



Wednesday 14 May 2014 – Afternoon

AS GCE HISTORY A

F963/02 British History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1815–1945

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR supplied materials:

- 12 page Answer Booklet
(sent with general stationery)

Other materials required:

None

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 1815–1853 (pages 2–3)
 - The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886 (pages 4–5)
 - England and a New Century 1900–1924 (pages 6–7)
 - Churchill 1920–1945 (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 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 the Reasons for the Emergence of Chartism 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 Sources as evidence for radical views on the 1832 Reform Act. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the origins of Chartism were political. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Reasons for the Emergence of Chartism

Source A: A working-class journalist and proprietor of the Poor Man's Guardian, who led the campaign for an unstamped press and helped draft a version of the Charter, comments on the new Reform Act.

With an instinctive sense of self-preservation the Whig government has manufactured a 'great measure'. They knew that the old system could not last. Desiring to establish another, as like it as possible, and to stay in power and office, they framed their 'ACT'. They hoped to attract to the landed feudal aristocracy and smaller yeoman landowners of the counties a large reinforcement of the middle class. The Act is, in effect, an invitation to the shopkeepers of the newly enfranchised towns to join the Whigs of the countryside, and make common cause in keeping the people down, and thereby subdue the rising spirit of democracy in England. 5

Henry Hetherington, Poor Man's Guardian, 27 October 1832

Source B: A long-term radical leader, just before his death, comments publicly on the political situation that followed the Reform Act of 1832.

Seven million men in the United Kingdom are rendered political outlaws by the Reform Act. By its provisions they are, to all intents and purposes, so many political slaves. Therefore we say you have deprived us of our share in the making of laws and we will thus make laws for ourselves on regulating the hours of our labour and the amount of our wages. Consequently, one of two things must happen, either the workmen must have more wages and less work, or be given an equal share in making the laws to regulate the amount of labour, wages and profit. 10

Henry Hunt, 1835

Source C: A young Glasgow shoemaker, later Chartist lecturer, barrister and secretary to Richard Oastler, comments on the New Poor Law.

The passing of the New Poor Law did more to sour the hearts of the labouring population than all the poverty of the land. English labourers believed that the new law was to punish poverty. The effects of that belief were to sap the loyalty of working men, to make them dislike the country of their birth, to brood over their wrongs, to cherish feelings of revenge and to hate the rich of the land. 15

Samuel Kydd, 1838

Source D: A popular Methodist minister addresses a mass meeting at Kersal Moor outside Manchester.

The principle of the Charter was one which every man who breathed God's free air desired – to have his home and hearth, his wife and children, as securely guaranteed as any other man whom Almighty God had created. This question of Universal Suffrage is a knife and fork question, notwithstanding all that has been said against it. If asked what is meant by Universal Suffrage I answer – every working man has a right to a good coat on his back, a comfortable home for himself and his family, a good dinner, no more work than was necessary for his health and wages that would keep him in plenty. 20 25

Reverend Joseph Rayner Stephens, speech reported in the Northern Star, 24 September 1838

Source E: A power loom weaver, striker and local Chartist leader in Ashton and Stockport defends himself at his trial for offences relating to the Plug Plot riots.

A wage reduction crept in. Some masters always wanted to pay less. Seeing this to be an evil and knowing that everyone (the master himself, the owner of cottage property and the publican) depended on the wages of the working man, I became an opponent of reduced wages to the bottom of my soul. For taking that role and being the means of preventing many wage reductions, the masters combined against me and neither I nor my children could get a day's employment. Whatever Chartism may have been for others it has been a wages question and a Ten Hours Bill for me. 30

Richard Pilling, records of the trial, 1843

The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Disraeli's Imperial Policy 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 views on the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Disraeli's imperial policy was weak. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Disraeli's Imperial Policy

Source A: A former Liberal Chancellor, in a debate on whether to approve the £4 million grant to the Rothschild Bank for their loan to purchase the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal, comments on government policy.

