

ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE

HISTORY

British History Enquires
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

F963/02

Candidates answer on the answer booklet.

OCR supplied materials:

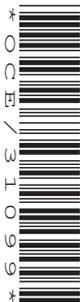
- 8 page answer booklet
(sent with general stationery)

Other materials required:

None

Thursday 20 January 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 2–4)
 - The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86 (pages 6–7)
 - England and a New Century 1900–24 (pages 8–9)
 - Churchill 1920–45 (pages 10–11)
- 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 Trade Unions 1824–44 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 **C** and **D**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views on the Tolpuddle case of 1834. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the workers and their leaders were the **main** reason for Trade Union weakness in the period from 1824 to 1844. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

Trade Unions 1824–44

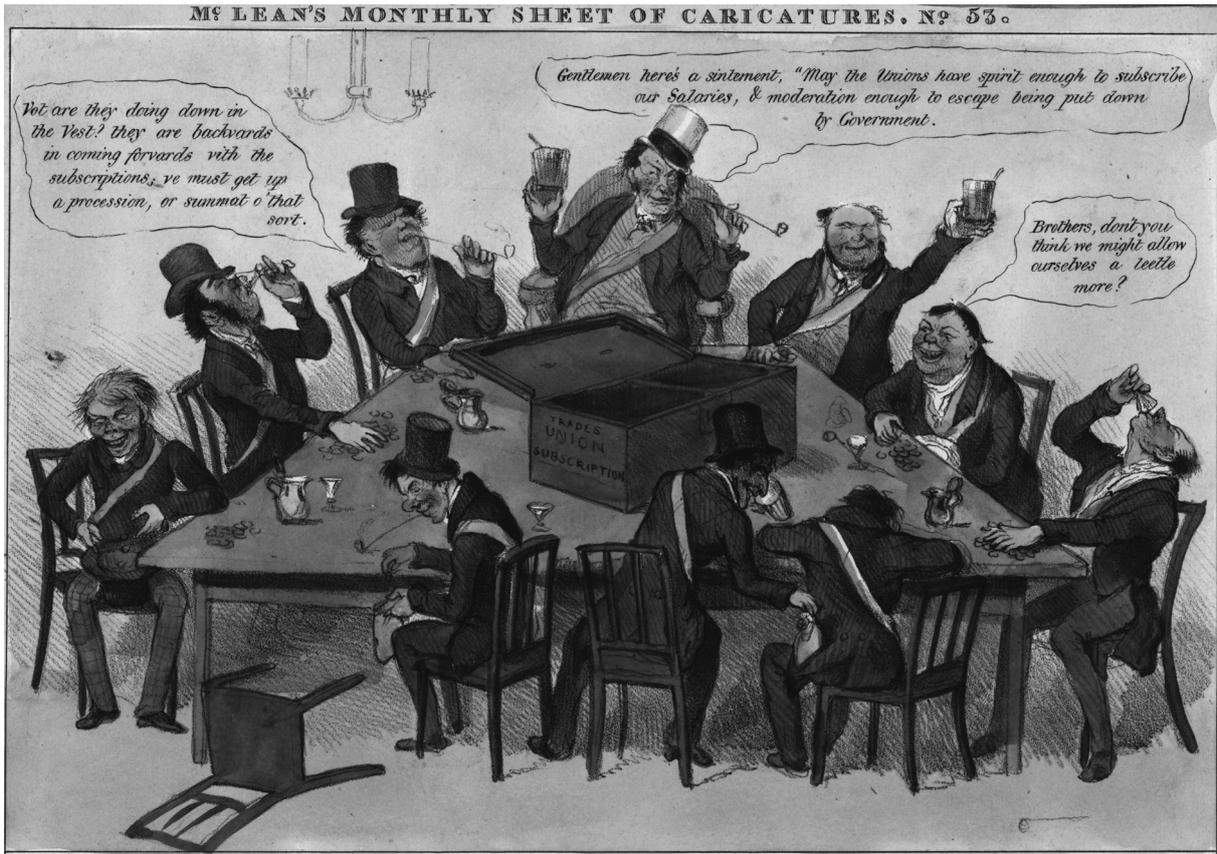
Source A: A skilled and radical London tailor describes how he helped the radical MP Joseph Hume secure witnesses for a parliamentary committee investigating the working of the Combination Laws.

