

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE
F963/02
HISTORY A

British History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

MONDAY 23 JANUARY 2012: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

8 page Answer Booklet
(sent with general stationery)

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

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.**

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 22–27)
- 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 Campaigns for Parliamentary Reform and an Untaxed Press 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 A and C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to parliamentary reform. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that campaigns for radical parliamentary and press reform were effective between 1830 and 1834. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

CAMPAIGNS FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM AND AN UNTAXED PRESS

SOURCE A:

An article by a hard line radical, in an illegal working class newspaper, published in defiance of the newspaper tax, during the progress of the Whig Reform Bill through Parliament from 1831 to 1832.

The Reform Bill is a dangerous measure, a trick to strengthen our 'blessed constitution'. Meetings and petitions are held everywhere but they are convened, attended and signed by the property-loving middle-classes; if some of the neglected oppressed millions do so they are persuaded by those on whom they depend and dare not question. It is claimed that these middle-classes, whom this measure admits into a share of law-making, will be more inclined to hear our appeal for justice. Think it not. Even before they have gained their own admittance they shut the doors of parliament against you. They will not tolerate our mention of universal suffrage. Whilst they seek your sweet voices to swell their own cry for their own reform they are open in telling us their dislike of our cause.

The Poor Man's Guardian, 24 September 1831

SOURCE B:

A once radical editor of the 1810s and later author, trade unionist and anti- corruption reformer, who wanted the middle and working classes to unite, comments on a meeting to form Francis Place's National Political Union in October 1831.

It was agreed to form a National Union with branch societies, each having a delegate at the central council. The Union was to arouse and control popular sentiment. Disagreement then arose on a proposal from the extreme radicals that part of the council should consist of working class representatives. The chairman opposed this, because it assumed a distinction of classes to exist, each with separate interests. The proposal was however adopted. A resolution was then proposed on universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Not supported by middle class radicals, it was defeated. Some workers then formed their own political union.

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***John Wade, British History Chronologically
Arranged, 1839***

SOURCE C:

A radical journalist, imprisoned in 1831 for publishing his 'Political Letters', writes on the strategy to be adopted during the Reform Bill's progress through parliament, shortly after the October riots in several cities.

Gradual changes are the only ones that can be effected. However just the claims of the lower class of labourers, they have not the power to obtain them. They must abstain from anything that would produce disunity, as it could only lead to a loss for all. The Bill concedes the necessity of Reform, on general principles and as a concession to popular opinion. Once recognised, this leads, necessarily, to desired changes. Utility and the will of the public will replace outdated traditions. The Bill concedes the right of representation on the basis of population, not property; and this concession, once made, must be carried onward to its full extent.

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***William Carpenter, The Poor Man's Guardian,
3 December 1831***

SOURCE D:

A once radical editor and author comments on the final stages of the achievement of Parliamentary Reform in May 1832.

The country was in a very alarming state. The newspapers were almost entirely on the popular side, and kept up a fire against corrupt privilege. Simultaneous meetings were held to petition the House of Commons to stop voting taxes and the people not to pay them. The political societies actively communicated and at their meetings projects for organising and arming the people were openly discussed and recommended. If needed the population of large towns were ready to march on London.

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***John Wade, British History Chronologically
Arranged, 1839***

SOURCE E:

A radical journalist celebrates the legal victory achieved in 1834 when it was ruled that the Poor Man's Guardian was not a newspaper and thus not liable to the tax of the stamp duty.

After all the fines, and 500 imprisoned for selling this paper alone, after all the spying and blood money, 'The Poor Man's Guardian' was pronounced by the Court a legal publication. 60
The verdict establishes that the poor have unstamped politics, though not unstamped news. It is victory No. 1. You will shortly have victory No. 2. By the same process we shall compel the rogues to give you cheap political newspapers. 65

***Henry Hetherington, The Poor Man's Guardian,
21 June 1834***

THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Ireland and Gladstone's First Ministry, 1868–1874, 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 A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the potential impact of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Gladstone met the needs of Ireland in his First Ministry. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

**IRELAND AND GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY,
1868–1874**

SOURCE A:

The Prime Minister speaking in Parliament on his Irish Church Bill.

We ask the clergy to undergo great change; we ask a powerful minority of the Irish laity to end a great part of their exceptional privileges; but I do not feel that we are seeking to inflict injury. In some respects they have suffered from English errors towards Ireland. I can well understand it appears nothing less than ruin and destruction. Instead of the aid on which we have too long taught the established Church to lean, it will now come to trust in its own resources and will find an era bright with hope. An end is finally put to the union between the established Church and the State, which was begun under unfortunate circumstances and has endured as a source of unhappiness to Ireland, and of discredit to England.

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***W E Gladstone, House of Commons,
1 March 1869***

SOURCE B:

The former Conservative leader, Lord Derby, and 45 other members of the House of Lords protest against the third reading of the Irish Church Bill.