How would the buying of shares without votes* assist government in keeping the canal open and preventing a monopoly? There is negligence in failing to find out whether the shares carried votes with them. Purchase makes the government popular, and was approved by the Press because they believed a spirited policy was at hand which, however expensive to the country, sold newspapers. The Press anticipated stirring events and believed that action in Egypt would ultimately lead to a Protectorate. They were disappointed when this was repudiated by the government leaving some of its conduct entirely incomprehensible. 5

*Shares without votes – Share purchase in a company can either just be for profit or confer a vote in deciding company policy.

Robert Lowe, House of Commons Committee, 21 February 1876

Source B: The prime minister, in the same debate, replies to criticism.

Had Mr Gladstone been Prime Minister the shares would not have been purchased. We have been criticised because we applied to a private firm, the Rothschilds, necessary given the circumstances. The opposition claim we have shares but neither profits nor votes in the Canal Company. I have never recommended this purchase as a financial investment but always as a political transaction, calculated to strengthen the Empire. The country wants the Empire to be maintained and strengthened; they will not be alarmed even if it increases. They think we are obtaining a great hold in this important portion of Africa, securing a highway to our Indian Empire and other dependencies. 10

Disraeli, House of Commons Committee, 21 February 1876

Source C: The prime minister comments privately to his new Secretary of State for India, (former Secretary for War), on the conduct of the Viceroy of India in sending a British mission to Kabul.

Nothing could justify Lytton's course except determination or that he was in a situation which justified disobedience. I was very strong on telling him to wait until we received Russia's answer to our protest. He disobeyed. Having been told to send our Mission by Kandahar, to the south, he has sent it direct by the Khyber Pass and received a snub which it may cost us much to wipe away. When Viceroys disobey orders they ought to be sure of success. Lytton has only secured insult and failure. 20

Disraeli to Cranbrook, letter, 26 September 1878

Source D: The prime minister reports to Queen Victoria on a Cabinet meeting to decide on Afghan policy following the rejection of the British Mission sent by the Viceroy of India.

Cranbrook supported Lytton in sending a military expedition to Afghanistan. Cairns* saw no cause for war, the Amir** having acted with equal reluctance to receive both Russian and British envoys. Others agreed. Salisbury*** said the Viceroy was forcing the hand of the government and had been doing so from the beginning. He spoke with bitterness of his conduct and said that unless curbed he would bring some terrible disaster. Silence followed until I said that a demonstration of power was necessary. We should occupy some valley with a note that this was not intended to be hostile. Cranbrook startled us by saying this was a timid half measure and he was for immediate war. We decided the only course was to proceed with military preparations. 25

Disraeli, letter, 26 October 1878

* Cairns was Lord Chancellor

** The Amir (or Emir) was the ruler of Afghanistan, Sher Ali

*** Lord Salisbury, formerly Secretary of State for India, now Foreign Secretary

Source E: The Colonial Secretary writes to the prime minister about the situation in southern Africa.

There is a good prospect of a short and successful war, like the Afghan campaign. Frere seems confident. The Zulus are divided, to be rendered more so by some of Frere's demands. Cetawayo's position may then be very similar to Sher Ali. The Boers, who might cause difficulties by rising in the Transvaal while we are engaged with the Zulus, are said to be passive. Once the Zulus are beaten, the Boers will be afraid to move. 30

Sir Michael Hicks Beach, letter, January 1879

England and a New Century 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on The Clashes between Commons and Lords over Constitutional Reform 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 the response of Tory peers to plans to reform the House of Lords. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the reform of the House of Lords was undertaken by the Liberals as a matter of principle. **[70]**

[Total: 100 marks]

The Clashes between Commons and Lords over Constitutional reform

Source A: A journalist, elected as Liberal MP in 1906, who joined the Cabinet and was involved in shaping the Budget of 1909, comments on the House of Lords.

The role played by the House of Lords during the past decades reveals its weaknesses. It will allow changes it profoundly dislikes, when compelled by fear. The Lords will allow changes it profoundly dislikes if they fear resistance will threaten their own interests. Otherwise, the House of Lords will resist changes. It has no single, constructive suggestion of its own to offer to a people confronting difficult problems. It can neither breed leaders nor ideas. And because of this sterility its power may gradually pass and be destroyed, not through the battering of external enemies, but from internal decay. 5

C F G Masterman, 'The Condition of England', 1909

Source B: Two days after Lloyd George's Budget was defeated in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister expresses his views on the situation.

