

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

British History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

TUESDAY 22 MAY 2012: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance
MODIFIED ENLARGED

Candidates answer on the Question Paper.

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 1815–1853 (pages 4–9)
 - The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886 (pages 10–15)
 - England and a New Century 1900–1924 (pages 16–21)
 - Churchill 1920–1945 (pages 22–26)
- 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 Topic 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 Public Health in the 1840s and then answer BOTH sub-questions. You will need to turn over for Sources D and E.

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

1 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the role local authorities played in public health issues.

[30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the reform of public health in the 1840s was mainly due to the work of Edwin Chadwick.

[70]

[Total: 100 marks]

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE 1840S

SOURCE A: A Benthamite poor law commissioner reports and makes recommendations on health issues. The Report was published under his own name as the Poor Law Board would not do so under its own authority.

Disease is spread amongst the labouring classes by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing matter, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings. Where removed by drainage, proper cleansing and better ventilation it is decreased. The annual loss of life here is greater than in our modern wars. Local authority rates are generally unequally and unfairly assessed, oppressively and uneconomically collected, wastefully spent in separate and inefficient operations by unskilled, impractical and irresponsible officers. 5 10

The most important measures are drainage, the removal of all refuse from houses and streets, and the improvement of water supply. The main obstacle to this has been the expense of labour and transport. To reduce this it is necessary to use water to flush through in cheaper sewers and drains. Such expense would be a financial gain, diminishing the expense of sickness and early death. It would be good economy to appoint a district medical officer, qualified and responsible, to initiate sanitary measures. 15 20

Edwin Chadwick, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, 1842

SOURCE B: An expert on sanitation considers the competence of local authorities on health issues.

The utter failure of local self government for sanitary purposes is notorious. Drainage, crucially important, cannot be carried out by them. Few parishes can command an extensive area of land, surveyed with scientific skill. Elected councillors are unlikely to produce this. We are not supporters of centralisation but we would rather trust to central government than to local authorities. Government appointment would secure a better class of sanitary officer than parish election.

W A Guy, The Sanitary Question, 1847

SOURCE C: An author, in a middle class Tory-leaning journal, comments on new legislation.

The Public Health Act of 1848, thin and slightly damaged, has been safely passed. It has clothed itself in the homely saying 'prevention is better than cure', which also gives life to the mighty works of the new philanthropy. Mr Chadwick must remember that in becoming a paid Commissioner in the new Central Board he will have to encounter more suspicion and mistrust than any other public man. It would be unfortunate for the cause which he is so capable of serving if, acting under the stern compulsion of his utilitarian theories, he should be tempted to advise or commit tyrannical injustice.

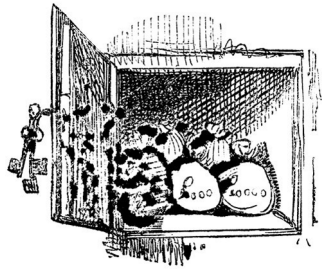
Fraser's Magazine, 1848

SOURCE D: A satirical magazine, popular amongst the educated middle and upper classes, comments on the new Central Board of Health's flushing of the London sewers into the Thames in response to the cholera epidemic of 1848–9.

THE WATER THAT JOHN DRINKS

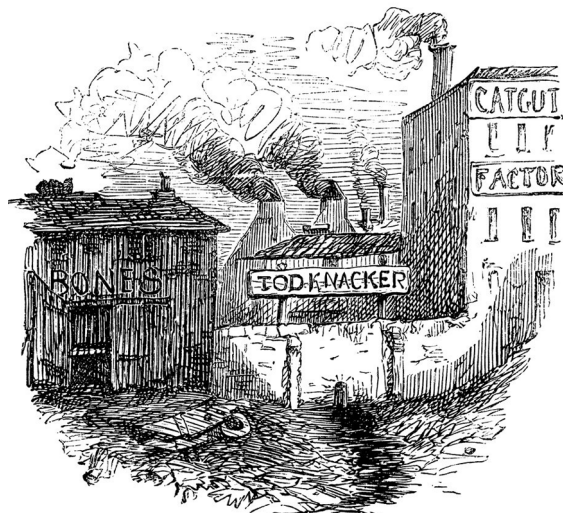
This is the price that we pay to wink

[the picture shows a safe full of large bags of money]



