical importance.

This source is most helpful for examining the British attitudes because as an economist, Smith's role is to dispute or give points of view. Hence, the impact is of <sup>less</sup> ~~minor~~ significance than the British attitudes.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a level 5 response to this question. The response interrogates the source in relation to both enquiries in a sustained way throughout the answer. It distinguishes between the claims being made and information. Although it does not contain extensive contextual knowledge, what it does with what is used illuminates what can be gained from the content and displays a secure understanding. There is a slight timing issue insofar as the conclusion seems to be somewhat abbreviated. However, the quality of the analysis has been made clear throughout the response.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Aim to leave sufficient time for a measured conclusion pulling together the strands of the argument.

### Question 3

Candidates were fairly evenly split between those who tackled this question and those who tackled question 4 in this section of the paper. Candidates at all levels were able to develop material on radical reformers, often with some range across the entire period. The best responses did this with a fair degree of balance, focusing their analysis around the extent of the challenge posed to 'the power of the state'. Stronger answers often included contextual material and information on the intellectual trends that encouraged radicalism. Weaker responses either failed to offer a counter to the question premise or rejected it completely. Some candidates strayed out of the period in question c1790-1819, offering substantial material on Chartism, which went beyond context for the question and could not be rewarded.

The Radical Reformers campaigned for universal male suffrage, annual elections and the secret Ballot from 1790 until 1819. The majority of their methods posed little to no challenge to the state and were often viewed by the government to pose a greater challenge than they did. The state viewed the London Corresponding Society, Spa Fields, Pentridge and Peterloo as a revolutionary threat. The statement is correct to a high extent and therefore the Power of the state was not significantly challenged by the Radical Reformers.

The London Corresponding Society was founded in ~~1796~~<sup>1894</sup> and posed very little challenge to the government. It was set up by Thomas Hardy and <sup>was</sup> mainly ~~at~~ attended by artisans and tradesmen. The Society mainly campaigned for universal male suffrage and annual parliaments. They met to discuss politics and reform. The government saw the LCS as a huge challenge

because they feared ~~revolution~~ they were revolutionaries. In reality, the society posed very little challenge. They didn't ever pose a violent threat as methods consisted of handing out flyers and pamphlets which helped to educate the public. In a sense, they posed an integral ~~the~~ challenge to the government, however. They challenged the system and the government's way of doing politics and therefore the government's authority was challenged rather than their power. The LCS therefore provided insignificant challenge to the state's power and instead challenged the system and way of doing things that the state interpreted as challenge of power.

Spa fields of 1816 ~~posed a~~ did pose a moderately significant challenge to the state's power. orator Henry Hunt was encouraging a crowd to sign a petition that was being presented to the Prince Regent that was asking for universal male suffrage, annual parliaments and

secret ballots. The Prince ~~of~~ Regent rejected the Petition. At this point, the Radical Reformers can be seen to pose insignificant threat because their methods were entirely peaceful and didn't <sup>particularly</sup> challenge the government in any way. The second meeting did leave Spa Fields as an example of moderate challenge to the state's power, however. Hunt was due to address the crowd once again but parts of the crowd were stirred up by government spies and so marched in an attempt to seize important parts of London like the Tower of London. They were stopped but could have posed a highly significant challenge to the state if they continued. This can therefore be seen as a moderate, superficial challenge to state power as although power was challenged, the government remained in power the whole time and its power wasn't reduced because of the incident. It could also be argued that the radical reformers never truly posed a threat because it was government agent provocateurs that spurred on the crowd and so it was their own fault

that an attempted uprising occurred. Because of this, the Radical Reformers can be seen to have posed a moderately significant challenge to the state's power.

The Pentridge Rising of 1817 can be seen to pose a mostly insignificant challenge to the state's power. It was again an example of government agent provocateurs that ~~set~~ spurred on a group from Pentridge, Derbyshire to march to Nottingham where they would allegedly be meeting others to march on the capital. The march was made up of 300 men who were lightly armed. Because they were armed, they could be viewed as posing a physical challenge to the state's power, however the weaponry was light and probably would not have caused large issues, showing a mostly insignificant threat. The government also successfully intercepted the movement which ended in 45 members being arrested, 30 were transported and the 3 leaders hung.

It can therefore be seen that the ~~threat~~<sup>challenge</sup> posed to state power posed by the radicals at Pentridge was insignificant because the state remained in power at the same level throughout the whole uprising. Pentridge did not cause the government major challenge and therefore should be considered as ~~a~~ low significance when questioning the challenge posed by the radicals to the state's power.

To conclude, the Radical Reformers posed an insignificant challenge to the ~~Government~~ state's power. The LCS, Spa fields, Pentridge and Peterloo did not remove the government's power in anyway and therefore it can be argued they posed a very limited challenge. The parts of Spa fields and Pentridge that can be seen as threatening the state were highly superficial and the government was able to deal with them quickly and effectively. If a real challenge was posed, the government wouldn't have been able to deal with the challenge so efficiently which therefore proves the insignificance of the challenge posed

by the radical reformers from 1790 to 1819.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response tackles the question by considering three examples of radical activity across the period. It clearly intended to also include Peterloo but has run out of time. For each of the activities, the candidate engages in a clear analysis of the extent to which it proves and/or disproves the contention in the question. The quality of this analysis places this response in level 4.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Plan your answer carefully. If working through a sequence of events as this response does, ensure you have time to consider everything. Think of alternative ways of planning your answer that enables you to cover all of the ground that you wish to cover.

## Question 4

Candidates were fairly evenly split between those who tackled this question and those who tackled question 3 in this section of the paper. Most candidates were able to argue for the role of the LNA in the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Many responses considered the role of Stansfield as an alternative explanation as well as the extent to which Butler weakened the movement. Thus, most were able to offer some balance in their responses, even if the range was not always extensive. The best answers often linked these three elements in an inter-connected way to provide a developed analysis in response to the question. Weaker candidates sometimes treated Butler as being entirely separate from the LNA. There were candidates who offered contextual narrative in response to the question. There was also some confusion between politicians and in some cases around the relationship between politicians and the LNA.

