

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

Monday 8 June 2009

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. 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 2–4)
 - 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)
- 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 Radical Threat 1815–20, 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 C and D.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for attitudes towards the events at St. Peter's Fields (Peterloo) in August 1819. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Radicals of 1815–20 failed because of government repression. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

The Radical Threat 1815–20

Source A: A Lancashire weaver and moderate Radical, who was an eyewitness to events at the start of the March of the Blanketeers in March 1817, records his memories in his autobiography.

I tried to show them that the authorities of Manchester were not likely to permit their leaving the town in a body, with blankets and petitions; that they could not live on the road; that the cold and wet would kill numbers of them. The appearance of these misdirected marchers aroused pity rather than resentment. I explained that some persons might join their ranks who were not reformers but enemies to reform, hired perhaps to bring them and their cause into disgrace. 5

S. Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical, 1839

Source B: A Romantic poet gives an account of the execution of three of the leaders in the June 1817 Derbyshire or Pentrich Rising. W. J. Richards, alias Oliver, was a government spy.

Brandreth, Turner and Ludlam ascended the scaffold. We feel less for Brandreth because it seems he killed a man. But remember who began the proceedings which led him to murder. Brandreth tells us that 'Oliver brought him to this'. Turner exclaimed loudly and distinctly, while the executioner was putting the rope round his neck, 'This is all Oliver and the government'. Cavalry hemmed in the multitudes collected to witness this abominable exhibition. The instant the head was exhibited, there was a tremendous shriek. 10

P. Bysshe Shelley, The Examiner, 9 November 1817

Source C: A moderate radical, an eyewitness to ‘Peterloo’, remembers the mass meeting in Manchester on 16 August 1819, which had gathered to hear Orator Hunt speak on parliamentary reform.

I stood on tiptoe and saw a party of the cavalry come trotting sword in hand. They were welcomed with a shout of goodwill, as I understood it. They waved their swords over their heads and dashed forward. There was a general cry in our part of the crowd of ‘Stand fast’. The cavalry were in confusion: they could not penetrate that compact mass of people and their swords were used to hack a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads; ‘For shame! For shame!’ was shouted. Then, ‘Break! Break! They are killing those in the front and they cannot get away’. The cavalry wheeled, pressing and wounding. Women and tender youths were indiscriminately cut down or trampled.

S. Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical, 1839

Source D: The writer, who had been a southern rural MP at the time of Peterloo and was from a prominent political and social family, publishes this account of events from his family’s documents.

Manchester, the focus of all the sedition, had long prepared for a decisive demonstration. Notwithstanding the ban of the authorities, a monster meeting took place. The cause was ‘Reform’, but the banners were revolutionary. Orator Hunt had scarcely commenced to address his followers when a detachment of sixty men of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry entered the field at a brisk trot. A panic seized the crowd and the candidates for martyrdom attempted to escape. Mr Hunt was taken into custody. Out of the 80,000 in the crowd a few started hostilities. This assault on the troops may probably have given an additional impulse to their advance. Four persons were killed and forty-four wounded – a few by the crush to get out of the way of the cavalry.

Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Memoirs of the Court of England during the Regency, 1856

TURN OVER FOR SOURCE E

Source E: George Cruikshank, a popular cartoonist, comments on the government's Six Acts of 1819.



Cartoon, January 1820

John Bull, normally a symbol of England's well fed health and liberty, is shown as a starved prisoner, chained and prevented from reaching his food and writing table. He is weighed down by the 6 Acts and by Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, who is seen tearing up Cobbett's newspaper, 'The Twopenny Trash'. On the table the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights are pierced by the dagger of 'Manchester Steel'. The bookshelf, voice of the people, is locked and empty.

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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. 5

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.

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.

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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. 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. Domestic legislation faded out after 1875.

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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.

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

Churchill 1920–45

Study the five Sources on Churchill as a Wartime Prime Minister, 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 C and D.

Compare these two Sources as evidence for Churchill's character. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill was a great war leader. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Churchill as a Wartime Prime Minister

Source A: In a speech to the House of Commons the newly-appointed Prime Minister sets out his policy towards the war.

You ask, what is our policy? I will say: it is to wage war by sea, land and air, with all our might and all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: victory – victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory however hard and long the road may be, for without victory there is no survival. 5

Churchill, speech, 13 May 1940

Source B: A Conservative M.P. who led Churchill's critics in a censure debate in the House of Commons, expresses criticisms of the running of the war.

The first mistake in the war was to combine the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. I want a strong and independent defence minister, strong enough to see that his generals and admirals and air marshals are allowed to do their work in their own way and are not interfered with from above. How can we place reliance on judgement that has so repeatedly turned out to be misguided? 10

Sir John Laidlaw Milne, speech, June 1942

Source C: The head of the British army expresses his annoyance with Churchill.

Another poisonous day! We went to see the Prime Minister to discuss South East Asia operations. I had another row with him. He refused to accept that any general plan was necessary, recommended a purely opportunistic policy and behaved like a spoilt child that wants a toy in a shop regardless of the fact that its parents tell him that it's no good! Got nowhere with him and settled nothing! 15

Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Diary, 19 August 1943

Source D: A leading soldier, the Military Assistant Secretary to the War Cabinet, recalls working with Churchill during the Second World War.

He possessed a solid base of experience in war and of great events that no one else in or around the Government could match. He could always distinguish the major factors in a given situation. Though he had somewhat old fashioned ideas of warfare he also succeeded in keeping abreast of new inventions, for example in radar, in air navigation and in new warships. Nothing fell outside the scope of his enquiring mind, and he had an energetic method of following up any matter which attracted his passing attention. We can only recall with gratitude the five years in which he inspired us by his leadership.

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Sir Ian Jacob, Action This Day, Working with Churchill, 1968

Source E: A modern historian casts doubt on Churchill's abilities as war leader.

Churchill was ignorant of all that the administration of armies entailed, as was revealed in his attitudes to the Middle East and India. He had an often sound grasp of strategy, but was often completely naïve about tactics. His own war experiences in the field, the Sudan, the Boer War and the First World War, were from a different age. He did not understand the problems of the Middle and Near East. Churchill dismissed the honest and able General Auchinleck, and replaced him with General Montgomery. On 19th August 1942 Churchill visited Montgomery's comfortable Head Quarters. He listened in admiration to Montgomery expounding plans for the Desert War almost identical to those of Auchinleck as though they were Montgomery's own. In fact it was to Auchinleck that victory at El Alamein and in North Africa was due and Churchill could not grasp this.

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R.W. Thompson, Generalissimo Churchill, 1974

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