We oppose this Bill as shaking all confidence in property and because it is impossible to place a Church, disestablished and disendowed, on a footing of equality with the perfect organisation of the Roman Church. In Ireland, the Catholic laity is made completely subservient to the priesthood and the bishops themselves are subject to the uncontrolled authority of a foreign Pope. This measure will alienate those who have hitherto been the firmest supporters of Britain and will only stimulate fresh demands that the large proportion of Catholics in Ireland look to freedom from the control of British law.

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***Report of Parliamentary Proceedings,
Annual Register, 1869***

SOURCE C:

Formerly Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1864–66, the Whig Liberal Colonial secretary in Gladstone’s First Ministry comments on the First Irish Land Bill.

The indiscriminate praise with which the Land Bill was received begins to cool. In Ireland there is much disappointment. Any measure failing to rob the landlords of their property would not satisfy the tenant-right interest. Indeed, no measures of any kind can satisfy the Irish: the utmost they can do is to lay the basis for a gradual improvement. Gladstone now lives in the happy delusion that his policy will produce a speedy change in the temper of the Irish towards this country. He will soon find out his mistake.

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Lord Kimberley, diary, 21 February 1870

SOURCE D:

**The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland
comment on Gladstone's Irish University Bill.**

**The Irish University Bill cannot remove the
educational grievances of Ireland's Catholics. It
perpetuates mixed education, an admitted failure,
forcing it on institutions hitherto denominational. 45
It gives nothing to the institutions of the Catholic
millions, upholding a dominant minority.
Sincerely intended for Catholic advantage, it will
be inoperative because Catholic students have
conscientious objections to a mixed system.
It ignores the repeated demands of Catholics, 50
weakening their confidence in the Imperial
Parliament which it has been the object of recent
legislation to create.**

Petition to Parliament, 1873

SOURCE E:

In a secret memorandum at the beginning of his Second Ministry, the Prime Minister reviews the 1870 Irish Land Act.

Besides some changes, forced upon us by the power of the House of Lords, there was certainly at least one weakness in the Bill – no restraint was put upon rent increases other than compensation for disturbance. Despite this it was received with satisfaction by the Irish people; it greatly promoted prosperity and laid the Irish Land question to rest. But there intervened a series of bad seasons, 1877–79, the last of which, in parts, brought the people near to famine. In this state there took place, unhappily, a large increase in the number of evictions.

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***W E Gladstone, Cabinet memorandum,
9 December 1880***

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY, 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on The Welfare and Education of Children 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 A and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for government aims towards elementary and secondary education. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that child welfare and educational measures from 1902 to 1918 benefited all children. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE WELFARE AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

SOURCE A:

A Conservative Member of Parliament for Cambridge University, who was an expert on education reform, commends the Education Bill of 1902 to the House of Commons as a way to provide greater opportunity for children.

The country's industrial competitiveness is gravely disadvantaged by inadequate education. Elementary schools will be managed by Local Education Authorities (LEAs) which will also provide secondary schooling if needed. LEAs will have power to decide what is best after consultation with the Board of Education. There is nothing of greater national importance than the training of teachers. The grievance of Nonconformists is met because the LEAs can establish non-denominational training colleges. The Bill allows flexibility in respect of the curriculum: it will now be possible to teach things that will be of use to children. An upward educational path to a child of promise is opened by this Bill.

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Sir Richard Jebb, speech, 3 December 1902

SOURCE B:

A prominent Nonconformist minister, educationalist and politician who campaigned vigorously against the Education Act of 1902 explains why Nonconformists adopted a policy of passive resistance to the payment of rates.

Many Nonconformists have felt it their duty to refuse to pay their education rates. Over 400 imprisonments have taken place and more than 100 000 confiscations of goods have been carried out. The reasons given in court for resistance were: 20

- the State has no right to insist on religious teaching**
- doctrines taught are contrary to the beliefs of Nonconformists 25**
- children are taught that Nonconformists are heretics.**

Nonconformists will not accept this legislation. Let others teach in these schools if they so believe but I will not do so. 30

J Clifford, School Question in Great Britain, 1908

SOURCE C:

The London police assess the working of the section of the Children's Charter of 1908 which banned children under the age of 14 from public houses.

The Act has been detrimental to children by exposing them to dangers like getting run over, lost, catching cold in the streets, getting into mischief while left outside public houses or coming to some harm owing to being left at home. One officer quotes a case in which a woman left five children who died in a house fire while she was out. Although there is no evidence that she was drinking at public houses the officer states that it is quite usual for women to leave their children at home while they go out drinking.

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Metropolitan Commissioner, report, 1910

SOURCE D:

At the opening of a clinic in Birmingham, Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, expresses his satisfaction at the completion of a scheme to provide each of the eight city districts with a clinic for school medical inspections.