It is clear that the LNA, ~~was~~ whilst ~~was~~ giving some input in the regard, most notably through the development of support for the repeal movement, in terms of raising awareness and actively ~~gaining~~ ~~making~~ real political change, the LNA cannot be considered ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~considered~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~considered~~, due to the work of people such as James Stansfeld and other key players such as Henry Wilson, who can be more seen as 'crucial' to regard as they actually drove the reforms through, <sup>parliament</sup> ~~parliament~~.

It is clear that ~~the~~ when considering the development of support for the repeal movement, the LNA can be considered as 'crucial', as whilst there were some other groups operating at the grassroots level, none had the input of the LNA on building the support for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDAs). Indeed, the LNA had a ~~quite~~ huge presence across the UK with regional groups conducting meetings and raising support, these showing how they were 'crucial' in gaining support for CDA repeal. ~~Furthermore~~ Furthermore, the notable aspect of the work of individuals within the LNA, such as that of its leader Josephine Butler, can be seen to ~~exemplify~~ <sup>exemplify</sup> the ~~exemplify~~ the 'crucial' nature of the ~~LNA~~ LNA in pushing the repeal

~~most~~ movement forward, as in just her first year of leadership, ~~Butter~~ ~~go~~ ~~19~~ ~~being~~ ~~app~~ ~~away~~ ~~the~~ ~~role~~ ~~from~~ Elizabeth Blackwell's initiative in 1869, ~~Butter~~ ~~Butter~~ traveled 3700 ~~into~~ miles across Britain and gave 99 speeches, making abundantly clear her impact in the regard of the CDA, and therefore the 'crucial' nature of the LNA as it ~~was~~ gave Butter the platform to spread <sup>nationally</sup> ~~the~~ the message of CDA regard. ~~What~~ ~~Whilst~~ there were some other ~~groups~~ ~~of~~ ~~people~~ ~~engaged~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~regard~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~CDA~~, such as the Henry Wilson's North Central League and the National Association for the regard of the CDA, none had the reach and influence or supporters like Butter did, therefore making making clear that in terms of building support, the LNA can be said to be 'crucial' in the regard of the CDA.

When considering the actual regard of the CDA in parliament, it would be ~~too~~ wrong to suggest that the LNA played a 'crucial' role, with instead the credit falling on shoulders such as James Stansfeld due to his ability to have the ~~the~~ CDA regarded by 1886, with the LNA only only seen to play a minor role in this regard. The LNA did have some political influence on the final regard of the CDA, as they were involved in disrupting the election of pro-CDA candidates, therefore ~~this~~ <sup>shows</sup> this impact in ~~regard~~ <sup>regard</sup>. Indeed, the disrupt of election such as ~~those~~ ~~that~~ of Colclough

in the early 1870s can be seen as a fine example of this, with a ~~repeal~~ <sup>candidate</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>being</sup> ~~acted~~ <sup>until</sup> with split the Liberal vote, ~~which~~ leading to a Conservative victory. However, whilst this can be seen as somewhat important, the word 'crucial' must be attributed to the work of James Stansfeld instead, as it was he who finally pushed repeal through <sup>parliament</sup> ~~parliament~~, along with other notable MPs such as Henry Wilson. Indeed, Stansfeld's huge influence due to Gladstone during his cabinet days support his Home Rule bill allowed Stansfeld to demand the repeal of the CDAs, with the ~~successful~~ <sup>on the</sup> ~~vote~~ <sup>of 117</sup> siding of completely opposite in 1883 being won by the repealer 182-110, overall demonstrating the ~~crucial~~ <sup>crucial</sup> ~~importance~~ <sup>importance</sup> of Stansfeld in repeal, with his actions absolutely 'crucial' in the ultimate success of the repeal movement, along with the work of others like Henry Wilson and the ~~introduction~~ <sup>introduction</sup> of private members bills. ~~Therefore, overall~~ <sup>overall</sup> step towards the ultimate repeal of the CDAs. Therefore, whilst the LNA did play an ~~important~~ <sup>important</sup> role, in terms of the actual repeal of the acts in parliament, their work cannot be said to be 'crucial', with that title instead falling upon James Stansfeld and other parliamentarians.

When considering the rising of awareness around the failings of the CDAs, whilst the LNA can be seen once again to have a significant role, it ~~again~~ <sup>again</sup> ~~cannot~~ <sup>cannot</sup> be denied

as 'civil', as the work of Sturges as well as other groups one again takes <sup>primary</sup> ~~primary~~ in the 'civil' nature of this work tends to regard though their consistent spread of the message nationally. The LMA did play some role, however, with the 'Ladies Petition' published in ~~1840~~ 1870 ~~being~~ signed by 120 LMA members and seen by many across the country, even gaining the signature of Florence Nightingale, explaining this to the LMA's impact in raising awareness. However, this really does pale in comparison to the ~~work~~ work of Sturges one again, with anti's such as the ~~dissemination~~ <sup>emergence</sup> of the establishment of the National Medical Association in 1875 by Sturges already for more 'civil' in the raising of awareness around the failings of the COAs, with a ~~view~~ <sup>backing and support</sup> the ~~work~~ of doctors and scientists for <sup>reform</sup> ~~reform~~ taking a huge stride in the <sup>raising</sup> ~~raising~~ of ~~awareness~~ <sup>awareness</sup>, therefore demonstrating the 'civil' nature of Sturges work to regard, at the LMA.

In conclusion, it is patently clear that whilst the LMA carried out highly important work, ~~such as~~ <sup>as</sup> such with the mass raising of support across the country to the repeal of the COAs, that cannot be considered 'civil', as others such as James Sturges and Henry Wickham were the ones to push the reform movement 'on the line', with them being seen as <sup>for</sup> ~~more~~ more 'civil' at the LMA. ~~As such~~ <sup>as</sup> the LMA ~~later~~ <sup>later</sup> urged the ~~hand~~ <sup>hand</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~put~~ <sup>put</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~rest~~ <sup>rest</sup>.

for reform, but it was Sturgis's political acumen and rising of awareness that pushed them over the line, overall making clear that the LNA were a <sup>crucial</sup> ~~key~~ to the repeal of the CDAs largely due to the impact of the work of John James Sturgis.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a level 5 response. There is sustained question focus and analysis of the material throughout. In its analysis, this response weaves effectively between the different explanations for the success of the campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts and shows the relative importance of each.

