

**ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE
HISTORY**

British History Enquires
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

F963/02

Candidates answer on the answer booklet.

OCR supplied materials:

- 8 page answer booklet
(sent with general stationery)

Other materials required:

None

**Thursday 19 May 2011
Morning**

Duration: 1 hour 30 minutes



INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer booklet. Please write clearly and in capital letters.
- Use black ink.
- Read each question carefully. Make sure you know what you have to do before starting your answer.
- Answer **both sub-questions** from **one** Study Topic.
- Do **not** write in the bar codes.

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 2–3)
 - The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86 (pages 4–5)
 - England and a New Century 1900–24 (pages 6–7)
 - Churchill 1920–45 (pages 8–10)
- 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.
- This document consists of **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The Condition of England 1815–1853

Study the **five** Sources on The Old Poor Law 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 **C**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the causes of the agricultural disturbances in 1830–31 (the Swing riots). [30]

(b) Study **all** the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the **most** important reason for the reform of the Old Poor Law was its demoralising impact upon the poor. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Old Poor Law

Source A: A Poor Law overseer comments on the impact of the allowance system in the north.

The magistrates commit harm by their application of allowance scales. For instance, one Robert Smith is now on the road, only works half what he ought to do, has 11 shillings [55p] by order of the magistrates and has five children living in the house with him, some of whom work. He gets their wages. He says he will not try to get work anywhere else, as he cannot have such good masters as the magistrates, elsewhere. 5

Derbyshire overseer, 1831

Source B: The Poor Law Commissioners comment on the role of outdoor relief in the riots of 1830–31.

It appears from all our rural returns that in every district, the discontent of the labouring classes is proportional to the money dispensed in poor rates, or in voluntary charities. The violence of most of the mobs seems to have arisen from an idea that all their deprivations arose from the greed or fraud of those entrusted with the management of the poor fund. Further allowances increase the expectation of still more relief. They reinforce a belief in a right to relief. This system ensures disappointment and hatred if that expectation is not fulfilled. 10

The Poor Law Report, 1834

Source C: An author, who based his views on conversations with old farm labourers in Wiltshire, comments on the Old Poor Law and the agricultural riots of 1830–31.

These poor labourers, spiritless slaves, moulded by long years of extreme poverty and systematic oppression, finally rose against their hard masters and smashed the agricultural machines, burnt ricks and broke into houses. The introduction of the threshing machines was the last straw. Wages were only seven shillings [35p] a week, barely sufficient to keep a family from starvation and rags (without a little poaching they could not have lived). It was also customary to get rid of the men after the harvest and leave them to exist on the Old Poor Law in the bitter winter months. Alongside these there were the aged and weaklings and the lads who had not yet got a job. 15
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W. H. Hudson, A Shepherd's Life, 1910

Source D: An MP in the House of Commons comments on the Poor Law Amendment Bill.

In rural districts Poor Law Vestries consisted of flinty-hearted and bargain-driving farmers whose only object was to save their pence, and grind down the labouring poor in order to hire labour at the cheapest rate. To allow Vestries to refuse relief to any pauper without appeal was to abolish the Poor Laws altogether. When the right of important office holders to public money was recognised by Parliament was it prepared to give up the legal and ancient right of the poor to an existence? Their right was three hundred years old and as legal as the title of the wealthiest noble to his estate. It is founded on evident principles of justice and truth! 25

Paulett Scrope, speech, 26 May 1834

Source E: A landowner, who was also an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, describes a conversation with a local tenant farmer, ratepayer and Vestry Voter.

He said – ‘Until every man has land enough to keep a cow, poor folk have as much right to bread as the rich. How is a poor man to have a wife and eight children on his wage?’ I replied, ‘But why do men marry and get eight children without any likely means of keeping them?’ He responded, ‘Why do folks marry? You might as well ask why they catch smallpox! It’s God’s own ordering – ‘increase and multiply’, and there is no going against it.’ 30

R. W. Pilkington, letter to Edwin Chadwick, 20 October 1834

The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886

Study the **five** Sources on Foreign Policy and the Eastern Question 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 **D** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to British achievements at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. **[30]**

(b) Study **all** the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Disraeli pursued irresponsible policies on the Eastern Question during the period from 1871 to 1878. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

Foreign Policy and the Eastern Question

Source A: The Liberal Prime Minister replies to Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons on Russian renunciation of the Black Sea clauses.

The neutralization of the Black Sea was always looked upon as impossible to maintain permanently. Who is it you would have looked to in order to uphold Mr. Disraeli's policy of maintaining the clauses? France expressed her readiness to give the clauses up. The Austrians are the power most disposed to help but several years ago they proposed to Russia that Black Sea neutrality be abandoned. Yet Mr Disraeli finds it necessary to show how wrong we were not to go to war single-handed to force Russia to reduce her rights over a portion of her territory. 5

Gladstone, speech, 9 February 1871

Source B: A friend and colleague of Disraeli reports a conversation with him on Eastern policy.

