



ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE

HISTORY

Option B: British History Enquiries 1815–1945

F963/02

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

OCR Supplied Materials:

- 8 page Answer Booklet

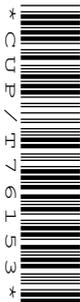
Other Materials Required:

None

Friday 16 January 2009

Afternoon

Duration: 1 hour 30 minutes



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.
- 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 Options:
 - 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 8–9)
- 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.
- This document consists of **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The Condition of England 1815–53

Study the five Sources on The Development of Elementary Education, 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 B.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for the arguments about state elementary education in the early 1830s. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the **main** obstacle to educational development in the period from 1830 to 1853 was financial. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Development of Elementary Education

Source A: An article in an influential Whig journal reflects on the need for education at a time of disturbance in the rural areas and conflict over parliamentary reform.

Let no one think that, if the spirit of discontent should penetrate the manufacturing districts, it could be suppressed or kept down by force. So mighty a mass of people cannot be forced into obedience. If we want to prolong that security which has been the principal foundation of our prosperity, we must show the labourers that we are interested in gaining their approval. For this reason, we are convinced that Parliament ought to waste no time in creating a really useful system of public education. Thus the poor will be instructed in the duties and obligations encouraged by religion and morality. 5

Causes and Cure of Disturbances and Pauperism, Edinburgh Review, 1831

Source B: A report of a parliamentary debate on education during which a Radical MP, John Roebuck, argues his case for state education and is challenged by a prominent Conservative MP, Sir Robert Peel.

John Roebuck said that universal state education will give the people a thorough understanding of the circumstances on which their happiness depended. They will learn what a government could and could not do to relieve their problems – they will learn what depended on themselves and what on others. We should have no more aimless and discontented people – no wild and futile schemes of Reform; no haystack-burning peasantry; no able bodied and uneducated pauper population and no monopoly-seeking manufacturing class. Neither will there be immoral landlords wishing to maintain a dangerous Corn Law monopoly. We will have a people industrious, honest, tolerant and happy. 10

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Sir Robert Peel replied that no such scheme was necessary. It was not quite correct to assert that education was so very imperfect. He believed that almost every gentleman who heard him had tried, in his own neighbourhood, to spread the benefits of education.

Debate in the House of Commons, July 1833

Source C: In a report of the same debate referred to in Source B, an older Radical M.P. William Cobbett objects to the proposal that Parliament should allow taxes to be spent on extending elementary education.

He could not agree to take from the people a single penny in the way of taxes to teach the working classes reading and writing. Education was the knowledge necessary for the situation in life in which a man was placed. Take two men, one able to plough and read and the other just a good shepherd. He would say the shepherd was the better man. He feared that the main effect would be to increase the number of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses – that new race of idlers. 20

Debate in the House of Commons, 17 August 1833

Source D: A prominent Nonconformist and editor of the Leeds Mercury, argues against more government interference in education.

Government influence would reduce the people of this country to a state of control as complete as that of the people of a country like military Prussia, or even of despotic China; it would destroy freedom of education, freedom of the press, freedom of religious conscience and freedom of industry.

Edward Baines, article in the Congregational Magazine, 1843

Source E: A German Marxist and Socialist writer, living in Manchester and observing the factory working class there, comments on the state of education in England.

The government, with its enormous budget of £55,000,000, has only the trifling item of £40,000 for public education. Without the fanaticism of the religious groups, which does at least as much harm as good, the means of education would be even more scanty. As it is, the state Anglican Church manages its National Schools and the nonconformists their sectarian schools. Their sole purpose is to keep the children of their faith separate and to win over children from their rivals. Thus religious hatred is awakened as early as possible, and all rational, mental and moral training shamefully neglected. The working-class has repeatedly demanded from Parliament a system of strictly secular public education. So far no government has acted. 30

F. Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844

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The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86

Study the five Sources on Gladstone and the Home Rule Crisis, 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 D.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for Liberal views of the Irish and their problems in the period from 1885 to 1886. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the First Home Rule Bill failed because of Gladstone's mishandling of the issue. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Gladstone and the Home Rule Crisis

Source A: Following a conversation with Gladstone just before the general election in November 1885, Lord Derby, a former Conservative who joined the Liberals, reports Gladstone's views on the issue of Home Rule to a Whig Liberal leader.

Gladstone said he had been studying the subject a good deal; that he had come to the conclusion that the form of the Union was a mistake. He believed that the Irish would be content with nothing less than a Parliament of their own. The question was becoming urgent; the Irish were better organised than ever; we could not go on with eighty or ninety of them in the House of Commons – the state of that body now was a disgrace, and it would be worse in the new Parliament. 5

Lord Derby to Earl Granville, 2 October 1885

Source B: Following the same general election of 1885 in which the Irish Nationalists won all but one Irish seat outside Ulster, Gladstone writes privately about his views to the former Whig and Liberal leader. On the same day his son made a public announcement, known as the Hawarden Kite, of his father's conversion to Home Rule.