## Question 5

This was more popular than question 6 in this section of the paper. The majority of candidates who answered this question were able to discuss the role of absentee landlords, with the strongest responses moving beyond merely looking at their impact on the famine in general terms, but focusing very clearly on their contribution to the scale of the famine. Most candidates were able to point to the role of the British government in their counter arguments. Many were also able to look at the role of monoculture and produce reasoned judgements based on a range of factors. Weaker responses often simply described the causes and course of the famine without clearly engaging with the focus of the question and without discussing the role of the absentee landlords. There was some evidence of inaccurate statistics being cited in a number of answers.

The 'an gorta mor' of the 1840s witnessed the catastrophic death of 1 million and the emigration of 1.5 million, and the British response was primarily responsible for the scale of the Famine, not absentee landlords. Although the corrupt system of absentee landlordism provided the long-term precedent of subdivision which made the Famine so catastrophic, the lack of successful British support determined the scale of the Famine, as illustrated through John Russell and Charles Trevelyan, hence why the ineffective British response was primarily responsible for the scale of the Famine.

However, despite the fact that the blight of 'phytophthora infestans' affected Europe<sup>s</sup>, it particularly affected Ireland in such a catastrophic way due to the long-term corruption

of absentee landlordism. Through inheriting their land in Ireland through the plantations of the Stuart and Tudor periods, unwilling to invest in the land, the absentee landlords subdivided their land between middlemen, ~~cottiers~~ tenants and cottiers. Thus, the cottier class of 300,000 were left with fragmented strips of land primarily utilized for subsistence. This lack of adequate soil due to the absentee landlords ~~etc~~ made cottiers farm monoculturally, in which the 'lumper potato' was popular due to its high yield and its vitamins for cottiers. § The cottiers' overreliance upon this potato is illustrated through how they each grew 6-8 tonnes each year. However, this overreliance upon one crop, precipitated through absentee landlordism and subdivision, proved fatal, with the cottier class declining ~~§~~ from 300,000 in 1841 to 64,000 in 1851, and this effective extinction of the cottier class was primarily due

to subdivision. This was illustrated in Caran, a county with several small subdivided plots, having a ~~per~~ mortality rate of 46.7%, illustrating the catastrophic effects. However, absentee landlords only provided the long-term precedent of the scale of the Irish famine, which was compounded by lack of British support, illustrating that it was only secondarily responsible for the scale of the Irish Famine.

The scale of the Irish famine was primarily precipitated by the inefficiency and the inadequacy of the British response to 'an gorta mor'. Although Peel, PM at the time the blight was first discovered in Waterford in 1845, was timely in his response, ~~as seen~~, it was largely ineffective. This is illustrated through the Relief Programme of 1845, where the government spent £100,000 on ~~the~~ Indian maize and corn. However, this was inefficient, as not only did the Irish not know how to prepare this food, exacerbating their

deteriorating health, but it also did not compensate for the loss of £3.5 million potatoes. Although historians argue that Peel's swift and bold action did illustrate a strong moral conviction to alleviate the ~~the~~ scale of the famine, as seen through the Scientific Commission of Dr Lyon Playfair in 1845, it nevertheless failed and allowed for the scale of the Famine to worsen.

This was further compounded by the abrasive attitude of Russell's Whig government, whose ineffectuality of policies to resolve the scale of the famine was punctuated by their adherence to Adam Smith's policies of economic liberalism and laissez faire. Although the Temporary Relief Committee did provide relief, ~~this~~, through the implementation of soup kitchens, this only added to the nascent work of the Society of Friends and perhaps was only implemented as a cheaper option to the Public Works Programme (which reached £30,000 a day). Not only did the British government fail to

prevent deaths, with 250,000 dying of starvation or "famine fever" in the early months of the Black '47 alone, Russell exacerbated the scale of the Famine through the implementation of the Irish Poor Law Extension Act in 1847. In adherence to their policies of ~~Protestant~~ providentialism, this act transferred the financial burden of the poor rate from the British government to the Irish Poor Law Commission. With the Poor Rate reaching £1.7 million and 10% of landowners bankrupt, landowners abused the Gregory Clause of this Act (which stated that anyone with property of over  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre was not entitled to poor relief) by evicting tenants off their land. This added a new dimension to the scale of suffering exemplified in the Famine, and was a large contributor as to why 500,000 tenancies ended during the Famine and 1.5 million emigrated. To worsen this scale of hardship, on the "Cotton Ships" to America, ~~only~~ 20% survived the journey due to ~~die~~ died.

fever. Thus, by not responding effectively to the starvation of the nation and adding a new dimension to the suffering of Ireland, it is evident that the inadequate British response was primarily responsible for the scale of the famine.

Although some historians question the veracity of the Irish nationalist perspective of the primary reason for this 'artificial famine', as illustrated in John Mitchell's "The Last Conquest of Ireland", Irish nationalists are accurate in their perspective that the ~~primary~~ Malthusian doctrine of Charles Trevelyan was responsible for the scale of the famine. Although some view his role in isolation, he simply contributed to the inefficacy of British response to the famine. Charles Trevelyan, member of Russell's Whig government, has been ~~ref~~ resented as a cruel responsible factor for the scale of the famine due to his callous attitude characterised by his belief in the ideas of Malthus, that the

famine was a natural disaster to reduce the population. This callousness greatly impacted the inadequacy of British response to the Famine, as illustrated through his amendment to Peel's Public Works Programme of 1845, where he reduced the wage and demanded that workers could only be paid by the amount of work they did rather than by day. This accentuates the extent to which British response exacerbated the scale of the famine, given this successful response by Peel was plagued by the ignorance of Trevelyan of the Irish weakness and starvation. Crucial to the lack of effective British response to the famine was the continual exportation of food from the country. Even during the Black '47, 4000 cargoes of foodstuff left the country along with 3 million live stock being exported from Ireland between 1846-1850. This illustrates how the cruel realities of economic liberalism and self-sufficiency impacted the potential of any successful British response. Thus, although Trevelyan's

convictions alone contributed to the scale of the Famine, they were merely a contributor to the overall ineffective British response that was primarily responsible for the scale of the Famine.

