

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE
F963/02
HISTORY

British History Enquires
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

THURSDAY 10 JUNE 2010: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer in the Answer Booklet

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

8 page Answer Booklet

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- **Write your name clearly in capital letters, your Centre Number and Candidate Number in the spaces provided on the Answer Booklet.**
- **Use black ink.**
- **Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.**
- **Answer BOTH SUB-QUESTIONS from ONE Study Topic.**

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

- **The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.**
- **The total number of marks for this paper is 100.**
- **This question paper contains questions on the following four Study Topics:**
 - **The Condition of England 1815–53 (pages 4–9)**
 - **The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86 (pages 10–15)**
 - **England and a New Century 1900–24 (pages 16–21)**
 - **Churchill 1920–45 (pages 22–28)**
- **You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.**
- **The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.**
- **In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.**

THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND 1815–1853

Study the FIVE Sources on The Chartists' Campaigning Methods and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering part (b).

1 (a) Study Sources B and D

Compare these Sources as evidence for the causes of the Plug Plot disturbances in 1842. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that force and provocation were tactics used more by the authorities and employers than the Chartists. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE CHARTISTS' CAMPAIGNING METHODS

SOURCE A: A Chartist bookseller and newsagent, who had saved some Northwest Trade Unionists from transportation in 1834, comments on the trials of Chartists.

1839–40 were years of persecution and imprisonment for the poor Chartists. Our Reform Government competed with their Tory predecessors in trying most cruelly to crush our agitation. I have the names of 93 Chartists enduring imprisonment for delivering seditious speeches. It was believed that the display of arms in the Court, found in the possession of the defendants, was to influence the jury to convict. A large number of special constables were sworn in to assist the authorities in the event of a rescue of the political prisoners.

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Thomas Dunning, Reminiscences, 1889

SOURCE B: A new and respectable weekly magazine comments on the disorders of 1842.

Thousands stopped work, forcing all to join them. They did so because of a reduction in wages, almost without notice. This was taken as the intention of employers everywhere. At Stockport 20,000 unemployed had no resources other than plunder. A large body of rioters pillaged the workhouses and more robbed the food shops. There seems to have been a spreading organisation of a most formidable and disciplined character. Troops were poured into the disturbed districts. The Anti-Corn Law League and Chartists are responsible. We despise those who have a charter to achieve or a corn law to repeal. They make the tragedy of popular misery into banners of rebellion.

Illustrated London News, August 1842

SOURCE C: A moderate Chartist, who wrote the first history of the movement, comments on Chartist methods.

The London Working Men's Association possessed a journal which disclaimed all idea of seeking change by physical force. Another paper, the Northern Star, was launched in Leeds. Its profile was raised by the popularity of O'Connor; in it he had a journal in which to record all his proceedings and to place his words and deeds in the most advantageous light. The Star was the most complete record of the movement. All meetings were reported, accompanied by all his provocative words and phrases.

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R.C. Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement, 1859

SOURCE D: A radical Chartist, who was arrested for his speech in the Potteries and imprisoned for two years, comments on the events of 1842. He later quarrelled with O'Connor and withdrew from active Chartism.

The 'Plug Plot' of 1842 began with reductions of wages by the Anti-Corn Law manufacturers, who did not conceal their purpose of driving the people to desperation to paralyse the Government. People advanced to a wild general strike and drew the plugs to stop the mills, rendering work impossible. 40
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In the Pottery districts thousands crowded around the Crown Inn. Before I spoke, some of the men, who were drunk and had rioted, wanted to shake hands with me but I told them I was ashamed to see them. I warned all destroyers of property that they were not friends but enemies of freedom – that ruin must attend this strike for the Charter if they broke the law. 50

In the streets there were unmistakable signs of alarm on the part of the authorities. Troops of cavalry were going up and down the principal streets, accompanied by artillery. 55

Cooper, Life of Thomas Cooper, 1879

**SOURCE E: A young journalist who was a
Chartist, Republican and supporter
of women's suffrage, comments on
O'Connor's tactics.**

**O'Connor's weekly letter, though full of rubbish,
was relished for his denunciations of the
authorities. On public platforms he was more a
rabble rouser than a democrat, fond of posing
as the descendant of Irish kings devoted to
the working class. Most considered him a fake
adventurer who traded on the passions of the
people for his own profit. A better notion would
have been that he was the victim of his own
delusions.**

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W.E. Adams, Memoirs of a Social Atom, 1903

THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–1886

Study the **FIVE** Sources on The Imperial Policies of Gladstone and Disraeli and then answer **BOTH** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering part (b).

2 (a) Study Sources C and E

Compare these Sources as evidence for the attitudes of those who opposed British imperial expansion. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that there was little difference between the imperial policies of Gladstone and Disraeli. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE IMPERIAL POLICIES OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI

SOURCE A: The leader of the Conservative Party justifies an imperial policy.

Since the coming of Liberalism no effort has been as continuous as the attempt to undermine our Empire, especially the idea of granting self-government. I do not object to it but self-government ought to have been conceded as part of a wider policy of Imperial consolidation, accompanied by an Imperial tariff. All this was omitted because Liberals looked upon the Colonies as a burden, viewing everything financially.