I consider that Ireland has now spoken and that an effort ought to be made by the Conservative government without delay to meet her demands for the management by an Irish law-making body of Irish affairs as distinct from imperial affairs. Only a government can do it, and a Tory government can do it more easily and safely than any other. I should wish to encourage them, but on no account to say or do anything which would enable the Nationalists to establish rival bids between the Tories and us. 10

Gladstone to Lord Hartington, 17 December 1885

Source C: Lord Derby records the views of Lord Hartington following correspondence with him.

Hartington does not know exactly what Gladstone has been doing, but his action has put us all in a position of the greatest difficulty. He does not think that Gladstone has a definite scheme, but has been discussing the whole question very freely in conversation and correspondence. Hartington agrees with me that a dependent Dublin parliament would be certain to lead to an independent one. He is not disposed to give way to Parnell but expects outrage to follow refusal of Parnell's demands. He is opposed to the scheme and wishes to prevent the whole party drifting into acceptance of Gladstone's opinions.

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Lord Derby, diary, 22 December 1885

Source D: An elder statesman on the radical wing of the Liberal party, who had been sympathetic to Ireland and supported previous reforms, now opposes Gladstone on Home Rule during a private conversation at Gladstone's request.

Mr Gladstone explained much of his policy regarding a Dublin Parliament. I argued that he was making a surrender all along the line. It would cause constant friction. I asked what if Irish import duties and protection are imposed against British goods? He said he did not think duties against England would be imposed. Mr Gladstone is in favour of excluding all Irish MPs from the Imperial Parliament. I told him I thought to get rid of the Irishmen from Westminster, such as we have known them for the five or six years past, would do something to make his proposal less offensive, though it tends to more complete separation. I thought he placed far too much confidence in Parnell's Irish Rebel Party. Any terms made with them would not be kept.

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John Bright, Diaries, 20 March 1886

Source E: A modern historian comments on some of Gladstone's problems in securing a successful passage of the Home Rule Bill.

Gladstone was being too hopeful if he thought oratory would secure the Bill. Leaving aside the House of Lords, Gladstone knew he had major difficulties in the Commons and among his own party. There were concerns on principle and anxieties about the security of Ulster Protestants. An embittered Chamberlain argued that Gladstone adopted the policy simply to divert the Party away from his programme of social reform. Gladstone believed he had been directed by God, but the fact was he decided the time had come to act.

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M. Partridge, Gladstone, 2003

England and a New Century 1900–24

Study these five Sources on The House of Lords and the Constitution, 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 D.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for opinions on the role of the House of Lords. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that it was the Conservatives who were **mainly** responsible for clashes between the Commons and the Lords in the period from 1906 to 1911. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The House of Lords and the Constitution

Source A: The leader of the Conservative Party writes to the Conservative leader in the House of Lords.

It is important that the Conservatives in the two Houses co-operate in a common campaign. It will be the duty of the House of Lords to make serious modifications to the important measures of this Government. But, if this is done with caution, I do not believe that the Lords will do themselves any harm. Just as their rejection of the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1893 strengthened their position, I think it is quite possible that the Lords may emerge stronger from the inevitable difficulties of the next few years.

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A. J. Balfour, private letter to Lord Lansdowne, April 1906

Source B: The Liberal Prime Minister addresses the House of Commons.

The House of Lords has destroyed our education bill at the bidding of a party which was beaten in the election as no party was ever beaten before. Is the general election and its utter defeat of the Conservatives to count for nothing? It is intolerable that the second chamber should obstruct the policy approved by the voters. But the resources of the British constitution are not exhausted. A way will be found by which the will of the people, expressed through their elected representatives, will prevail.

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Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, speech, December 1906

Source C: The Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer defends his 'People's Budget', and attacks the House of Lords.

A fully-equipped duke costs as much as two Dreadnoughts, and lasts longer. Until this budget, which is raising taxes for the poor, the average citizen rather admired the dukes. But now the dukes have abandoned their lofty position and joined in the political debate. They have complained simply because the Budget has damaged them a little. Well, we cannot just put them back on their perch again. Let them realise what they are doing. They are forcing a revolution, and they will get it. If they challenge the Government, the following question will be asked. Why should five hundred peers override the judgement of millions of ordinary people who create the wealth of Britain?

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David Lloyd George, speech at Newcastle, October 1909

Source D: The leader of the Conservative Party gives his view of the constitutional importance of the House of Lords.

The object of the House of Lords has never been to prevent the people deciding what policies they want. It exists to see that on great issues the policy is not that of a temporary majority, but represents the sovereign will of the people. Its mission is to see that the government of Britain is a popular government, and not a tyrannical state. It should ensure that the people are not betrayed by hasty or vindictive legislation which simply seeks electoral advantage.

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A. J. Balfour, speech in Manchester, November 1909

Source E: The Conservative leader in the House of Lords urges the Lords to reject the 'People's Budget' so that it can be referred to the people in a general election.

This is not an ordinary budget. Prime Minister Asquith has described it as having 'far-reaching political and social results'. Political and social, mind you. Not financial. This is not an ordinary finance bill. These land taxes are justifiable only if you believe that the land is national property, and that Parliament should be able to nationalise it. Where is this kind of thing going to stop? If you can graft licensing bills and land bills on to the Budget, what can prevent you adding an Irish Home Rule Bill? Your Lordships must insist that, before the Budget is passed, the electors of Britain should have been consulted.