In conclusion, the <sup>3</sup> scale of the "Great Hunger" was primarily precipitated by the inadequate response from the British government. The role of ~~the~~ absentee landlords did however cause ~~of~~ the precarious climate in Ireland that was the long-term precedent to the scale of the famine. However, the ~~the~~ British response to the Famine was inefficient ~~the~~ and thus determined and exacerbated the catastrophic scale of the Famine, and thus they were primarily responsible for the scale of suffering witnessed in the "An Gorta Mór"



This is a strong level 5 response. It maintains an analytical focus throughout and supports that focus with precise and specific knowledge of the famine.

## Question 6

This was the less popular of the two questions in this section of the paper. Many candidates had a secure knowledge of the conditions that faced unskilled urban workers, but used this knowledge to describe the conditions, rather than to engage directly with the focus of the question, which was the extent of change in those conditions in the years 1907-14. There were also some strong responses seen to this question where candidates were able to explain the extent to which unskilled urban workers did not experience significant improvement in their working and living conditions. Such responses often used accurate statistics, such as mortality rates and figures showing families in single room occupancy, to develop their analysis. Such answers often used the role of Larkin to help demonstrate the part played by trade unions in attempting to force improvement.

There is a debate whether unskilled urban workers (mostly in Dublin and Belfast) experienced no significant improvement in their living and working conditions, with significant improvements being characterised as changes for the better that were widespread and long lasting. Unskilled urban workers didn't see an improvement in their conditions, as living conditions remained the same, while working conditions got worse, with less employment. Although there were some improvements, including better working wages for some workers, they weren't widespread, and thus unskilled urban workers do not see significant improvement in their living and working conditions to a ~~substantial~~ <sup>large</sup> extent.

Unskilled urban workers didn't see a significant improvement to their working conditions to a large extent. In 1907, unskilled workers worked long hours, (about 75 hours a week), with little job security. The average worker was also paid 10s despite 22s needed each week to afford the bare minimum. By 1914, the long hours and poor wages hadn't improved, with wages then getting worse for some. For example, after the 1914 Dublin Strike, Jacob B. Swift cut the wage by 2-6s as it knew that people were desperate to get to work, so were able to offer poor

working conditions while see the lowering of wages in 1907-1914, which was widespread, maintaining them at well low levels was, thus showing that there was no significant improvement. Unemployment among the unskilled also continued, with 20% of Belfast workers being unemployed in 1907, while after the 1914 strike, many companies refused to re-employ people (e.g. Jacob's Broom re-employed 100/672 workers), with many workers also being blacklisted by employers for being part of ITGWU, which had a long term impact. Therefore, working conditions for urban unskilled workers saw no significant improvement as conditions became worse, with low wages and unemployment becoming more widespread, especially after the 1914 Dublin strike.

Living conditions also saw no significant improvement in the years 1907-1914 to a large extent. Towns like Belfast and Dublin continued to be over-crowded as people sought work, with a 1914 census showing that Dublin had 25,000 families living in c. 5000 dwellings, and 20,000 of these families shared one room. This overcrowding then led to disease, with tuberculosis being the most common cause of death and Dublin's mortality rate being 22/1000 (compared to London's 15/1000). This shows that there was no significant improvement in living and working conditions in 1907-1914, with the majority of the urban unskilled workers

Still living in overcrowded areas as the poor working conditions (i.e. low incomes) which continued meaning they couldn't afford better conditions. Although, unlike working conditions, living conditions didn't become worse, they continued to be poor at poor standard, with no widespread and long term improvements being made to either healthcare or housing. Therefore living conditions saw no significant improvement in the years 1907-1914 to a large extent, as no widespread effort was made to improve the quality of housing.

However it could be argued that unskilled urban workers experienced some improvement in living and working conditions. By 1914, municipalisation had become more comprehensive, with there being no unions by before 1907 (in places like Dublin) but they with unions becoming more established by 1914, first with the National Union of Dock Labourers and then with the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. ITGWU was perhaps the most significant move as it was available for all workers (so widespread) with union activity to improve work conditions in the long term. Some groups also gained better working conditions, with the 1907 strike seeing the end of the black shilling system for brewers (which gave them more job security), while the carters got their own union following the 1907 strike. However, these improvements in working conditions were not widespread, with dockers gaining no benefits from the 1907

strikes. Meanwhile, although unions did protect workers' rights, ITGWU had lost its credibility after the 1914 Dublin strike and was replaced by the Irish Labor Party in protecting workers' rights. Therefore, while there was some improvement to workers' working and living conditions, there was no significant improvement, as any positive changes that occurred were not widespread or long-term.

Overall, urban unskilled workers saw no significant improvement in their living and working conditions to a large extent in 1907-1914. Living conditions did not improve and continued to be characterized by high death rates. Meanwhile, there was a worsening, rather than an improvement in working conditions, as unemployment rose, and wages were cut following the 1913 Dublin strike. While there were some <sup>improvements</sup> changes ~~in~~ being attempted to better working and living conditions, they were not significant, as any improvements made to pay and job security were not widespread.



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Examiner Comments

This response has ranged widely across the issues that are relevant to answering this question, demonstrating an awareness that it is relevant to consider both Dublin and Belfast. It has done sufficient to be in level 5.

## Question 7

This was more popular than question 8 in this section of the paper. The vast majority of candidates demonstrated a sound knowledge of the different reforms and therefore were able to construct an argument in response to this question. Most candidates were able to develop material on the 1918 Act, with the best responses offering real depth of knowledge to demonstrate how the act altered the franchise and might be considered as the key turning point. Many answers also discussed the 1832, 1867, 1884 and 1928 Acts. The best answers went beyond the Representation of the People Acts and considered the role of other legislation, such as the 1872 Secret Ballot. The very best responses consistently weighed other Acts and legislation against the 1918 Act. A number of responses, having considered the 1918 Act, then approached the remaining legislation chronologically; this did mean that some candidates did not finish as they ran out of time for all the legislation. A number of candidates struggled to get the full range across the time period. Answers often began in 1832, with relatively few candidates able to contrast changes in 1832 with the state of democracy in 1780 – those that managed this tended to do well. There were answers that offered limited range or one act in counter argument, but these were seldom seen.