As the home of a great many social movements in the past it is fitting Birmingham should show the importance of laying a sound physical basis as the foundation of all true education. We realise that education is not confined to the three R's* and that unless learning is based on good health it is severely limited. Birmingham's scheme is more extensive than in any other town. There is an effective, though not complete, scheme for the maintenance of personal cleanliness, school meals are provided and one of the earliest schemes of special schools is in place.

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*** the three R's: traditional abbreviation for reading, writing and arithmetic.**

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The Daily Post, Birmingham, newspaper article, 1915

SOURCE E:

A member of the family of chocolate manufacturers in York, a constituency which he served as Liberal MP, and as a director of the Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust from 1904 to 1951, writes approvingly of the Fisher Act designed to improve schooling.

State education may begin in nursery or elementary schools and must continue to 14 years of age in secondary schools. As such the exploitation of child labour is radically reduced. Physical training will be provided; handicapped children will receive special care; the curriculum will be more practical and there will be equality of educational opportunity. The public can criticise schemes before LEAs send them to the Board of Education for approval. Conditions of service should be such as to attract the very best teachers. If democracy is to succeed and the losses caused by war are to be made good, every child must be educated.

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***Arnold Rowntree, A Guide to the Education Act
1918, 15 November 1918***

CHURCHILL 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill, Communism and the Working Class 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 E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Churchill's attitude to Communist Russia in the 1920s. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill was too blinded by his fear of Communism to see the real needs of the working class in the 1920s.

[70]

[Total: 100 marks]

CHURCHILL, COMMUNISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

SOURCE A:

A liberal writer and commentator offers a view on Churchill's views on Communism in a short book about contemporary public figures.

Mr Churchill is seeing Red. His waking vision is haunted by constant fantasies of sinister little Communist figures, lurking in corners with Russian accents and inexhaustible supplies of dangerous pamphlets. That dramatic instinct which is his strength as a historian is his weakness as a politician. An anxious public was beginning to worry about economic problems after the war. Mr Churchill answered them with wild-eyed exclamations about Moscow. There was a fatal loss of contact with reality. One seems to see him gripped by a wild vision of a distant future, marching black-shirted* on London with a victorious army of warlike people. 5 10

* black-shirted: a reference to Mussolini's black-shirted fascists in Italy. Mussolini had been appointed prime minister in Italy in October 1922. 15

Philip Guedalla, A Gallery, 1924

SOURCE B:

In an article in a Conservative local newspaper, the Chancellor of the Exchequer outlines his attitude to the General Strike of May 1926.

We have been confronted with the most destructive industrial disturbance which this country has experienced for generations. The fact that the Trade Unions have become the tool of the Socialists in the Labour Party has brought politics into industry in a manner unknown in any country. The extremists are able on every occasion to force the majority into violent courses of action. This Moscow influence and the Moscow money have been powerful enough to drown out the voice of reason and good feeling. There is the greatest difference between an industrial dispute and a general strike. An industrial dispute about wages, hours, conditions etc. ought to be settled in a spirit of compromise. A general strike is a challenge to the Constitution and the nation. Here there is no room for compromise.

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Churchill, West Essex Constitutionalist, 1926

SOURCE C:

Cartoon showing Churchill as a traffic policeman urging the mine owners, represented by their spokesman Evan Williams, to move on. Underneath the cartoon it says, "The whole town's talking" – Move On! Williams is sitting on top of a donkey labelled 'owners' which is lying stubbornly in the middle of the road. He is holding a placard which says, 'Slogan – Not an inch to give a-way, NOT another word to say.' Angry people on a bus, labelled 'industry', and a boy on a cart, labelled 'Coal Peace', are all pointing and shouting at Williams to move.



"The Whole Town's Talking" – Move On!

Cartoon, London Evening Standard, 9 September 1926

SOURCE D:

Churchill's local reputation is discussed by the Conservative M.P. for Bristol.

I must send you a piece of news that has come to me through my agent in Bristol. He attended an open-air socialist meeting where the Coal Question was being discussed. The speaker, who had twice been a Labour Parliamentary candidate, told his audience that if only the settling of disputes between the Miners and Coal owners after the General Strike had been left in your hands some weeks ago, it would have been settled and the miners would have had a fair deal. I think this is pleasing, coming from such a source and is likely to be an indication of a much wider and similar feeling in the country.

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Letter to Churchill, 11 November 1926

SOURCE E:

In his sequel to his history of the First World War and events which led to it, Churchill expresses his view of Communist Russia.

The Revolution in Russia has produced a poisoned Russia, an infected Russia; a Russia of armed hordes striking with bayonet and cannon. They were led by swarms of Bolshevik leaders who were like typhus-bearing vermin which killed many men and whose political doctrines destroyed the health and even the soul of nations. By 1920 the West needed to be protected from the Bolshevik infection by independent nations between Russia and Western Europe who were hostile to Communism.

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Churchill, The Aftermath, 1929

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