

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

Option B: British History Enquiries 1815–1945

MONDAY 8 JUNE 2009: Morning

DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer on 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. Pencil may be used for graphs and diagrams only.**
- **Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.**

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 two Options:
 - The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86 (pages 4–9)
 - England and a New Century 1900–24 (pages 10–15)
- Answer **BOTH SUB-QUESTIONS** from **ONE** Option.
- 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 AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–86

Study the five Sources on Disraeli and Social 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 B and D.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for the ideas behind Disraeli's social reforms in the 1870s. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Disraeli carefully planned a programme of social reform in the 1870s. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

DISRAELI AND SOCIAL REFORM

SOURCE A: Disraeli, speaking in the House of Commons during debates on Liberal trade union legislation, takes a very favourable view of working class circumstances.

The working classes are not poor; on the contrary, they are a very wealthy class. Their total income is certainly greater than any other class. I am not speaking merely of the deposits in savings banks, but of funds which I am aware are in the possession of their unions and which are accumulated to meet their trade necessities and to defend their labour and rights.

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Disraeli, as reported in Hansard, 31 July 1871

SOURCE B: In a widely publicised speech made in Manchester, Disraeli outlines Conservative policy.

In attempting to legislate upon social matters the great object is to be practical. I think public attention ought to be concentrated upon sanitary legislation. That is a wide subject, and comprises almost every consideration which has a just claim upon legislative interference. Pure air, pure water, the inspection of unhealthy dwellings, the adulteration of food, these and many similar matters may be properly dealt with by Parliament. **10**

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the subject. After all, the first consideration of a minister should be the health of the people. If the population every ten years decreases and the height of the race every ten years diminishes, the history of that country will soon be the history of the past. **15**

Disraeli, speech, 3 April 1872

SOURCE C: Richard Cross, at the time Home Secretary, describes a Cabinet meeting in 1874 soon after the Conservatives gained power following their election victory in that year.

When the Cabinet came to discuss our government's programme, I was, I confess, disappointed at the lack of originality shown by the Prime Minister. From all his speeches, I had expected that his mind was full of legislative schemes, but such did not prove to be the case. On the contrary, he had to entirely rely on the various suggestions of his colleagues. There was some difficulty in framing the Queen's Speech.

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R. Cross, A Political History, 1903

SOURCE D: Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, introduces the 1875 Artisans' Dwellings Bill to Parliament by discussing the principles upon which it was based.

It is not the duty of the Government to provide citizens with good habitable dwellings. If it did so, it would inevitably tend to make them depend, not on themselves, but upon what was done for them. Nor is it wise to encourage large organisations to provide the working classes with dwellings at greatly lower rents than the market value paid elsewhere. However, no one will doubt the right of the State to interfere in matters relating to sanitary laws. Looking at the Bill as a matter of sanitary reform, there is much to be done by Parliament to take the people out of that miserable condition, namely, that, even if they want to have decent homes, they cannot get them.

R. Cross, as reported in Hansard, 8 February 1875

SOURCE E: A modern historian comments on Disraeli's social policy and legislation.

Disraeli was less actively concerned with social policy than were most of his colleagues. He was content that others should exert themselves. 50

There was, it is true, a miraculous year of Conservative social reform in 1875, though little enough of what was passed made any practical difference. Some of the legislation was simply a matter of bringing together existing laws, as with the Public Health Act. Most of it was permissive, leaving it to local authorities to choose whether to take any action. Very little of it involved the spending of money. The legislation of the 1870s was not a move towards a welfare state. 55

Domestic legislation faded out after 1875. 60

J. R. Vincent, Disraeli, 1990

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY 1900–24

Study the five Sources on Irish Home Rule, and then answer BOTH the 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 two Sources as evidence for attitudes towards the Irish Home Rule Bill. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that a crisis arose in Irish affairs in the period 1912 to 1914 MAINLY as a result of Asquith's mishandling of events. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

IRISH HOME RULE

SOURCE A: The Conservative leader, in a speech at Blenheim Palace, promises to resist the government's plans for Irish Home Rule.

The Liberal Chief Whip has said that the Home Rule Bill will be carried by the Commons before Christmas. However, we do not accept the right of the government to carry out such a revolution. In opposition, we shall use any means to compel them to abandon this policy. In this case, there are things stronger than a parliamentary majority. I can imagine no lengths of resistance to which Ulster will go in which I shall not be ready to support them, along with the overwhelming majority of the British people.

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Andrew Bonar Law, reported in The Times, July 1912

SOURCE B: The leader of the Irish Unionists launches the ‘Solemn League and Covenant’ which declared undying opposition to Home Rule.

Under the Home Rule Bill, rich, industrialised Ulster will be in a perpetual minority in a Dublin Parliament. We are convinced that Home Rule would be disastrous for Ulster, for the whole of Ireland, and for the unity of the Empire. Therefore, as Ulster men and loyal subjects of his Majesty George V, we pledge ourselves in signing this solemn covenant to stand together against this threatened calamity. We promise to defend our equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, to use all necessary means to defeat this conspiracy to establish a Home Rule parliament in Ireland, and to refuse to recognise any such parliament. God save the King.

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***Sir Edward Carson, reported in The Times,
September 1912***

SOURCE C: The leader of the Irish Nationalists in Parliament rejects the principle of excluding Ulster from Home Rule.

The idea of two nations in Ireland is revolting and hateful. To us, Ireland is one land. Why should it be the only country in the world where religious hatred causes permanent division? Partition is unthinkable. Home Rule is the demand of our Irish Nation for the restoration of its national rights. The proposed exclusion of Ulster would mean the disintegration of our nation for all time. Any attempt to cut off the protestants from the Irish race sounds like sacrilege, as many of our martyrs in the national struggle have been protestants. As Mr Parnell said in 1886: ‘No. We cannot give up a single Irishman.’

***John Redmond, speech, House of Commons,
January 1913***

SOURCE D: An Irish Nationalist Member of Parliament denounces Redmond's eventual adoption of exclusion for Ulster.

We insist on getting the whole of Ireland, and I would prefer no bill at all to the bill proposed by the government. It is clear that just as Mr Asquith has accepted permanent exclusion so his obedient servant Mr Redmond will now swallow that principle as well. Once again, Mr Redmond has abandoned his principles and supported the Liberal government. Let me tell the House what will happen. The four excluded counties will become a target for the rest of Ireland. You will set Catholics and Protestants against each other. There will be reprisals.

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***T. M. Healy, speech, House of Commons,
March 1914***

SOURCE E: A historian comments on Asquith's handling of the Home Rule Crisis.

In his failure to carry Home Rule, Asquith missed a glorious opportunity to settle the Ulster problem peacefully. Compromise might have been possible before the two sides became so inflexible. But Asquith followed a high-risk policy of delay. Where boldness was required, he was too cautious. He rejected the suggestions of Lloyd George and Churchill that special provision should be made for Ulster in the 1912 Bill. He did not take Ulster's resistance seriously until autumn 1913 when it was too late to avert the growing crisis. Total deadlock was reached long before the European War started.

Patricia Jalland, The Liberals and Ireland, 1980



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