I completely disagree with the statement, because although this act was incredibly significant in the context of parliamentary democracy during this period, it was made possible only by the influence of the three other ~~great~~ reform acts before it and other pieces of legislation like the ballot act of 1872. Whilst the 1918 representation of the people act was significant in tripling the electorate and achieving universal male suffrage, the true 'great reform act' of 1832 was far more significant in breaking the dominance of political reform. For an act to be considered a key turning point it must not only have introduced change significant to its time, but also have had lasting implications for the future of reform. For a turning point to be key it must also be unrelated to other factors before it which the 1918 act is and the 1832 act is not.

In terms of the significance of the 1918 act, it holds a lot of significance for many reasons. Firstly, it marked the biggest single increase to the electorate in British history up to that point. The electorate tripled, increasing from 7,000,000 to 21,000,000 with 8 million

Women also now being a part of the electorate as well.  
In terms of actually making the most progress numerically  
towards democratic participation democracy, the 1918 act  
is by far the biggest candidate with the 1832  
act only increasing the electorate by a few hundred thousand,  
although nearly doubling the electorate relative to the size of  
the blue, and with the 1867 ROPA doubling the  
electorate again, still less than the tripling of enfranchised  
voters in 1918. ~~This was a point that could not be  
achieved until~~ It can not be ignored that this was  
a key moment towards democracy. However, ~~it is not a~~  
although key, it is not a turning point because the  
~~1832 reform act increased the electorate~~ electorate had  
been being moved before 1918. This ~~is not~~ suggests  
that the real turning point in terms of ~~participation~~  
increasing the electorate was the 1832 act as far  
400 years before that there had been no change to  
the makeup of the electorate with the 40 shilling ~~property~~  
qualification ~~being the only requirement~~ in the colonies being  
the only requirement aside from specific borough qualifications.  
It was only after this act that increases in the electorate  
were not only made, but even considered.

The 1918 reform act may also be considered a  
key turning point in ~~democratisation~~ a far reaching  
parliamentary democracy because it ~~was~~ involved

The first major increase in the rights of women in terms of electoral election. Women who were over 30, householders, or wives of householders or, university graduates or had certain property or £5 per annum were enfranchised as well as the opportunity given for women to run for election, allowing Annie Asher to be elected in 1914 as the first female MP. ~~This was~~ This is definitely a key turning point as this had not happened previously, even though it was proposed as early as 1867 by John Stuart Mill. However, this ~~was not~~ ~~an~~ ~~act~~ ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~act~~, although significant, still left millions of women unable to vote as not only could women under 30 still not vote, but because of the extra qualifications only 20% of women over 30 could. This was rectified in 1928 by Stanley Baldwin's conservatives who extended the vote to all women over 21 equal in terms with men, suggesting that the 1928 representation of the people act was the key turning point for parliamentary democracy in terms of representation for women.

Another argument that devalues the claim that the 1918 Reform act was the key turning point for development of parliamentary democracy in Britain is the fact that the 1928 act relied on the passage of prior acts like the 1886 reform act to be implemented in the first place. The 1918 ROPA was the first act to introduce universal

adult male suffrage. It ensured that all men, across classes could vote including the 'residuum'. However, if it were only the middle or upper aristocratic classes that had influence over parliament as was the case in past reform acts, then the 1918 reform act would not have passed, or even been proposed. It was only the ~~state~~<sup>changes</sup> of the ~~1842~~ 1867 act which made the working class the majority in the enfranchised population, albeit the so-called 'aristocracy of the working classes', as well as the 1884 reform act ~~that extended the class enfranchisement further towards the lower working classes that allowed for~~ the political climate to be ripe such that the idea of universal suffrage could even be entertained. As well as enfranchising the lower working classes, the 1884 act was also directly responsible for the 1885 redistribution act which was arranged in the Adelphi Street compact in Lord Salisbury's London apartment. With the 1884 reform acts own electoral process as well as the added sphere of its responsibility to the redistribution act it could be argued that the 1884 reform act was the key turning point towards ~~the~~ parliamentary democracy ahead. ~~The~~ The redistribution act ~~ensured that not~~ only ensured that the distribution of seats was representative of the population, not economic 'interests' as it had been, but also it reduced the power of the under-represented aristocratic influence as ~~there~~ ~~of~~ all but 28 constituencies were only ~~single members~~ ~~in~~ allotted a single seat.

Meaning that political parties were forced to do appoint men or  
with political interests representing the people with no more room for  
the aristocrats to be elected by the second seats. This was  
all made possible as a result of the 1884 reform act  
and which it is possibly required the redistribution act on  
a trade-off.

In conclusion, whilst it was not certainly a significant  
point in the path to parliamentary democracy, especially  
in terms of the representation of women and the breadth  
of the electorate, it cannot be considered the 'key' turning  
point. This is because it relied on the progress made  
by other acts like those of 1832, 1867 and 1884  
which produced the right political climate and also it  
relied on the 1928 HORA to complete the enfranchisement  
of women. It is more accurate to argue either  
that the 1832 HORA was the key turning point  
as it was the point of no return with no intention to  
pull back, or the 1884 act was the turning  
point due to the As Curia effects of enfranchising the  
lower working class and removing some power from the  
aristocracy.



This is a level 5 response. The candidate weighs the importance of the 1918 Representation of the People Act against other pieces of legislation beginning with the 1832 Act in order to reach a clear judgement that is sustained throughout. When considering the changes that the 1832 Representation of the People Act brought, the answer does make a passing reference to the political system before that date, although this is not well developed.



To reach the highest levels there must be chronological coverage across the period established by the question and you should attempt to develop this fully.