The workmen called as witnesses before the Committee were not easily managed. They were filled with false ideas, attributing their distresses to wrong causes like taxes, machinery, laws against combinations, the will of the masters and the conduct of magistrates, seeing these as the causes of all their sorrows. All expected a great and sudden rise of wages when the Combination Laws should be repealed; none had any idea whatever of the connection between wages and population. I discussed everything with them most carefully.

5

Francis Place, unpublished papers, 1824

Source B: A cartoonist illustrates his view of a Trades' Union Committee.



The speeches read, from left to right –

'What are they doing down in the west? They are backwards in coming forwards with the subscriptions; we must get up a procession or sommat o that sort.'

10

'Gentlemen, here's a sentiment, 'May the Unions have spirit enough to subscribe our salaries and moderation enough to escape being put down by government.'

'Brothers, don't you think we might allow ourselves a little more?'

Cartoon, 1830

Source C: A local landowner and chief magistrate in Dorset comments to the Home Secretary on the Tolpuddle case.

This trial has been looked forward to with the greatest anxiety by all Classes in this County: the farmers feeling that on it depended whether they should in future have any control over their Labourers; and the Labourers only waiting to join the Union as soon as they were satisfied they could do so without punishment. The conviction and the prompt execution of the sentence of transportation have given the greatest satisfaction to all the Higher Classes, and will, no doubt, have a very great effect among the Labourers.

15

James Frampton, letter to Lord Melbourne, 1834

TURN OVER FOR SOURCES D AND E

Source D: A labourer and Methodist preacher, who had formed a Friendly Society of agricultural labourers in Tolpuddle, Dorset, comments on events between 1831 and 1834.

In 1831–32 we agreed a wage increase from seven to ten shillings (35 to 50p). The chief magistrate, James Frampton, whose name I shall not soon forget, was told of this. Wages were then lowered to six shillings (30p) per week. I knew it would be pointless to seek redress of employers, magistrates or parsons*. We formed a Friendly Society and two delegates from a Trade Society gave direction on how to proceed. In February 1834 placards were displayed threatening transportation to any who joined a union, the first I heard of any law forbidding such societies. Unjust means were used to gain a charge against us. Our characters were investigated – were we idle and frequenters of inns? Much as our masters opposed us they had the common honesty to declare us good Labourers. Then the unjust and cruel judge ordered we be tried for mutiny and conspiracy under an old Act (1797) to suppress mutiny at sea. 20
25
30

*parsons: local clergymen or vicars

George Loveless, Victims of Whiggery, 1837

Source E: A moderate miners' leader, and in 1874 one of the first Liberal working class MPs for the north east, comments on the 1844 miners' strike which, during his childhood, affected his own family.

There was no eagerness for a strike for there were no resources. The tommy shops* would close. There were no co-operative societies. The union had no reserve funds. In 1844 the men left their work in April and immediate steps were taken to fill the places left vacant. Men were brought from Wales under much better terms. Then came the evictions. The coal owners were the owners of the cottages in which the pitmen lived. Though the cause might be just it was not destined to prevail at that time. The mine owners won 'hands down' by treating the men as if they did not exist. 35

*Tommy shops: Truck or Company owned Shops.

Thomas Burt, autobiography, published 1924

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The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886

Study the **five** Sources on Disraeli and Parliamentary Reform, 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 views of Disraeli on extending the right to vote. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Disraeli's approach to parliamentary reform was purely opportunistic during the period from 1865 to 1867. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Disraeli and Parliamentary Reform

Source A: One of the leaders of the Conservative opposition comments in the House of Commons on a proposed reform measure from a Liberal MP.

I think it possible to increase the middle class electorate rather than move downwards to the working man, in harmony with the principles of the Constitution. However this to apply only if the opportunity were favourable and the necessity urgent. The suffrage should remain a privilege, to be gained by virtue, intelligence, industry, integrity, and to be exercised for the common good. If you quit that ground, if you once admit that a man has a right to vote, you would change the character of the Constitution. 5

Disraeli, speech, 1865

Source B: The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduces his proposed Reform Bill to the House of Commons.