Disraeli committed himself neither to peace or war. 'Supposing the Russians do enter Bulgaria', said I. 'That', he answered, 'would be an entirely new phase'. He is quite determined that the Russians shall not directly, or indirectly, possess Constantinople. 10

Many in England say, Why not? England might take Egypt, and so secure our highway to India.

Disraeli said that the answer was obvious, that if the Russians had Constantinople, they could march their Army to the Nile, and then what would be the use of our holding Egypt? Constantinople is the key of India, not Egypt and the Suez Canal. 15

He continued, 'Russian treachery is the same as ever. They say: 'We do not wish to hold Constantinople'. Perhaps not, but their game is to have someone there who is more or less dependent on them'. Disraeli's grand object is victory in diplomacy.

Lord Barrington, memorandum, 23 October 1876

Source C: The Foreign Secretary writes to the India Secretary about Disraeli's policies towards Russia following their capture of Plevna, a key Ottoman fortress and town.

I know our chief and am fully convinced, not that he wants war, but that he has made up his mind to military preparations, an extremely warlike speech and agitation in favour of armed intervention, possibly to occupy Constantinople. 20

His views are different from mine, not in detail, but in principle. He believes thoroughly in 'prestige' and would think it in the interests of the country to spend £200 millions on a war. These ideas are not mine, nor yours. Their being sincerely held does not make them less dangerous. 25

Lord Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury, letter, December 1877

Source D: The retired Liberal leader expresses his views on Disraeli's and Lord Salisbury's work at the Congress of Berlin to the House of Commons.

The voice and character of England has not been properly heard. They [Disraeli and Salisbury] were bound to act in accordance with the general views of Europe. It was their duty to take the side of liberty, yet they took the side of oppression.

We have lost the sympathy and respect of the nations of Europe. They have claimed to uphold certain British interests, perfectly imaginary, and yet pursued as if vital. Such 'interests' and the manner in which they have been pursued, have greatly diminished, if not the regard for our material strength, our moral standing in the world. 30

Gladstone, speech, July 1878

Source E: The Prime Minister comments to the House of Lords on his purpose at the Congress of Berlin.

We wished to maintain Turkey's independence. No statesman has ever offered a practical solution should the Ottoman Empire fall to pieces. One result would probably be a long and general war and that alone is a sufficient reason for trying to maintain it. But, while holding to this principle, we have always been of the opinion that the only way to strengthen it was to improve the condition of its subjects. 35

Disraeli, speech, 16 May 1879

England and the New Century 1900–1924

Study the **five** Sources on The Split between Asquith and Lloyd George 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 **C** and **D**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the relationship between Asquith and Lloyd George in 1916. **[30]**

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Asquith should bear the major responsibility for splitting the Liberal Party in 1916. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Split between Asquith and Lloyd George

Source A: A radical Liberal MP notes Asquith’s explanation to his fellow Liberals for the formation of the Coalition with Bonar Law and the Conservatives.

Asquith announced today that the Government was under reconstruction. Afterwards, at a hastily called party, some spoke very strongly against a coalition, taking the line that the Prime Minister owed some explanation to his party. Asquith was persuaded to address the meeting. He spoke with deep feeling. He looked old and worried. He flung himself on our mercy. The situation was of the gravest kind. Coalition had become inevitable. It was not pleasant to go into harness with men who were his bitterest enemies. He asked for our confidence – he would not let us down. The meeting gave him an over-powering ovation.

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A. MacCallum Scott, diary, 19 May 1915

Source B: A Liberal politician recalls the comments of a member of the Coalition government on the developing debate within the Cabinet on war policy.

Chamberlain would leave the Cabinet if conscription was not proposed whereas McKenna, who was Asquith’s only confidant, and Henderson, the Labour leader, would resign if conscription was agreed by the Cabinet. Bonar Law would resign if the Gallipoli peninsula was not abandoned. Lloyd George, who saw no opening to the leadership, was much afraid he had muddled the Ministry of Munitions, for which he would be called to account, thought it better to get out whilst there was time. Asquith was still against conscription but was trying to find a way of keeping the government together.

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C. Hobhouse, conversation, 14 October 1915

Source C: The Prime Minister replies to a letter from Bonar Law, the Leader of the Conservatives and a member of the Coalition, which proposed the formation of a small War Committee, comprising Bonar Law, Lloyd George and Lord Carson.