## Question 8

This was the less popular of the two questions in this section of the paper. A number of very good responses to this question were seen. The best answers considered the role of the Labour party in the context of the period, with awareness of their growing influence after the First World War. Stronger answers were then able to contrast this with, inter alia, the increasing distinction between Whig and Tory party identities at the turn of the nineteenth century and the development of party organisation in both the Liberal and the Conservative parties beginning in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most candidates also understood that pre-1832, party organisation was loose. There were a minority of responses to this question that simply gave some general information on the growth of the Labour Party and were limited to 2/3 paragraphs. A number of responses talked about other matters that affected politics, but not necessarily parties in the period, including consideration of the role of the WSPU.

Between 1780 to 1928, political parties changed to a large extent, in terms of the domination of parties in the House of Commons and party organisation. Changes to political parties occurred across the acts of 1832, 1883 and 1918. The extent to which the growth of the Labour Party was the most significant change to political parties depends on the impact this had on party organisation and party domination. Given that, in 1780, parties were very unorganised, with many parties able to essentially buy pocket boroughs and thus seats, the extent of change to parties across this period must be assessed in this criteria. Overall, I disagree to a large extent that the growth of the Labour Party was the most significant change.

The Labour Party were first established in the 1890s by Keir Hardie, for this was following divisions within the Liberal Party, whereby some working class members of the Party felt disillusioned with the Liberal Party so sought to form the Labour Party, which aimed to vote independently to liberals in trade union issues. The party was slow

to grow at first, however, following the enfranchisement of many working class men in 1918, Labour's share of the vote increased from 7% to 22%. This changed both the organisation and denomination of political parties. First of all, the growth of a new political party acknowledged to the Conservatives the need to reorganise their own party, as Labour proved very successful in improving growth in their share of the vote from 1918 to 1922. Such significance was their growth that the Liberals were outmanoeuvred by 1928 by the Labour Party, meaning that by 1928 the 2 dominating political parties were Conservatives and Labour. Thus, the growth of the Labour Party was significant in changing the party denomination of the House of Commons. However, the extent that it was the most significant is limited, because prior to the growth of the Labour Party there were already dramatic changes to political parties such as in organisation, for instance in 1883, and the Labour Party itself did not dramatically/significantly change the dominance of political parties until 1918, despite being formed over 25 years prior. Therefore, the growth of the Labour Party was not the most significant change to political parties.

The Act of 1832, however, was very significant in changing political parties. Even that the 1832

Reform Act saw an increase in the electorate by 60%, political parties were now forced to reorganise their party, which arguably was the first dramatic change to political parties in terms of organisation, so adds to the Act's significance. For example, the Conservative Party, having been defeated by the Whigs, were alarmed by the emergence of public opinion, so sought to create their Tamworth Manifesto, promoting issues such as protecting the Church in order to gain voters. Similarly, the Whig Reform League and was set up, so that members across the country could gain support for the party. Thus, given that the 1832 Act, for the first time in many years saw changes to the franchise, meant that political parties were drastically forced into better organisation, which saw a profound impact on political parties. Furthermore, this was followed by the 1858 property qualification for MPs, meaning political parties now had increasingly more industrial MPs in their party. Finally the 1832 Act also led to the emergence of the Liberal Party, the party combining the Whigs and some former conservative supporters, thus changing the makeup of parties in the House of Commons. Therefore, the 1832 Act was more significant on its impact on political parties than the growth of the Labour Party, because the Act resulted in a change to party organisation greater than

The growth of the Labor Party exacerbated on political parties, as well as the change to those that dominated the House of Commons.

Similarly, the restrictions placed on political parties in 1883 in terms of spending on elections was ~~the most~~ <sup>an</sup> significant change to ~~the growth~~ of the ~~labor~~ political parties. In 1883, following the most expensive election to date in 1880, corruption was finally eliminated; political parties were restricted to one paid election agent and only able to spend £710 per 2000 voters (in the counties), and fines / persecution followed failures to meet these laws. Even that, in 1780, parties were able to buy pocket boroughs and therefore buy votes, as well as bribe people to vote for their party, such limitations on the power exerted by political parties was highly significant in reducing the power and corruption of political parties, as they were now no longer able to bribe electors, as well as improve the organization of political parties, who were now relying on volunteers and newspapers to obtain votes. Therefore, given that the removal of bribes in 1883 had a dramatic effect on the power and organization that political parties undertook; this was very significant. However, the

less significant than the 1832 reform act, which saw the first increase in the electorate for many years, as for the first time political parties were forced to establish manifestos or clubs which saw a dramatic change to the organisation of political parties. Thus, although the renewal of corruption in 1883 meant that saw greater improvements to party organisation, this was already seen before under the 1832 reform act, and unlike the impact of the Growth of the Labour Party, renewing corruption in 1883 didn't result in changes to the denomination or makeup of political parties. Therefore, <sup>eliminating corruption</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>was not</sup> the most significant change between 1780-1928.

To conclude, the extent to which the growth of the Labour Party was the most significant change to political parties is limited. Although the growth of the Labour Party changed the organisation and denomination of political parties, such changes had already occurred prior to this, such as the effects of the 1832 reform act on organisation, which established political clubs and manifestos of the Parties in an attempt of reorganisation, as well as splits to the political parties by the formation of <sup>the</sup> Liberal Party. Thus, although the growth of the Labour Party significantly changed the organisation/denomination of parties, the 1832 Act was more

significant as it also saw changes to the ideas of parties, organisation (for the first time in years) as well as social makeup. Similarly, although 1883's renewal of emphasis also enforced greater organisation of political parties, such changes to political parties would not have occurred without the expansion of the electorate in 1832, so it is therefore the less significant.



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Examiner Comments

Although there are some errors in this answer, e.g. regarding the emergence of the Liberal party, and although it is more secure in the chronological coverage from 1832, nonetheless this was awarded a level 5 mark. Despite the errors, the answer contains much that is accurate and is securely focused on the question. There was much from which to select for this question and the candidate has more than sufficient to meet the demands of level 5. There is some reference to the earlier period and again, this is sufficient for the demands of level 5.