Our Bill is not framed, as the Liberal one was, to enfranchise a specific number. We lay down a principle for reform not liable to alteration, that of Borough Household Suffrage for those who pay rates personally. But if you ask us the result of its working we say that we do not think the numbers enfranchised will exceed those envisaged by the last Bill. 10

I hear much of the struggle of Parties in this House, and much of the combinations that may occur and the courses that may be taken. We have no other wish than, with the co-operation of this House, to settle Reform. The increase of the population, the progress of industry, and the spread of knowledge have created numbers, thoughts and feelings which it is desirable should be admitted within the circle of the Constitution. 15

Disraeli, speech, March 1867

Source C: The Chancellor of the Exchequer comments to the new Home Secretary on his decision to accept an amendment to his bill abolishing compounding by the Liberal MP Hodgkinson.

I waited until the vote in the Commons was proposed, having resolved everything in my mind, I felt the critical moment had arrived. When, without the slightest degree retreating from our principle of a rating and residential franchise, we might take a step and destroy the present agitation and extinguish Gladstone & Co. I therefore accepted the spirit of Hodgkinson's amendment*.

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*Hodgkinson's amendment – to end the practice of compounding where householders had agreed to include their rate payments in the rental paid to their landlord.

Disraeli, letter to Gathorne Hardy, 18 May 1867

Source D: A Liberal MP comments in the House of Commons on Disraeli's tactics in securing the Reform Bill.

Disraeli is an able tactician. He well knew that, had he proposed the measure now before us and shown it to his Party, they would have started back in horror. He has treated them as a shy horse – take him gently up, walk him round the object and then, when repeated often enough, get the creature to pass it quietly. He saw from the first that the principle of giving the vote to personal ratepayers and to compounders was two different things, but he did not say so. No; he had a precious cargo on board, and he did not wish to overload the ship with something that might sink it.

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Robert Lowe, speech, May 1867

Source E: Writing to a local Conservative organiser a leading Conservative, later Prime Minister, comments on Disraeli's behaviour and actions during the previous year.

The Conservative party is striving for the premiership of Mr Disraeli, but he is an adventurer, without principles and honesty. His power of intrigue makes him practically master of the movements of this party. It was shown as clearly as possible last year. The conversion of the Cabinet and party to household suffrage was a feat which showed that there was nothing strong enough in either to resist his will. The worst that can happen is his continuance in power. In an age of reckless statesmen he is, I think, the one least restrained by fear or scruple.

30

Viscount Cranborne, letter, 1868

England and the New Century 1900–1924

Study the **five** Sources on The Reasons for Tackling Poverty 1900–14 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 **D**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to State intervention in dealing with poverty. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the **main** reason for tackling poverty was a moral obligation to help the poor. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Reasons for Tackling Poverty 1900–14

Source A: A prominent Liberal politician writes about contrasting views on how best to help the poor.

The conditions of society are so bad that they can be tolerated no longer. Laissez-faire policy is not likely to bring the cure. The facts of poverty are now known. In them we find the answer to those who use the doctrine of the old Liberalism to attack the policy of the new. The State is capable of implementing social reform. Self-reliance is a powerful force, but not powerful enough to cure unaided the diseases that afflict society. Liberty is of supreme importance, but State assistance, rightly directed, may extend the bounds of liberty. 5

H. Samuel, Liberalism, 1902

Source B: The President of the Board of Trade advises Asquith, the Prime Minister, on the objectives and policies of his recently formed government.

Germany has established tolerable basic conditions for her people. The Minister who applies Germany's successful example to our country will leave a lasting memorial. The miseries which this winter is inflicting means the poorer classes will back us. The type of legislation required is the kind the House of Lords will not dare oppose. The expenditure of less than ten million a year, not upon relief, but upon new social systems would make England a better place for the poor. Once the country begins to feel the benefit of these designs, it will give solid support to the Liberal government. 10

W.S. Churchill, letter, 29 December 1908

Source C: After four years of research the majority of the Commission appointed to investigate the Poor Law outlines its concerns about the existing system of poor relief.

To certain classes of the community, into whose material condition it has been our duty to enquire, the words 'Land of Hope and Glory' are a mockery and a falsehood. This is possibly due to their own failure and faults. Our investigations prove the existence in our midst of a class whose condition and environment discredit and imperil the whole community. Each section of society has a common duty to combat this evil which can only be performed by united and untiring effort to convert useless and costly inefficients into self-sustaining and respectable members of the community. 15
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Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, 1909

Source D: A leading sociologist and thinker defines the task of a Liberal government.