What follows is intended for your eyes alone. I appreciate the loyalty with which you have put forward your proposal but I cannot adopt it. Lloyd George has many qualities but he does not inspire trust. Your proposal has been engineered by him with the purpose of displacing me. The plan could not be carried out without fatally impairing the confidence of loyal colleagues and undermining my own authority. Given the frankness of our relations ever since the Coalition was formed, I can tell you I am tempted to seek relief from the intolerable daily burden of labour and anxiety. 15

Herbert Asquith, letter, 26 November 1916

Source D: The devoted secretary of David Lloyd George (D), whom she later married, records her recollections of the period immediately before Asquith (PM: Prime Minister) resigned.

22 November: D says that the PM is absolutely hopeless. He cannot make up his mind about anything and seems to have lost all will-power.

30 November: If D and Bonar Law act together it will smash the government. Letters from all parts of the country are urging D to take over: he seems to be the only one in whom people have confidence. 25

2 December: The PM insists on being Chairman of the new War Committee and that the Cabinet should have the final word in all matters. The vital part of D's proposal was that neither would have anything to do with the new Committee.

Frances Stevenson, diary extracts, 1916

Source E: A member of the first Coalition government reflects on the fall of Asquith.

The Press played a part in the overturn of Asquith's administration. Its power was increased by the formation of the Coalition government. Asquith informed Lord Northcliffe of the shell shortage and he did not hesitate to publish the facts. Henceforward Lord Northcliffe felt himself to be possessed of formidable power. Through *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* he exercised a commanding influence on events. Bonar Law and Lloyd George came together in the closing days of November 1916 to secure a new and more effective War Committee. The subsequent resignation of Lloyd George led to the fall of the government. 30

W.S. Churchill, The World Crisis, 1923

Churchill 1920–1945

Study the **five** Sources on The Relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt in the Second World War, and then answer **both** sub-questions. You will need to turn over for Sources **B–E**.

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

4 (a) Study Sources **B** and **D**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt. **[30]**

(b) Study **all** the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that relations between Britain and the USA were very successfully managed by Churchill between 1941 and 1945. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt

Source A: A German cartoon in a wartime satirical magazine shows Churchill and Roosevelt. The caption reads, 'Believe me, Winston, that hat fits you perfectly. You are going gradually to have get used to me leading you'. The hat has on it the stars and stripes of the United States flag. The background represents US industry.



Cartoon, Simplicissimus magazine, February 1943

TURN OVER FOR SOURCES B–E.

Source B: In a private conversation recalled by his son, President Roosevelt gives his view of the relationship with Britain at the time of the Casablanca Conference in January 1943.

The British must never get the idea that we're in this war just to help them hang on to the outdated medieval Empire ideas. I hope they realise that they're not the senior partner; that we're not going to sit by, after we've won, and watch their system restrict the growth of every country of Asia and half the countries of Europe as well. Great Britain signed the Atlantic Charter and I hope they realize that the United States Government means to make them live up to it.

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Elliot Roosevelt, As He Saw It, 1946

Source C: Churchill's doctor writes about the relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt at the time of the Tehran Conference.

When Roosevelt was settled into his quarters, Stalin lost no time in calling on him. Roosevelt said that he was anxious to relieve the pressure on the Russian front by invading France. He went on to say that he hoped Malaya, Burma and other British colonies would soon be 'educated in the arts of self-government'. When I saw the Prime Minister the following day (29 Nov 1943) he was plainly put out. It seemed that he had sent a note to the President suggesting they should have lunch together, but the President's answer was a polite 'no'. This did not prevent the President seeing Stalin alone after lunch.

10

Lord Moran, diary, 28 and 29 November 1943

Source D: Churchill pays tribute to Roosevelt a few days after the President's death.

I conceived an admiration for him as a statesman, a man of affairs and a war leader. I had the utmost confidence in his upright, inspiring character and outlook, and a personal regard and affection for him, far beyond my power to express today. He devised the extraordinary measure of assistance called Lend Lease, which will stand forth as the most unsordid financial act of any country in all history. We drew up together the Atlantic Charter which will, I trust, long remain a guide for both our peoples and other peoples in the world. For us it remains only to say that in Franklin Roosevelt there dies the greatest American who has ever brought help and comfort from the New World to the Old.

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Churchill, address to Parliament, 17 April 1945

Source E: A modern historian gives a view of the relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt.

The Churchill-Roosevelt relationship was special, but it was not the 'Special Relationship' of Churchill's imagination. It could never achieve as much as Churchill imagined. The questions that arose to disturb the harmony of Britain's relations with the US would have done more damage had not the relations between the two national leaders been amiable and, on the whole, trusting: an easy working relationship which Churchill went to endless lengths to create and sustain.

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Geoffrey Best, Churchill, A Study in Greatness, 2001

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