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Disraeli, Crystal Palace speech, 1872

SOURCE B: From a position of temporary retirement, the former leader of the Liberal party writes an article, 'England's Mission', in a progressive journal, criticizing the Conservative government's Imperialism.

Some believe they increase strength when they multiply the points to occupy and defend, without adding men or money to sustain it. Between the two parties there is agreement that England has a mighty mission; but there is disagreement on what that mission is. With one party, her first care is the domestic righting of wrongs, the improvement of laws and institutions. Against this the present government appears to prefer territorial increase and the accumulation of imaginary interests abroad. It is political subordination which gives colonies value in the sight of the party who are striving to drive us into Imperialism. With us it is the welfare of these communities. If this requires their freedom, we prefer their friendly independence to their forced subordination.

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***Gladstone, The Nineteenth Century,
September 1878***

SOURCE C: As part of his election campaign Gladstone comments on events in Afghanistan.

Why was it that the Afghans were so concerned at the presence of our representative? Because they knew our practice in India, where our ambassadors became the instrument through which the independence of the State was destroyed, and our supremacy established. 30

Whatever the Afghans may be, they value their freedom as you do. When in January 1879 we were making war among the mountain-tops of the passes between India and Afghanistan, the tribes, naturally and not wrongfully, resisted. 35

Their villages were burned to the ground, and the women and the children driven forth to wander and perish in the snow. These things, in my opinion, are horrible to the last degree. 40

Gladstone, Midlothian speech, 25 March 1880

SOURCE D: On the advice of the Colonial Office, Gladstone, having been re-elected Prime Minister, continued the Conservative policy of Confederation to solve the problem of the Transvaal and Zululand. President Kruger ignored Gladstone's offer and rebelled in 1881.

Looking to both the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa, and to the necessity of preventing renewed disorders, our judgement is that the Queen cannot be advised to give up sovereignty over the Transvaal. We desire that the white inhabitants of the Transvaal should, without prejudice to the rest of the population, enjoy the fullest liberty to manage their local affairs. We believe this liberty may be most easily conceded to the Transvaal if she were a member of a South African confederation.

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Gladstone, Letter to Kruger, 15 June 1880

SOURCE E: A leading Conservative attacks both Disraeli and Gladstone's Egyptian policies.

In 1876 financiers in London and Paris lured the Khedive Ismail, ruler of Egypt, into their net, lending him huge sums. The interest payable absorbs about two-thirds of Egypt's revenues; the people of Egypt have not received more than a quarter. If they stopped paying we should have approved their action. The other day the poor Egyptians were close to a successful revolution and throwing off their suffocating loans. Unfortunately, Mr Gladstone came upon them with his armies and fleets, destroyed their towns, devastated their country, slaughtered them, and flung back these struggling wretches into the mess of oppression. The revolution of Arabi Pasha was the movement of a nation.

*Lord Randolph Churchill, Edinburgh speech,
18 December 1883*

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY 1900–24

Study these FIVE Sources on Post War Problems 1918–1924, and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part (b).

3 (a) Study Sources B and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views on government spending on social problems during the immediate post-war period. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Labour Party was better placed than its rivals to deal with Britain's post-war problems from 1918 to 1924. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

POST-WAR PROBLEMS 1918 TO 1924

SOURCE A: Labour's party conference resolution outlines its plans for a national health service.

Conference declares that the organization of a unified health service for the whole community is a question of urgent importance. Steps should be taken without delay to establish a Ministry of Health, providing public health services, completely independent of both the existing Poor Law and private insurance companies. This Ministry, along with the local authorities, should be completely responsible for health in schools, hospitals, maternity units, housing conditions, care of the aged, health insurance and so on.

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Labour Party, Annual Conference Report, 1918

SOURCE B: A senior civil servant to the Cabinet, and a close friend, writes to David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of the Coalition Government, urging reform as the antidote to revolution.

Bolshevik propaganda is only dangerous when there are genuine grievances. You should push ahead with an advanced programme of social reform. The new Whitley Councils should be asked to consider improvements in their respective industries. For example, an eight hour day, and a national minimum wage. You should publicise the enormous sums made available for housing by the Minister of Supply. Tell large cities like Glasgow that you hope they will tackle re-housing with the same energy you showed when Minister of Munitions. We do not want to wait twenty years. Hundreds of thousands should be built in the next five years.

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Tom Jones, Whitehall Diary, 1919

SOURCE C: A committee composed entirely of business men and financiers, set up by Lloyd George's Coalition Government, under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Geddes, suggests cuts in social services. The resulting 'Geddes Axe' was supported by the Prime Minister, Lloyd George.

