



Rewarding Learning

ADVANCED
General Certificate of Education
2009

History

Assessment Unit A2 3

assessing

Module 6

[A2H31]



TUESDAY 2 JUNE, MORNING

TIME

1 hour 30 minutes.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Write your Centre Number and Candidate Number on the Answer Booklet provided.
Choose **one** option.
Answer question **1** and question **2(a)** or **2(b)** from your **chosen option**.
Indicate clearly on your answer booklet which option you have chosen.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

The total mark for this paper is 60.
Quality of written communication will be assessed in **all** questions.

Option 1 ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND 1570–1603

Answer question 1 and question 2(a) or 2(b).

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source 1

Extract from a speech by Peter Wentworth, a Puritan Member of Parliament, to the House of Commons, 8 February 1576.

Mr Speaker, the use of liberty is an invaluable treasure. I conclude that in this House, which is termed a place of free speech, there is nothing so necessary for the preservation of the state as free speech. Without free speech, it is a scorn and mockery to call it a House of Parliament, for in truth it is nothing but a school of flattery and therefore a place fit to serve the devil and his angels rather than glorify God and benefit the commonwealth. It is certain, Mr Speaker, that none of us is without fault, not even our noble Queen, since her Majesty has committed great faults, including faults dangerous to herself.

Source 2

Extract from a speech by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the House of Commons, 12 March 1576. Mildmay is acting as a spokesperson for Elizabeth I and is responding on her behalf to Wentworth's speech.

Nothing can be achieved in this House if debate, liberty and freedom of speech are not allowed. However, it is important to differentiate between liberty of speech and disrespectful speech. Members of Parliament are granted liberty of speech but only on the condition that they express their opinions appropriately, modestly, reverently and respectfully. They do not have the right to speak inappropriately, rashly, irreverently or disrespectfully, without respect of person, time or place. Freedom of speech has always existed in this great House of Commons and it is essential to preserve it. However, it was never or should ever be a licence for members to say anything they like on any subject or about any person.

Source 3

Extract from A.G.R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State, 1529–1660*, published in 1997.

During Elizabeth's reign some MPs attempted to advance their privileges. In 1586, in the celebrated Norfolk election case, the Commons asserted a right to decide for themselves on disputed elections to the House but this claim was not recognised by the Crown. As far as the fundamental privilege of free speech was concerned, the Queen refused to make any concessions to those who wished to extend its limits. During Elizabeth's reign, the size of the Commons continued to grow and the quality of its membership continued to improve. Some historians have argued that this growth in the quality of the House and the self-confidence which went with it was one of the major reasons for the formidable front which MPs were able to present in opposition to the Crown during the Elizabethan period. However, Elizabeth summoned Parliament less often than her predecessors and three consecutive years often passed without a meeting.

- (a) **Consult Sources 1 and 2.** Explain and compare the attitude of Peter Wentworth and Elizabeth I to the right of Members of Parliament to speak freely in the House of Commons. [10]
- (b) **Consult all the Sources.** How far do they suggest that Members of Parliament were responsible for the disagreements between Crown and Parliament in this period? [10]
- (c) **Consult all the Sources.** Which of them would an historian value most as evidence in a study of the power enjoyed by Elizabeth I's parliaments? [14]

2 Either

- (a) How successful was Elizabeth I's foreign policy in this period? [26]

Or

- (b) To what extent did agriculture, industry and trade change in the period 1570–1603? [26]

Option 2 THE LATER STUARTS 1660–1688

Answer question 1 and question 2(a) or 2(b).

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source 1

Extract from King James II's address to the Privy Council on 6 February 1685, immediately after the death of Charles II.

I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in Church and State, as it is now established by law. I know that the Church of England supports the monarchy and the members of this Church have shown themselves to be good and loyal subjects. Therefore, I shall always take good care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws in England are sufficient to make the King as powerful a monarch as I can wish. Thus, in the same way as I can never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, I shall never invade any man's property. Up until now, I have often risked my life in defence of this nation and I shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties.

Source 2

Extract from the memoirs of Sir John Reresby, a staunch supporter of the Church of England. Reresby is commenting in March 1686 on the actions of James II.

The King gave every encouragement he could to increasing the influence of his own Catholic Church. He put papists into office both here and in Ireland. He caused or allowed popish books to be printed and sold. He published some popish papers which had belonged to the late King, Charles II. He also talked of dying as a papist and published the declaration of the conversion to Catholicism of his late wife, and the reasons for her decision. In addition to this, he sent Lord Castlemaine as an ambassador to the Pope, and many other such things.

Source 3

Extract from Maurice Ashley, *James II*, published in 1977. Ashley is commenting on James II's policy of religious toleration.

James's policy of toleration, which led to his first Declaration of Indulgence, was mainly attacked and defended not on religious grounds – after all, Christians were supposed to love their neighbours – but for political and constitutional reasons. The tradition was that papists were prepared to use any weapon, even of a criminal character, to win over England to the service of the Pope. Memories stretched back to previous plots engineered against monarchs, such as the recent Popish Plot. The constitutional objections to James's policy were concerned with the way in which liberty of conscience and equality of opportunity were being introduced in declarations based on prerogative powers.