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Lord Lansdowne, speech, November 1909

Churchill 1920–45

Study the five Sources on Churchill's Criticisms of Foreign Policy in 1938, 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 C.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for opinions among Conservatives about Chamberlain's handling of the Munich Settlement.

[30]**(b) Study all the Sources.**

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill's criticisms of Munich were unjustified.

[70]**[Total: 100 marks]****Churchill's Criticisms of Foreign Policy in 1938**

Source A: The King expresses his support of Chamberlain's policy at Munich.

I am sending this letter to ask you to come directly to Buckingham Palace so I can express to you personally my heartfelt congratulations on the success of your visit to Munich. In the meantime this letter brings the warmest of welcomes to one who, by his patience and determination, has earned the gratitude of his fellow countrymen throughout the Empire.

George VI, letter to Chamberlain, October 1938

Source B: Churchill gives his view of the Munich Settlement to the House of Commons.

No one has been a more resolute and uncompromising struggler for peace than the Prime Minister. Everyone knows that. I will begin by saying what everyone would like to ignore or forget, but what nevertheless must be stated, namely that we have sustained a total and unmitigated defeat. We are in the presence of a disaster of the first magnitude. The system of alliances has been swept away upon which France has relied for her safety. You will find that Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime. The betrayal of Czechoslovakia will mean that the road down the Danube Valley to the Black Sea, together with the resources of corn and oil, has been opened to Germany. What I find unbearable is the sense of our country falling into the power of Nazi Germany, and our existence becoming dependent on their good will.

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Speech, 6 October 1938

Source C: A Conservative supporter of Chamberlain records his thoughts about Churchill and Chamberlain following the debate in the House of Commons about Munich.

Is Winston any more than that fat, brilliant, unbalanced, illogical orator? Winston's contribution today enlivened the House, annoyed the government, but did not weaken the government's excellent case. The Prime Minister was magnificent, making a moving appeal. The House of Commons was with him and he seemed aware of the strength of his support. Even the restless antics of Winston and the opposition within the Conservative party were powerless to stem the Chamberlain tide which swelled and swelled as he spoke. I was almost the first to congratulate the Prime Minister and he put out his hand and tapped my arm, beaming with pleasure.

Sir Henry (Chips) Channon MP, Diary, 6 October 1938

Source D: The Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, who was later to become Churchill's wartime Chief of Staff, expresses his view of Munich.

It seems to me that from a purely military point of view it would have paid us to go to war in 1938. German preparations were incomplete. Munich lost us the great Skoda arms works in Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, given the hysterical reception given to Chamberlain on his return from Munich, it seems doubtful whether if we had fought at Munich, we should have fought as a united nation. South Africa would have remained neutral and Canada would not have rallied to us. On balance, the advantages which we derived from the surrender at Munich outweighed the disadvantages.

Lord Ismay, Memoirs, 1960

Source E: A modern historian is critical of Churchill.

Those in power in the 1930s had to balance the threats from Hitler and Mussolini, and they could not forget Japan or rely on the French; and there was little money to rearm. As Churchill was not in the government he did not have to make hard decisions. In his memoirs he skips over the period from 1924-29 when he did make decisions to cut spending on the armed forces. India and the Abdication nearly destroyed him – but Hitler remade his political career.

David Reynolds, In Command of History, 2004



Copyright Acknowledgements:

Text 1A-E	Extract from V Brendon, <i>The Age of Reform 1820-50</i> , Hodder Arnold H&S, 1994.
Text 2A	Extract from P Adelman, <i>Gladstone, Disraeli and Later Victorian Politics</i> , p.100, Longman, 1970.
Text 2B	Extract 1: P Adelman and R Pearce, <i>Great Britain and the Irish Question 1800-1922</i> , p.95, Hodder Arnold H&S, 2001. Extract 2: M Lynch, <i>Gladstone and Disraeli</i> , p.82, Hodder Arnold H&S, 1991.
Text 2C	Extract from J Smith, <i>Britain and Ireland: From Home Rule to Independence</i> , p.109, Longman, 1999.
Text 2D	Extract from G Morton, <i>Home Rule and the Irish Question</i> , pp.93-94, Longman, 1980.
Text 2E	Extract from M Partridge, <i>Gladstone</i> , pp.206-207, Routledge, 2003.
Text 3A-E	Extract from K Benning, <i>Edwardian Britain</i> , Blackie, 1980.
Text 4A	Extract from A Roberts, <i>Eminent Churchillians</i> , Phoenix, 1995.
Text 4B	Extract from R Rhodes (ed), <i>Churchill Speaks, 1897-1963: Collected Speeches in peace and War</i> , Windward, 1982.
Text 4C	Extract from R Rhodes (ed), <i>'Chips', the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon</i> , Penguin, 1970.
Text 4D	Extract from L Ismay, <i>The memoirs of General the Lord Ismay</i> , p.92, Heinemann 1960.
Text 4E	Extract from D Reynolds, <i>In Command of History</i> , p.110, Penguin, 2005.

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