At the vested interests that fill to the brink

[the picture shows factories with smoking chimneys which are labelled 'Catgut factory' and 'Todknacker', and a ramshackle building labelled 'Bones']



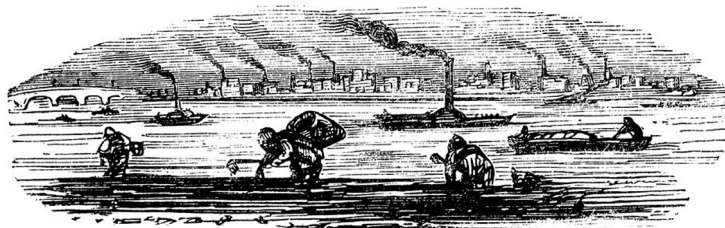
The network of sewers from cesspool and sink

[waste is shown coming out of a sewer]



That feed the fish that float in the ink-

**[smoking chimneys can be seen by the side of the
Thames while boats sail on the river and people
search the river banks]**



-y stream of the Thames with its centre of stink

**[large objects such as a boot, bottle and hat are
shown floating in the river alongside other creatures]**



That supplies the water that John drinks.

[there is a picture of a glass full of dirty water]



***[Words and descriptions of pictures in a cartoon from
Punch, October 1849]***

SOURCE E: A popular and influential Victorian author and journalist, who did much in his novels to raise awareness of social problems, comments in his weekly newspaper on public health reform.

John Bull's* heart is only reached through his pocket when in a state of alarm. Cry 'Cholera!' and he stirs himself to action. To cholera we owe the few sanitary measures now in force but they were passed by Parliament in its agonies of fright. The moment, however, cholera bulletins ceased to be issued John buttoned up his pockets tighter than ever and Parliament was dumb regarding public health.

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Charles Dickens, Household Words, 1850

****John Bull – represents England***

THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Gladstone's First Ministry and the Election of 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 Liberal achievement in government. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the outcome of the 1874 election was the result of Conservative leadership and organisation. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY AND THE ELECTION OF 1874

**SOURCE A: The Times reports the Prime
Minister's address to the electors
of his Greenwich constituency on
the eve of the general election.**

**Over the last five years the national debt has been
reduced and taxes lowered or abolished. The
Alabama Indemnity has been paid. We anticipate
a surplus. It has been our happy fortune to bring
the income tax down, and the country may enjoy 5
the advantage and relief of its total repeal. An
effort should now be made to attain this and to
give to the general consumer relief on articles of
popular consumption. I for one could not belong
to a Government which did not, on every occasion, 10
secure a sound economy.**

Gladstone, 24 January 1874

SOURCE B: An experienced Whig statesman and Liberal Minister in Gladstone's first government, writes to Gladstone immediately after the general election.

People are frightened – masters of their workmen, manufacturers of strikes, Anglicans of nonconformists, many of what is going on abroad – and in unreasoning fear they have taken refuge in conservatism. The Secret Ballot enabled them to do this without apparently deserting their principles and party. Things are likely to run for a time in opposite directions. The feelings of those who suffer from the removal of abuses are always stronger than those who benefit. Gratitude for the Reform Act of 1867 hardly gave a Conservative majority in 1868, and gratitude for the removal of the Irish church, purchase in the army etc. has not given us a majority in 1874.

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Lord Halifax, letter, 12 February 1874

SOURCE C: The Queen records her first conversation with Disraeli since writing to ask him to form a government.

Mr Disraeli expressed great surprise at the result of the elections. He had thought there might have been a very small majority for the Liberals but nothing like this had been anticipated and no party organisation could have caused this result of a majority of nearly 64. It justified, he said, the course he had pursued last March in declining to take office.

