

**ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE****HISTORY**

British History Enquiries

Option B: Modern 1815–1945

**F963/02**

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

**OCR Supplied Materials:**

- 8 page Answer Booklet

**Other Materials Required:**

None

**Wednesday 20 January 2010**  
**Morning**

**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.
- Read each question carefully and make sure that 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 2–3)
  - 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)
- 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 Study 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.
- This document consists of **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

## The Condition of England 1815–1853

Study the **five** Sources on Factory Reform 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 **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes towards improving the condition of factory workers. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that factories in the period 1831 to 1844 were places of exploitation for all workers. [70]

**[Total:100 marks]**

### Factory Reform

**Source A:** A factory owner, writer and radical, writes about his cotton spinning mills in New Lanark, Scotland.

The practice of employing children in the mills, of six, seven and eight years of age, was discontinued, and their parents advised to acquire health and education for them until they were ten. The children were taught reading, writing and arithmetic from five to ten, in the village school without expense to their parents. Their houses were made more comfortable, their streets were improved, the best foodstuffs were sold to them at low rates, fuel and clothes were obtained in the same manner. Those employed became industrious, sober, healthy, faithful to their employers and kind to each other. 5

*Robert Owen, A New View of Society, 1831*

**Source B:** A reporter for a northern newspaper comments on the widespread welcome the leaders of the Factory Reform movement received in Manchester.

After 5pm last Saturday Sadler and Oastler set out through the principal streets, amidst cheering, bands and flags. The procession was headed by a flag with a picture of a deformed man inscribed 'Am I not a man and a brother – no White slavery'. A long line followed of factory children singing 'six in the morning, six in the evening'. One carried a whip and strap inscribed 'behold and weep'. Next to the aptly called 'little victims' were countless men, five or six deep, all supporters of the Ten Hour Bill. 10

*Leeds Intelligencer, 23 August, 1832*

**Source C:** An economist, writing in a reform Whig journal, expresses doubt about the claims made by child workers in Sadler's Report on child labour in 1832 and the subsequent Royal Commission on the same subject in 1833.

We do not say that the statements are completely without foundation but we believe they have been grossly exaggerated. That abuses existed in some factories is certain but these are rare and, generally, factory workers, including non-adults, are healthy and contented as any class. Were children to be forbidden to work in the factories four-fifths of them would be thrown upon the streets, to acquire a taste for idleness, and the vicious practices prevalent amongst the urban dregs. It would have been ten times worse but for the factories. They have been the best 'schools'. Besides taking children out of harm's way, they bred in them regular, orderly, and industrious habits. 15

*J. R. McCulloch, Edinburgh Review, 1835*

**Source D:** The hardest working of the factory inspectors created by the 1833 Factory Act, comments on adult labour and is concerned at the recent rise in female employment.

Twelve hours daily work is more than enough for anyone. However desirable it might be to prevent excessive working, there are great difficulties in interfering with the labour of adult men. The case is very different for women. Not only are they much less free agents, but they are physically incapable of bearing work for the same length of time as men, and a deterioration of their health has far worse consequences to society. The substitution of female for male labour, recently greatly increased, has the worse consequences for the social condition of the working-classes because women are withdrawn from domestic duties. 25

*Leonard Horner, Factory Inspectors' Report, 1843*

**Source E:** The son of a Rochdale mill owner and a prominent radical MP, who campaigned for Free Trade, speaks in the House of Commons against Graham's 1844 Factory Act.

The people ask for freedom for their industry, for the removal of the chains on their trade; you deny it to them, and then forbid them to labour, as if working less would give them more food. Give them liberty to work, give them the market of the world for their produce, give them the power to live comfortably. Then increasing means and increasing intelligence will speedily make them independent and wise enough to limit voluntarily their work to that point at which life shall be more about recreation and enjoyment. 30

*John Bright, speech, 1844*

### The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886

Study the **five** Sources on The Reforms of Gladstone's First Ministry, 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 Sources as evidence for the attitudes towards Forster's 1870 Education Act. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the reforms of 1868-74 were designed to satisfy interest groups which supported the Liberal Party. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

#### The Reforms of Gladstone's First Ministry

**Source A:** An influential social writer, poet and critic of his age, comments on the motives for Irish Church Disestablishment.

The Irish Church, contrary to reason and justice, is a very small minority which holds large amounts of Irish property. However, the Liberal Party is not trying to disestablish the Irish Church by the power of reason and justice but by the power of the Nonconformists' hatred of Church establishments. The leading Liberal statesmen, to get the support of the Nonconformists, will not agree to a fair redistribution of property to the other religious groups in Ireland. 5

*Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, 1869*

**Source B:** A Nonconformist Liberal elder statesman, who held Cabinet office in Gladstone's first government, takes a hostile view of the 1870 Education Act.