- (a) **Consult Sources 1 and 2.** Explain and compare the views of James II and Sir John Reresby on the religious policy of the Crown. [10]
- (b) **Consult all the sources.** How far do they support the idea that James II was pursuing a policy of religious toleration solely in order to further his own aim of promoting the Catholic Church? [10]
- (c) **Consult all the sources.** Which of them would an historian value most as evidence in a study of the religious policy of James II? [14]

2 Either

- (a) To what extent did Charles II and James II attempt to create an absolutist monarchy in England in the period 1660–1688? [26]

Or

- (b) How far would you accept that England experienced a “Commercial Revolution” in the period 1660–1688? [26]

Option 3 REFORM TO REBELLION IN IRELAND 1775–1800

Answer question 1 and question 2(a) or 2(b).

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source 1

Extract from a letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to the Earl of Hillsborough, 10 May 1779. Buckinghamshire, based in Dublin Castle, is commenting on the situation in Ireland and the growth of the Volunteer movement.

An officer of the regular army reported to me that one of the Volunteer companies behaved properly and with discipline during the recent alarm caused by the arrival of a French naval vessel in Larne Bay. Although the establishment of these Volunteers may be worrying in many respects, for those of us responsible for preserving law and order, there can be no doubt that, in the case of a French invasion, they may be most useful to us. The crisis we face in Ireland at the moment requires those responsible for governing the island to have very superior leadership qualities. I must admit that I have some doubts about my own abilities but perhaps I should protect myself against despair by being more confident, at least in public. There is much distress and dissatisfaction in Ireland. But, believe me there are persons among our political opponents who may seek to exploit the dangerous circumstances we face.

Source 2

Extract from a letter from Lord Harberton, a landowner from County Kildare and former member of the Irish Parliament, to Lord Abercorn in London, 17 November 1783. Harberton is describing the scene in Dublin at the beginning of the Grand National Convention of Volunteers.

No town can exhibit such a scene as is now being displayed in Dublin. The two Houses of Parliament are sitting in College Green, while an armed Convention of Volunteers is assembled at the Rotunda, calmly debating *reforms* to the constitution of Parliament. Yet, at the very same moment, thousands of starving workers are besieging the House of Commons for bread. I went to see the Speaker in his chamber and could scarcely get in for the crowd. While I was there, one of the city magistrates came in and told him that, unless a guard of soldiers or Volunteers was put in place immediately, the crowd would break into the House as soon as the Speaker took the chair. I made off as fast as I could and cannot say how it will end.

Source 3

Extract from J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603–1923*, published in 1966. Beckett is commenting on the development of the Volunteer movement.

It was in the north, and especially among the Protestant dissenters, that the Volunteer movement remained strongest, and it was here that revolutionary and republican sentiments were most loudly expressed. In all this activity perhaps the most notable development, and the most alarming to the government, was a movement towards friendly co-operation between Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. Presbyterians were certainly not all of one mind on the matter; but demands for the repeal of the remaining popery laws became more frequent among them, and, as a body, they became increasingly identified with a policy of complete religious equality.

- (a) **Consult Sources 1 and 2.** Explain and compare the views of the Earl of Buckinghamshire and Lord Harbington on the Volunteers. [10]
- (b) **Consult all the sources.** How far do they support the idea that the defence of Ireland from invasion was the sole aim of the Volunteer movement? [10]
- (c) **Consult all the sources.** Which of them would an historian value most as evidence in a study of the Volunteers? [14]

2 Either

- (a) “Ireland enjoyed continuous economic success in the period 1775–1789”. To what extent would you accept this verdict? [26]

Or

- (b) “British military superiority was responsible for the failure of the 1798 rebellion”. How far would you agree with this judgement? [26]

Option 4 POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND 1868–1894

Answer question 1 and question 2(a) or 2(b).

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source 1

Extract from a speech by the leader of the Conservative Party, Benjamin Disraeli, at Crystal Palace, 24 June 1872. He is commenting on the attitude of the Conservative Party towards social reform.

A great aim of the Conservative Party, and one which is as important as the maintenance of the Empire and the upholding of our institutions, is the improvement of the condition of the people. It must be obvious to all those who desire to improve the condition of our people that no progress will be made unless there is some reduction in their hours of labour along with some improvement in their working conditions. The health of the people is the most important question for a statesman. A leading member of the great Liberal Party has criticised social reform as a “policy of sewage”. Well, it may be a “policy of sewage” to the Liberals. However, to the labouring masses of England, who have fever in their households, it is a question of life and death.

Source 2

Extract from the memoirs of Richard Cross, published in 1903. As Home Secretary, Cross played a leading role in the social reforms of Disraeli’s Ministry of 1874–1880. He is describing a Cabinet meeting in 1874.