## Question 9

This was the more popular question in this section of the paper. The majority of candidates who attempted this question were able to discuss a range of the various armed uprisings by Irish nationalists and the threat that these posed to British rule in the years 1798 – 1916. Candidates attempting this question generally ranged quite effectively across the chronology, with most discussing the events of 1798, Young Ireland, the Fenian Rising and the 1916 Easter Rising. Many candidates took a chronological approach, with varying degrees of analysis included. Where candidates ensured that they linked this discussion to the precise terms of the question, it could be an effective way of responding to the question. Weaker candidates, however, were more likely to simply describe each uprising in turn and quite possibly to run out of time before reaching the end of the period. There were a number of responses that did not really develop the question premise, asserting only that uprisings by Irish nationalists did not prove to be a threat.

In the years ~~1678~~ 1798-1916 armed uprisings by Irish nationalists can be seen as a threat to Britain. There were many armed uprisings during this period, however the main three being the 1798 uprising, the 1867 Fenian uprising and lastly the 1916 Easter uprising. The degree of a genuine threat can be displayed by the support of the uprising, British response and if the key aims of uprisings were achieved.

Firstly, armed uprisings by Irish nationalists can be seen as a genuine threat to British rule due to the extent of their support. This can be shown by the 1798 uprising, containing 15,000 men willing to fight, as well as 200,000 united Irishmen supporters in total. This vast amount of support in an armed uprising can be seen as a serious threat, due to having the ability to create mass destruction and challenge British military. Also, the 1798 uprising was supported by the French, showing the use of international threat to Britain and clearly displaying Ireland as a backdoor threat to Britain.

However, the significance of support can be reduced as shown by the 1867 Fenian uprising having 50,000 men yet only 6,000 guns. This shows a vast amount of support, but it ~~could~~ due to the lack of arms it would not provide a serious threat to Britain. Although, the 1867 Fenian uprising also gained support from American sympathisers. This further displays Ireland's threat due to ~~being~~ in a country to having international support, which can create a serious challenge to British rule. Furthermore, the

1916, Easter Rising also gets German support. Therefore, displayed how many countries are supporting Ireland as it increases its visibility, creating an increasingly growing threat for Britain. However, for the 1798 uprising and 1916 uprising both international support was ineffective, shown by French support being delayed and German support being intercepted. Therefore armed uprisings from 1798-1916 all <sup>provided</sup> a response from Britain due to the vast support. However, the support was often disorganised, poorly coordinated or not present during the actual uprising, therefore limiting the factor that armed uprisings were a genuine threat to Britain.

Also, in the years 1798-1916, the British response can demonstrate the severity of the threat the armed uprisings created for Britain. This is the British response to the 1798, displayed how the Irish were perceived as a threat due to having to mobilise 20,000 troops. However, the 20,000 British troops were a decisive victory, displaying Irish armed uprisings as only a temporary and limited threat. ~~Also~~ On the <sup>other</sup> ~~other~~ hand, the 1798 uprising led to the 1801 act of union displaying how a British protection measure was forced, binding the two countries together. This may show the armed uprisings caused a real genuine threat than originally perceived. Also, similar to the 1798 uprising, the 1867 uprising was easily crushed, showing a minimal threat. However, in the long term it caused a growing threat as it reminded romanticised nationalists as well as creating Scotts, due to 5 people being executed, causing more Irish visibility in the future. Also, the 1916 Easter uprising can be seen as a very genuine threat. This is as they were

able to take control over Dublin, denying a British response at a time when British were already unprepared due to fighting in World War one.

Furthermore, the threat can be shown by 132 British soldiers being killed and only 62 rebels. Therefore, surely the 1916 uprising provided a genuine threat. Furthermore, due to 90 executions and 3000 men and women being arrested, it also created further tension. This can be seen as a serious threat as it eventually led to the Anglo-Irish treaty in 1921, giving Ireland dominion status. Therefore, all armed uprisings provided a British response,

so there was always a perceived threat, however only the 1916 uprising can be perceived as a genuine threat as it was not created so easily compared to leading to total capitulation in future years.

Lastly, in the years 1798-1916, the extent of the threat of the armed uprisings can be clearly displayed by the uprisings which it's key aims. The 1798 uprising wanted to achieve independence from Britain, however it led to the 1801 act of union and Ireland became even closer to Britain. Therefore, the 1798 uprising cannot be seen as a threat as it didn't force any serious concessions by the British and so didn't effectively challenge Britain. This was similar to the 1867 uprising. However, unlike the 1798 and 1867 uprising

both failed, however acted as a progressive step to achieve the means of independence in the future. This shows continuous agitation acts as a genuine threat as it causes disruption within Britain. Also, this is clearly shown by the 1916 Easter rising where only 6 years later, in 1922 they achieved the Irish free state constitution. Therefore, showing success in the long term over all these uprisings. Also, the 1916 uprising was

not able to achieve its key aims, however it was able to achieve its objective of tobacco control over Dublin. Therefore, this shows the key aims of all uprisings were never fully achieved between 1798-1918, however they all acted as a progressive step and so on against genuine threat to Britain.

In conclusion, it is only accurate to a very small extent that armed uprisings by nationalists were ~~key to acting as~~ a genuine threat to Britain. This is as in the long term, they were able to act as a steady threat to colonial Britain. However in the short term the nationalists were very unsuccessful as individuals acted uprisings as an easy option. However, as a collective they can be seen as a genuine threat due to ~~eventually~~ <sup>achieving their</sup> ~~achieving their~~ <sup>aims</sup> of independence in the South and Ireland in the North for 1918. On the other hand, all nationalist uprisings never ~~achieved~~ <sup>challenged</sup> Britain and never had coordinated support, showing they can be seen as a less genuine threat for the most part. Overall, this shows it is only accurate to a small extent, that in the years 1798-1918, armed uprisings by Irish nationalists were a genuine threat to British rule.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response has a sustained analytical focus on the question throughout. It does not approach the question chronologically but draws on a range of examples from across the chronology to illustrate and support the analysis. This is a strong level 5 response.