Pre-1870 education was insufficient and bad. The fault of the new Bill is that it has extended the system which it ought to have superseded. It was a Bill to encourage denominational\* education and, where that was impossible, to establish Board schools. It ought to have been a Bill to establish Board schools and to offer encouragement to religious schools to come under central control. The fact is that the religious system is an Established Church of England system and the Nonconformists are justly aggrieved. There are probably thousands of parishes where there are only Church of England schools for Nonconformists children to go; they must receive the religious education which is given, or be withdrawn from religious education altogether. 10

*John Bright, speech, 22 October 1873*

\* *denominational* – education provided by a specific religious group according to its beliefs 15

**Source C:** A generally pro-Liberal and reform magazine comments on the Brewing Industry and the impact upon the Liberals of the 1872 Licensing Act.

No Ministry would willingly provoke an opposition as formidable as that with which the drink interest threatens every government that dares to meddle with its business. It is discreditable to confess that in so many recent elections the power of 'Beer' has turned the scale. 'Beer' was once a great Liberal power, as surely to be reckoned on the Liberal side as 'Land' was on the Conservative side.

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*The Economist, 1873*

**Source D:** A head teacher, founder of Church of England schools and later a Church of England bishop, comments on the 1870 Education Act in a pro-Liberal journal.

Considering the description of it by Mr Bright as a 'Bill for encouraging denominational education', it seems only right to point out that almost every change was distinctly adverse to the religious system. It stopped building grants to religious voluntary denominational schools; it enacted a Conscience Clause and regulated the timetable to make it effective. Even more it provided a serious and fatal rivalry to the voluntary schools, as Board Schools were built and maintained at the expense of the whole community. It forbade the attachment of Board Schools to a distinctive denomination. Yet respectable workers, best able to pay school fees, will prefer the voluntary schools to the Boards. By refusing to pay the school fees of poor children to voluntary schools, the Nonconformists are working to increase and strengthen this distinction.

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*Alfred Barry, 'Results of the Education Act', Edinburgh Review, January 1874*

**Source E:** A modern historian and editor of the Gladstone diaries, comments on the Liberal government's Trade Union reforms.

The Trades Union Congress raised the legal status of the Unions and their funds. The government recognised their legal existence and the Cabinet intended to allow peaceful negotiation but the judges interpreted the 1871 Criminal Law Amendment Act in a more restrictive manner than intended. The TUC campaign for amendment led the new Home Secretary, Robert Lowe, to suggest concession in late 1873 but either there was insufficient Cabinet agreement or Gladstone was insufficiently interested in the loss of Union trust. The quick ending of the government in January 1874 occurred amidst considerable Union anger with the Liberals.

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*H. C. G. Matthew, Gladstone 1809–1898, 1996*

### England and a New Century 1900–24

Study these **five** Sources on The Fortunes of the Conservative Party 1900-1914, 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 attitudes towards Tariff Reform. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the issue of cheap food was the **main** reason for fluctuating working class support for the Conservative Party between 1900 and 1914. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

#### The Fortunes of the Conservative Party 1900–1914

**Source A:** An article in a Liberal political magazine gives an explanation for the defeat of the Conservatives in the General Election of 1906.

Many grievances made the Conservative Party unpopular. For example: Chinese Slavery, Tariff Reform, and the Taff Vale Judgement. Even the 1902 Education Act was seen as a victory for privilege. Thus the Conservatives were seen as the party of the rich and selfish, who degraded the Empire in South Africa by gathering gold through Chinese slavery. They were seen as taxing the food of the poor at home, putting the working man at the mercy of capitalism by destroying trade unions, and keeping the best schools for those wealthier people who were their natural supporters. 5

*Quarterly Review, April 1906*

**Source B:** A senior civil servant recalls one Conservative's view of the 1906 electoral defeat. Soon after this, Sir Edward Stanley became Lord Derby.

In January 1906, I spoke to Sir Edward Stanley, one of the former Conservative Ministers. He attributed his own defeat in Lancashire to the upswing of the Labour Party. Working men who had been his supporters for years, and had been working for him in the contest, suddenly transferred their allegiance to his Labour opponent on instructions from their trade unions. He did not believe that the arguments concerning Tariff Reform had had much effect, although, for the moment, Labour had accepted Free Trade. The main factor seems to have been the conviction among working men that progress is now in their own hands. 10

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*Sir Almeric Fitzroy, Memoirs, 1916*

**Source C:** Following the election of January 1910, the leader of the Tariff Reform movement writes to the leader of the Conservative Party.

Tariff Reform was our trump card. Where we won seats, it was because of Tariff Reform. Even where we lost, it was the only policy people cared about. Of course Food Taxes are a difficult issue. But candidates came off best who faced the problem openly and boldly. It requires time and repetition to defeat the cry of 'dear food, black bread and horse flesh'. It takes hard work to get voters to see that the main issue is employment for the workers. Where a Conservative politician has become a convinced Tariff Reformer, nothing will shake him. These are our best members.