It is for the State to ensure that economic conditions are such that an able-bodied man can, by useful labour, feed, house and clothe himself and his family. The right to work and the right to a living wage are just as valid as the rights of person and property. They are essential conditions of a good social order and civic efficiency. The workman owes the State the duty of working hard for his family. Society owes to him the means of maintaining a civilised standard of life rather than leaving him to secure such wages as he can by haggling in the market. 25

L.T. Hobhouse, Liberalism, 1911

Source E: The Archbishop of York, a strong supporter of enlightened capitalism, who had worked with the poor as a parish priest in the slums of Portsmouth, Leeds and London, expresses his concerns about the uneven distribution of wealth in England.

The contrast of increasing prosperity and of great poverty in all our cities is appalling. When I think of the great multitude of our working folk among whom I have laboured, whom I have learnt to revere, I picture the monotony of toil they are called upon to bear, the uncertainty of employment which haunts them day to day, the overcrowded houses in which we expect them to rear British homes, the dismal streets from which every sign of the beauty of God's earth are shut out. This inequality ought not to exist. 30

Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang, speech, 1911

Churchill 1920–1945

Study the **five** Sources on Churchill in the 1920s 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 **D** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views about Churchill's economic policy in 1925. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill's domestic policies and attitudes in the 1920s were disastrous for his reputation. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

Churchill in the 1920s

Source A: A famous political cartoonist of the inter-war period recalls his impression of Churchill in the 1920s.

Whenever I heard Churchill's dramatic statements about democracy, I felt inclined to say 'Please define'. His definition, I felt, would be something like 'government of the people, for the people, by benevolent and paternal ruling-class chaps like me.' Remembering, when his dislike of political movements from the working class took him close to Fascism, when the idea of a Labour Government was alleged to mean setting up Bolshevism at Westminster, I could never accept him as a democrat. Winston's characteristics were confidence in himself and love of his country, a high sense of the dramatic; a talent for self-advertisement; and to cap it all, imagination and guts.

5

David Low, Autobiography, 1956

Source B: A left-wing Labour M.P. recalls the impression that Churchill made in the 1920s.

Nobody in British politics during the 1920s inspired more dislike in Labour circles than Winston Churchill. He was Labour's most dangerous opponent and the most brilliant of them all. His activities as Chancellor of the Exchequer and as the self-appointed guardian of the Constitution during the General Strike embittered relations between him and the Labour Movement. He was accused of taking decisions that led to a sharp increase in unemployment, and of rejecting attempts to compromise in the General Strike, thus prolonging the dispute. At Labour gatherings, 'Down with Winston Churchill!' never failed to draw thunderous applause. Undoubtedly, he was our most valuable propaganda asset.

10

15

Emmanuel Shinwell, Churchill As Political Opponent, 1953

Source C: The First Sea Lord, the leading admiral of the 1920s, writing to his wife, expresses his concerns about Churchill's policies.

That extraordinary fellow Winston has gone mad. He is economically mad, and no sacrifice is too great to achieve what in his short-sightedness is his plan to cure all evils, to take 1 shilling [5p] off Income Tax. Nobody outside a lunatic asylum expects this. But he has made up his mind that it is the only thing he can do to justify his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The result will be a split in the Conservative party. As we, the Admiralty, are the main spending department, he attacks us with great force, and now proclaims that a Navy is a quite unnecessary luxury. 20

Sir David Beatty, letter, 26 January 1925

Source D: A leading liberal economist expresses his concern about the Return to Gold.

We know as a fact that, as a result of the Return to Gold, the value of the pound sterling (£) abroad has been raised by 10% whilst its purchasing power for British people is unchanged. This alteration has been the deliberate act of the government and the present troubles of our export industries are the inevitable consequences of it. Mr Churchill's policy of increasing the value of the pound by 10% was sooner or later a policy of reducing everyone's wages by 2 shillings [10p] in the pound. With this dangerous and unnecessary decision, no wonder our export industries are in trouble! 25 30

J.M. Keynes, The Economic Consequences of Mr Churchill, 1925

Source E: A British newspaper reports the view of leading bankers towards Churchill's economic policy.

The president of the British Bankers' Association, Sir Felix Schuster, offered on behalf of his fellow bankers, warm congratulations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Churchill] upon the return to the Gold Standard. It was, he said, a momentous and heroic occasion, an event of the most monumental importance which will affect the welfare of everyone. It would lessen the cost of living and the cost of production. In the course of time we should become the principal lenders to foreign countries, greatly to the advantage of our industries. 35

The Times, May 1925

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