## Question 10

This was the less popular question in this section of the paper. The candidates who answered this question discussed the contributions of a range of British politicians to the development of government policy in Ireland. The best responses developed significant material on Lloyd George, before considering other figures and their contributions relative to that of Lloyd George. Many effective responses additionally considered the contributions of Pitt the Younger, Peel, Gladstone and Asquith, coming to a reasoned conclusion as to which of these politicians had the biggest impact on policy in Ireland. Some candidates took a chronological approach to this question, which was more narrative, even if responses built towards reasoned judgement. There were those answers that rejected the question premise and did not develop material on Lloyd George or had a limited understanding of his contribution. More frequently, coverage across the period was patchy, with one or more of Asquith, Gladstone or Peel missing from the response.

From the years 1801-1923, various British politicians contributed somewhat to the development of government policy in Ireland. Lloyd George may be seen as having the most significant contribution due to his largely successful legislation passed. This element of successful legislation passed will be one of my criteria, along with universality and public reaction. Other politicians such as William Pitt and Gladstone however, may be seen as more significant in contributing to the development of Irish policy as they perhaps represented the changing views of British who were initially opposed to home rule, consequently inspiring and altering the development of government policy themselves.

William Pitt<sup>1</sup> may be seen to have a large contribution as he was eager to reconcile with the Irish nationalists out of fear of sparking revolution and losing another one of its colonies, as it just had done following the American Revolution. The 1801 Act of Union was supposed to act as a ~~turning~~ turning point in Irish

- British conflict by uniting the nations together, however it received immense public backlash due to the unprecedented control Britain still had over Ireland. In this sense this was not successful legislation and was a backwards development of government policy as it ~~is~~ was not significant or important. However, it may be deemed as a large contributing factor in the sense it inspired the likes of O'Connell's repeal association, which drove for increased rights. As a result although the 1801 Act of Union was not ~~as~~ a successful policy, it can place William Pitt as having a large contribution as it was this initial sign of reconciliation and placed the issue of the Irish question on the political agenda.

Lloyd George may also ~~have~~ be seen to have a large contribution, as it was under his parliament successful reforms significantly developed government policy in Ireland. This can be seen with the 1920 Government of Ireland Act which formally separated the north and south of Ireland into two governing states; with the north being split into 6 counties with its own parliament, and the south being split into 26 with its own

parliament. This was hugely successful and for the most part achieved supportive public reaction from both nationalists and unionists, as well as its universal application to all in Ireland. In this sense offering Ireland significant ~~the~~ independent powers implies Lloyd George indeed did have a large contributing factor towards government policy in Ireland. However, especially in the South, there were still many problems and the Irish ever demanded more as seen with the outbreak of Anglo-Irish war and eventual Irish civil war. This suggests the legislation was not as successful and consequently connotes that as a result of this, ~~the~~ Lloyd George's contributing factor can be notably challenged. Alternatively, this can again be challenged with the 1922 Anglo-Irish treaty that suggests Lloyd ~~the~~ George was ~~even~~ eager to conform to nationalist demands, which suggests he ~~once~~ again had a large contributing factor to government policy in Ireland, however, I believe it was still the acts of Pitt, Gladstone and even Asquith that pushed Irish government policies onto the political agenda forcing Lloyd George to act accordingly.

Gladstone may be seen as having the most ~~contributory~~ contribution to the development of Irish government

policies as he ~~was~~ arguably had the most positive attitude, seeing as he believed it morally right to help the Irish, as opposed to views of politicians like Pitt who wanted to appease the Irish to prevent revolution. In terms of actual policies however, he introduced the concept of home rule, with the first Home Rule Bill being developed in 1886. This was significant as it granted way more rights to the Irish, universally benefiting them all. However, it was outvoted in the House of Lords 411 to 43. This reflects the evident negative British reaction to home rule, and indeed ~~it~~ implies Gladstone had a little contribution to the development of successful Irish policy. However, this can be challenged by the advent of pursuing a second home rule bill, and passing several other successful legislations such as the Universities Bill, the Church Act, ~~and the Land Act~~. These ~~were~~ all could be classified as ~~it~~ a huge turning point in rights for the Irish universally after many and providing increased public reaction and support from the Irish, consequently Gladstone attempted and performed the issue of solving the Irish Question with radical reforms and government policies contributing very largely into

achieving better rights for the Irish.

In Summary, it may thus be argued that while Lloyd George ~~was a~~ <sup>sig</sup> posed a significant contribution to the development of government policy in Ireland, his contribution came off the back of previous British politicians like Pitt and Gladstone. ~~While Lloyd George~~ Pitt may be seen as key especially in the sense he may be viewed as the initial catalyst for placing the issue of the Irish question on the political agenda; <sup>however</sup> his contribution was limited due to the actual government policies of the Act of Union having such negative reactions. As a result Gladstone may be seen as having the most contribution to the development of ~~this~~ government policy in Ireland due to the actual amount and success of policies passed through. Even though the first and second home rule bills failed, they placed the idea in the minds of British parliament to eventually be carried out by the likes of Asquith and Lloyd George.



This answer is doing sufficient to be placed into level 4. It looks at 3 politicians – Lloyd George, who is named in the question, Pitt and Gladstone, summarising aspects of their contributions and making links to the question. There is a passing reference to Asquith but no development of this. The references demonstrate that the candidate is aware of his contribution, but has presumably run out of time.



Planning and time management are both crucial in enabling you to develop a clear line of argument that encompasses all the key elements of an answer.

## Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

### Section A

- Candidates should read the question carefully, so that they ensure that they are addressing all parts of the question
- Candidates should ensure that they deal with both enquiries; there will be material in the sources to support both enquiries
- Candidates should not simply paraphrase the content of the source; they should develop valid inferences supported by the arguments raised in the source
- Candidates should read the caption carefully, so they do not mistake its intent
- Candidates should make use of relevant contextual knowledge to support inferences and evaluation. It is not the quantity of contextual knowledge that is key, but the use to which it is put.

### Sections B and C

- Candidates should read the question carefully to ensure that they are answering the question that has been set
- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this often undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels
- Planning of essays will help candidates develop an analytical approach
- Candidates must be aware of key dates, as identified in the specification, so that they can address questions with chronological precision
- Candidates should aim to range across the breadth of the chronology in Section C questions.

## **Grade boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<https://qualifications.pearson.com/en/support/support-topics/results-certification/grade-boundaries.html>