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*Austen Chamberlain to Arthur Balfour, 29 January 1910*

**Source D:** A leading landowner in Lancashire writes to a leading Conservative front bencher reporting on an angry meeting of Derby's county party association. The meeting was in response to Bonar Law withdrawing the promise of a referendum on Tariff Reform.

At the meeting, there was absolute opposition to Food Taxes. Some, a majority I think, wanted to abandon Tariff Reform completely. We shall now pass a resolution asking Bonar Law to promise that Food Taxes will not be imposed unless the country has been consulted. This matter cannot be avoided. If we had settled this after the 1906 Election we would be in a much better position now. The supporters of Food Taxes have ignored the fact that Lancashire and its cotton industry hates Tariff Reform. Unless they now give way, a split seems inevitable.

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*Lord Derby to Walter Long, December 1912*

**Source E:** A modern historian suggests that the Conservative Party in 1914 still enjoyed considerable working class support.

The attempt to broaden Conservative Party appeal among the working classes had some success. As the Liberals moved towards Irish Home Rule, the Conservatives gained working class support. Besides, working class voters often showed a natural deference towards their social superiors. Again, the Conservatives gained popular and patriotic support by focusing on the Empire. And many workers saw a link between vigorous imperial policies and material well-being. For example, arms manufacture, and employment in dockyards such as Chatham and Portsmouth.

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*S.J.Lee, Aspects of British Political History 1914–95, 1996*

### Churchill 1920–1945

Study the **five** Sources on Churchill and India 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 A and B.**

Compare these Sources as evidence for views about self-government for India as expressed in 1931. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill's policies towards India showed serious misjudgement on his part. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

### Churchill and India

**Source A:** The Secretary of State for India supports moderate reforms in a statement to the British House of Commons.

Except in some quarters, the Government's India policy has received a good press and moderate opinion generally recognizes the value of a new situation in which all parties can cooperate to bring a new constitution. The Indian Nationalists welcome the policy and approve of the principles behind it. Muslim leaders acknowledge the Government's efforts to meet the political hopes of India and approve of the Prime Minister's guarantees for the protection of political liberties and the rights of minorities. Peaceful conditions will be created and will enable Government to implement change. 5

*William Wedgwood Benn, speech, 26 January 1931*

**Source B:** At a mass meeting in London's Albert Hall called by the Indian Empire Society, an unrepresentative pressure group opposed to constitutional change in India, Churchill speaks against discussions about greater Indian self-government.

I am against this surrender to Gandhi. I am against these conversations and agreements between the Viceroy of India and Mr. Gandhi. Gandhi stands for the expulsion of Britain from India. Gandhi stands for the permanent exclusion of British trade from India. Gandhi stands for Brahmin domination of India. To abandon India to the rule of the Brahmins\* would be an act of cruel and wicked negligence. It would shame forever those who bore its guilt. These Brahmins deny the rights of existence to nearly sixty million of their own countrymen whom they call 'untouchable'. 10

*Speech, 18 March 1931*

\* Brahmins = members of the Hindu upper caste



**Source C:** An Imperial expert writes about Churchill's policies towards India. The writer was the Deputy Controller of the British Empire during the First World War and subsequently founder of the English Speaking Union and editor of the British political magazine, *The Spectator*.

Churchill's Indian policy in the inter-war years has often puzzled me. The man who could show deep sympathy with oppressed peoples now joined hands with the extremists. Had he but realized the fact, the granting of Dominion status in 1931 would have prevented many years of struggle with the Congress Party. Gandhi confirmed this to me when I visited him in 1941. In 1942, however, Churchill made a generous offer to India. I was present in New Delhi when Sir Stafford Cripps made known the momentous proposal that the Indian government was to have the right to withdraw from the Commonwealth should it so desire. Many leading Indians admitted to me that the refusal of this offer was a blunder.

*Sir Evelyn Wrench, Churchill and the Empire, 1953*

**Source D:** This Indian journalist looks back to Churchill's wartime policy towards India, believing it to have alienated his family's loyalty to Britain.

We were a professional middle-class family not particularly given to Indian nationalist enthusiasms. We never thought much of Gandhi. Nevertheless, the famine in Bengal of 1942 did intrude into our comfortable world. Entire villages ceased to exist. It was largely a man-made event, caused not by a decline in the food available but by the inadequacy of the response. The problem, it seems, was Winston Churchill's attitude. Churchill failed to recognize that India had given two million fighting men for Britain's war effort. Our family took a very different attitude to Britain after this.

*Gurcharan Das, India Unbound, 2000*

**Source E:** This commentator offers a defence of Churchill's opposition to self-government in India

Churchill's prophecies were not completely erratic. What would happen to the rest of the Empire, he asked rhetorically, if it lost its centerpiece, India? 'That loss', he went on, 'would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire. It would be final and fatal and reduce us to the scale of a minor Power.' He was right about this and also right in warning about sectarian strife and Hindu domination.

*Manfred Weidhorn, Foreword to Churchill's India, a collection of his speeches on India made in 1931, published in 1990*





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