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Queen Victoria, memorandum, 18 February 1874

SOURCE D: A political journalist writes on the election in a leading intellectual Radical journal edited by John Morley, a supporter of Gladstone.

The middle class has swung round to Conservatism despite paying much of the income tax, and despite the promise of its abolition as a reward by the Liberals. Their mood is of a negative kind with a preference for 'leaving well alone'. When we look at the results in London, the surrounding Home Counties and the large urban centres the comfortable middle class has grown Conservative. There are no 'special causes' here – worker's beer has no influence with the London middle class. There are few workers in the Home Counties. The Conservative party has limited influence in Manchester. The 25th section men* are not strong in London and there is no residuum** in the counties.

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Frederic Harrison, The Conservative Reaction, Fortnightly Review, 1874

*25th section men – nonconformists who objected to section 25 of Forster's 1870 Education Act allowing School Boards to pay the fees of poor children at Church of England schools.

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**residuum – the lower, non-propertied classes, some of whom had begun to get the vote after the Second Reform Act of 1867.

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SOURCE E: The son of the man who reformed the organisation of the Conservative Party comments on party strategies in the 1874 election.

Disraeli saw the necessity of creating an organisation to meet the new conditions of the Reform Act. He chose Mr Gorst and said that what was needed was that every constituency should have a candidate ready. Offices and staff were installed as 'Conservative Central Office'. When parliament was unexpectedly dissolved in 1874 there was no confusion. Telegrams were sent immediately to all constituencies telling them to prepare and asking who the candidate was. The plan of campaign was to throw the resources of the central organisation into those contests which received little local help but which gave expectation of success. In this way an election was turned into a brilliant victory.

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H E Gorst, Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield, 1900

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on The Issue of Women's Suffrage 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 opposition to votes for women. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the main argument for giving women the vote was that the political system would be improved. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE ISSUE OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

SOURCE A: Items listed on a poster produced by the Women's Social and Political Union present the case for votes for women.

WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE

BECAUSE

No race or class or sex can have its interest properly safeguarded unless it is represented by direct suffrage.

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BECAUSE

Women are taxed without being represented, and taxation without representation is tyranny.

BECAUSE

Municipal government, in which women have a share, is in advance of Parliamentary attitudes on many important questions.

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BECAUSE

Women have to obey the laws equally with men so they ought to have a voice in deciding those laws.

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BECAUSE

The vote will make women better comrades to their husbands, better mothers to their children and better housekeepers.

Christabel Pankhurst, Why Women Want the Vote, 1907

SOURCE B: A male supporter of women's suffrage explains why he supports votes for women.

It is useless to talk about the equal worth of women, as long as men exercise their power to exclude them from any activity they may wish to enter. It is useless to declare they are willing to admit women into everything except politics. Disenfranchisement brands women with a permanent mark of inferiority. An adult who is unfit to take part in politics will inevitably be made to feel inferior in education, in professional and industrial employments and in social relations. The average man will always treat women badly if he considers himself superior.

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W.L. Blease, The Emancipation of English Women, 1910

SOURCE C: A member of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League addresses the local Anti-Suffrage Society of East Grinstead about a recent survey of the women of the area and explains her opposition to votes for women.

Of the 200 women of East Grinstead, 80 did not want the vote, 40 did want the vote and the rest were not sufficiently interested to express an opinion. Women have little knowledge of, or interest in, politics. The problems of government can only be solved by the special knowledge of men not politically inexperienced women. Politics will go on without the help of women, but the home will not. Women are not equal to men in endurance or nervous energy and, on the whole, in intellect. Although women have been granted the vote in some small countries this is not the case in any great empire.

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Mrs A. Colquhoun, speech, 1911

SOURCE D: A member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies considers some of the arguments used to deny women the vote and her reasons for supporting the cause of women's suffrage.

Politicians and the Press constantly declare that the average wife can neither sew, cook, wash nor manage her children. So, why introduce into politics these unsatisfactory creatures? Contrary to popular criticism the mental superiority of the wife to the husband is very marked. The ceaseless fight which these women wage in defence of their homes develops in them perseverance and resolve which men, unjustly, deny. The wives are without the smattering of newspaper information which their husbands exchange in the public houses but they have a fund of commonsense and an intimate knowledge of the workings of male human nature will make them invaluable as voters.