Our terms of reference are to recommend to the Chancellor of the Exchequer reductions in national expenditure on supply services. The estimated cost for education, health, unemployment and old age pensions for 1922–1923 is £124 million, being nearly four times pre-war expenditure. 30

We suggest the following:

- 1 The cost of housing schemes (£10 million) might be reduced by a vigorous policy of sales.** 35
- 2 No increase in the coming year for health programmes. These have merit, but have increased greatly since 1918–1919.**
- 3 Greater efficiencies in unemployment insurance, including the abolition of Labour Exchanges and the Ministry of Labour.** 40

First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, February 1922

SOURCE D: A leading Conservative Cabinet Minister records how he advised his Prime Minister to stay in power in order to force the hand of the declining Liberal Party.

I heard that, following the result of the General Election, Stanley Baldwin was preparing to resign as Prime Minister, and as leader of the Conservative Party. I urged him to do neither. Instead, he should face the Commons as leader of the largest party in Parliament, and thus force the Liberals to support a Labour Government. This is bound to mean the eventual break up of the Liberal Party, already weakened by the split between Asquith and Lloyd George. One of the three parties has to disappear, and the Liberal Party which has been spiritually dead for the past thirty years is the natural victim.

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Leo Amery, diary entry, December 1923

SOURCE E: A Fabian Socialist, whose husband was in the Cabinet of the first Labour Government, criticises the new Prime Minister for compromising Labour principles.

It is clear that MacDonald, without any consultation with his Cabinet, is moving towards forming a Centre Party. He is becoming less socialist at home, and less pacifist abroad. He wants eight million voters behind him, and means to get them, even if this means abandoning the Independent Labour Party, the idealistic revolutionary section who pushed him into power. Formerly allied to the Liberals, he now sees that they are finished. With his newly-won prestige and personal magnetism, he is keen to attract moderate, collectivist Conservatives into his Labour Party. His deception hurts, but I admire him as a political performer.

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Beatrice Webb, diary, 1924

CHURCHILL 1920–1945

Study the FIVE Sources on The General Election of 1945 and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering (b).

4 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the appeals made to the electorate in the campaign leading to the General Election of 1945. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the main reason for Churchill's election defeat in 1945 was the policy of social reform offered by Labour. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1945

SOURCE A: The Labour Party appeals to the electorate stressing the need for change.

This war will have been won by the people, not by any one man, though strong and greatly valued leadership has been given to the people. And in this leadership the Labour Ministers have taken their full share of burdens and responsibilities. 5

The Labour Party has played a leading part in the long campaign for proper social security for all – social provision against hard times, coupled with economic policies calculated to reduce rainy days to a minimum. Labour led the fight against the mean and shabby treatment which was the lot of millions while Conservative Governments were in power over long years. There is no good reason why Britain should not afford such programmes, but she will need full employment and the highest possible industrial efficiency in order to do so. 10 15

***Let Us Face the Future, Labour Party Manifesto,
May 1945***

SOURCE B: The Prime Minister's first election address in which he attacks Labour. This speech was broadcast on the radio by the BBC.

No Socialist Government could afford to allow free expressions of public discontent. They would have to fall back on some form of Gestapo. And this would nip opinion in the bud; it would stop criticism as it reared its head, and it would gather all the power to the supreme party and the party leaders. I stand for the sovereign freedom of the individual within the laws which freely elected Parliaments have freely passed. I stand for the rights of the ordinary man to say what he thinks of the Government.

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Churchill, speech, 4 June 1945

SOURCE C: A Conservative supporter and author expresses her concerns to her husband, the well-known politician and diplomat, Harold Nicolson.

You know I have an admiration for Winston amounting to hero-worship, so I am dreadfully distressed by the badness of his broadcast Election speeches. What has gone wrong with him? They are confused, woolly, unconstructive and so wordy that it is impossible to pick out any concrete impression from them. If I were uncertain about who to vote for, they would tip me over to the other side. Archie Sinclair (The Liberal leader) and Stafford Cripps (a leading Labour figure) are both infinitely better.

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Vita Sackville West, letter, 6 June 1945

SOURCE D: This cartoon portrays an injured British soldier against a background of the destruction of war urging Britain's electors not to waste victory and peace. With his uninjured hand, the soldier is holding out a wreath labelled 'Victory and Peace in Europe'. Voters are urged to vote for 'them', that is to consider the sacrifice made by British troops. Across the top and bottom it says, 'Don't lose it again!' which is a reference to the disappointing consequences of the First World War.

Daily
Mirror

FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE
No. 10,000
Established in 1854 as a Penny Paper

**Vote
for
them**

DON'T LOSE IT AGAIN



VOTE

“Here you are! Don’t lose it again!”

Cartoon, Daily Mirror 1 July 1945

SOURCE E: A future Conservative Prime Minister recalls her impressions of Conservative failure in 1945. At that time she was studying at Oxford University.

In 1945 we Conservatives faced problems which we could not possibly overcome. Labour had us fighting on their ground of domestic reform and were always likely to outbid us. We were not able to take the credit for victory because Attlee and his colleagues had worked with the Conservatives in government since 1940. In any event the war effort had involved the whole population. I remember listening to Churchill's election speech that socialism would require 'some sort of Gestapo' and thinking 'He's gone too far'.

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Margaret Thatcher, The Path to Power, 1995

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