When the Cabinet met to discuss its plans for future domestic reform, I must confess that I was quite disappointed in the lack of originality shown by the Prime Minister, Mr Disraeli. From all his speeches, I had quite expected that his mind was full of legislative plans. However, this did not prove to be the case. Indeed, he had to rely on the various suggestions of colleagues, who themselves had only just come into office. Suddenly, there was some difficulty in outlining the social reforms which we intended to introduce.

Source 3

Extract from Paul Adelman, *Gladstone, Disraeli and Later Victorian Politics*, published in 1991. Adelman is commenting on the social reforms of the Disraeli Ministry of 1874–1880.

While Disraeli earned the reputation of a keen social reformer, the reality was that the choice of topics for legislative action and their implementation was left to individuals such as Cross. This was partly because Disraeli was over seventy when he achieved real power, and he lacked the energy of Gladstone. However, by that stage he also lacked that interest in, or grasp of, administrative detail so essential for a social reformer. Yet the Government introduced eleven major acts between 1874 and 1876. Of these, the Licensing Act was a mistake, the labour laws a triumph and the remaining measures very limited. This is because the majority of Conservative MPs came from the landed class, and were unenthusiastic about any social reforms which would upset the established social order.

- (a) **Consult Sources 1 and 2.** Explain and compare the attitudes of Disraeli and Cross towards social reform. [10]
- (b) **Consult all the Sources.** How far do they suggest that Disraeli's Ministry of 1874–1880 was inconsistent over the question of social reform? [10]
- (c) **Consult all the Sources.** Which of them would an historian value most as evidence in a study of the domestic legislation of Disraeli's Ministry of 1874–1880? [14]

2 Either

- (a) How far did Gladstone achieve his objectives in foreign policy during his Ministries of 1868–1874 and 1880–1885? [26]

Or

- (b) "The status of women hardly improved at all during the period 1868–1894". How far would you agree with this verdict? [26]

Option 5 THE PARTITION OF IRELAND 1900–1925

Answer question 1 and question 2(a) or 2(b).

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source 1

Extract from *Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant* of 28 September 1912. This was signed by many Ulster Unionists in protest against the Third Home Rule Bill.

We are convinced that Home Rule would be disastrous for the material wellbeing of Ulster, as well as the whole of Ireland. We believe that Home Rule would undermine our citizenship and weaken the unity of the Empire. It is for these reasons that we, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of the King, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers had depended on in previous days of crisis, do hereby pledge ourselves in Solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to defend for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom. We intend to use all means necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. If such a Parliament is forced upon us, we further pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority.

Source 2

Extract from a letter from Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster Unionists, to Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative Party, 23 September 1913. Carson is commenting on how Home Rule should be opposed.

Recent events suggest that, on the whole, things are shaping towards a desire to settle this crisis by leaving "Ulster" out of Home Rule. A difficulty arises as to defining what is meant by "Ulster". My own view is that the whole of Ulster should be excluded from Home Rule, but the minimum should be the six plantation counties. For this a good case could be made. The south and west of Ireland would present a difficulty to this arrangement, and while I could not agree to their abandonment, I feel that this is the best settlement if Home Rule is inevitable. I am anxious about the Empire and feel that we have a duty to come to some form of compromise.

Source 3

Extract from a resolution passed unanimously by the Ulster Unionist Council, 12 June 1916. The delegates were supporting a proposal to accept the permanent exclusion of six counties of Ulster from Home Rule as the basis for discussion with the Irish Parliamentary Party and the British Government, represented by David Lloyd George.

We, the delegates of the Ulster Unionist Council, representing the Unionist population of the Province of Ulster, have considered the plan to permanently exclude six counties of Ulster from Home Rule. We do so because of the crisis facing the Empire arising out of the European War. Sir Edward Carson tells us that the Government believes that a settlement to the Home Rule question will strengthen the Empire and help to win the war. Therefore, as loyal citizens, we feel that it is our duty to make sacrifices in this crisis of the Empire's history.

- (a) **Consult Sources 1 and 2.** Explain and compare the attitudes of the *Covenant* and Carson towards the Third Home Rule Bill. [10]
- (b) **Consult all the Sources.** How far do they suggest that, by 1916, Ulster Unionists had suffered a defeat in their opposition to Home Rule? [14]
- (c) **Consult all the Sources.** Which of them would an historian value most as evidence in a study of the Ulster Unionists' opposition to Home Rule between 1912 and 1916? [14]

2 Either

- (a) "The victory of Sinn Fein in the General Election of December 1918 was solely due to the mistakes of the Irish Parliamentary Party after 1914". How far would you accept this statement? [26]

Or

- (b) "The truce of July 1921 represented a political and military defeat for the British Government". How far would you agree with this assessment of how the Anglo-Irish War of 1919–1921 came to an end? [26]

Permission to reproduce all copyright material has been applied for.
In some cases, efforts to contact copyright holders may have been unsuccessful and CCEA
will be happy to rectify any omissions of acknowledgement in future if notified.