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*Mrs A. Martin, The Married Working Woman:
A Study, 1911*

SOURCE E: The former Prime Minister explains why he changed his views on votes for women in a speech in the House of Commons.

My opposition to woman suffrage was based on considerations of public good. I used to say, 'Let women work out their own salvation'. Well, Sir, they have. How could we have carried on the war without them? When the war is over I would find it impossible to withhold from women the right of making their voices heard. In addition, since the war began, we have had no recurrence of that detestable campaign which disfigured the politics of this country. Thus, no one can now say that we are yielding to violence what we refused to concede by argument before the war.

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H. Asquith, speech, March 1917

CHURCHILL 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill's Qualities as a Leader 1939–40 and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources B and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Churchill's leadership style. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill was best suited to be Prime Minister in 1940. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

CHURCHILL'S QUALITIES AS A LEADER 1939–40

SOURCE A: Chamberlain's private secretary, later to work in the same capacity for Churchill, gives his view of Churchill.

He certainly gives one confidence and will, I suspect, be Prime Minister before this war is over. Nevertheless, judging from his record of untrustworthiness and instability, he may, in that case, lead us into the most dangerous paths. But he is the only man in the country who commands anything like universal respect, and perhaps with age he has become less inclined to undertake rash adventures.

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Sir John 'Jock' Colville, Diary, 1 October 1939

SOURCE B: A leading journalist, the diplomatic editor of 'The Times', offers a view of Churchill.

There is a drive against Chamberlain; I can't quite see who can advantageously take his place. Curiously enough what is really needed is that Winston should be made to take a rest. He is overdoing himself and taking the strain by stocking himself up unduly with champagne, liqueurs etc. He dines out almost every night. He has got into the habit of calling conferences and subordinates after 1 am, so there is an atmosphere of strain at the Admiralty which is all wrong. Yet Winston is such a popular hero that he cannot be dropped. But he ought to be rested!

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Leo Kennedy, Diary, 4 May 1940

SOURCE C: A leading member of a pro-Churchill group of Conservative MPs writes to Churchill.

I have been in the House of Commons all day. This is the situation as I see it

- 1 The Labour party won't have Chamberlain as PM at any price** **25**
- 2. Nor will the Liberals**
- 3. Nor will our group of Tory MPs**

A majority of the House is determined on a radical reconstruction. Opinion is hardening against appointing Halifax as Prime Minister. I find a gathering consensus of opinion in all quarters that you are the necessary and inevitable Prime Minister – as I wrote to you some weeks ago. God knows it is a terrible prospect for you. But I don't see how you can avoid it. **30**

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Sir Robert 'Bob' Boothby, letter, 9 May 1940

SOURCE D: After Chamberlain had come to offer his resignation, the King discusses with him whom to appoint as Prime Minister.

I told Chamberlain how unfairly he had been treated and we had an informal talk about his successor. I, of course, suggested Halifax, but he told me that Halifax was unenthusiastic as being in the Lords he could only act as a shadow in the House of Commons where the real work was done. I thought Halifax was the obvious man and that his peerage could be suspended for the duration of the war. I asked Chamberlain his advice and he told me Winston was the man to send for.

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George VI, Diary, 10 May 1940

SOURCE E: In a letter from Mrs. Churchill to her husband, some criticism of Churchill is expressed.

My darling,

I hope you will forgive me if I tell you something that I feel you ought to know. There is a danger of your being generally disliked by your colleagues and subordinates because of your rough and
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sarcastic and overbearing manner. If an idea is suggested at a conference you are supposed to be so contemptuous that in the end no ideas, good or bad, will be forthcoming. You won't get the best
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results by bad temper and rudeness. They will breed either dislike or a slave mentality.

Please forgive your ever loving devoted and watchful

Clementine

Clementine Churchill, letter, 27 June 1940

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