The House of Lords is a purely partisan Chamber. The House of Lords rejected the Finance Bill, not because they love the people, but because they hate the Budget. The real question is whether, when the Tory Party is in power the House of Commons shall be all-powerful, and whether when the Liberal Party is in power the House of Lords shall be all-powerful. The Second Chamber has frustrated our efforts to legislate on many measures. We have not provoked the challenge, but we welcome it. 10

H H Asquith, speech, 2 December, 1909

Source C: A member of the House of Lords defends the powers of the Second Chamber shortly before the second Parliament Bill came before the Lords.

We represent the education, intelligence, property and wealth of the country. It is necessary to preserve these things, which all democracies attack and aim to annihilate. The majority of your Lordships did not seek the position which you occupy: it has been conferred on you by right of birth. The experience of ages has shown that the powers of this House are essential to the liberties of the people, and a necessary safeguard against legislation that would threaten such liberties. We have no right to jeopardise these powers, but, on the contrary, to hand them down, if possible, intact to future generations. 15
20

The Duke of Northumberland, speech, 24 May 1911

Source D: During the final debate on the second Parliament Bill, a prominent traditionalist urges the Lords to consider carefully the implications of rejecting the Bill.

What good will you do to yourselves, your Party, the Constitution or the country if you reject this Bill? The creation of Peers to secure the Bill would be ridiculous. The country would say that the Peers, who had stood out twice against His Majesty's Government, had brought about their own downfall. We have a duty to prevent the degradation of this House which the introduction of Peers would mean, and I ask your Lordships to pause before you do anything which cannot but serve the purpose of the Liberals in destroying its power for good. 25

Lord Curzon, speech, 10 August 1911

Source E: The leader of the Conservative Party expresses his anger at the Liberal Government in a speech made at Blenheim Palace.

The Parliament Bill was carried by means of a declaration that the destruction of the power of the House of Lords would immediately be followed by a reform of the House of Lords. That pledge has been broken. The Parliament Bill was carried in order that the government might be able to force through Parliament Home Rule proposals which, at the election, were carefully hidden from the people. We regard the Liberal government to be a revolutionary committee which has seized, by fraud, a despotic power. 30

Bonar Law, speech, July 1912

Churchill 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill's wartime relations with the USSR in 1944–5, 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 **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Churchill's attitude to the USSR. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill's handling of wartime relations with the USSR in 1944–5 was realistic. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

Churchill's Wartime Relations with the USSR in 1944–5

Source A: In his history of the Second World War, Churchill recalls the 'Percentages Agreement' made with Stalin in Moscow in December 1944.

I said 'Let us settle our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Romania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Romania, for us to have ninety per cent predominance in Greece and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' I wrote this out on a half sheet of paper. Stalin took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it and passed it back to us. I said 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it had seemed that we had disposed of the masses of people in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 5

Churchill, 'Triumph and Tragedy', 1954

Source B: A modern historian reflects on the Percentages Agreement.

Churchill, who had condemned Stalin when he carved up Eastern Europe with Hitler in 1939, was now proposing to do the same thing. It is a deep irony that Churchill, of all people, believed that a piece of paper assented to by a dictator constituted a binding agreement between nations. It had been a futile discussion. Stalin knew the paper meant nothing. His military presence in Eastern European countries would enable him to exercise control over them. 10

Nigel Knight, 'Churchill, the Greatest Briton Unmasked', 2008

Source C: In the parliamentary debate in the House of Commons about the Yalta Agreements, a Conservative MP is critical of the government decisions about Poland.

If we had given our support to the pro-Western Polish government at the Yalta Conference, I say we would now have no cause to be ashamed. We would have learned the lesson of 1940 – to stand alone if we are convinced that we are standing for right and for justice. I cannot join in the chorus of approval for the agreements made at Yalta, which have been seen as so realistic, and necessary for our interests. Arguments have been made about the need to maintain our relations with the USSR. However, both for my own conscience and in the hope of preventing this sort of thing repeating itself, I must register a definite and uncompromising protest. 15

Captain McEwen, speech, 27 February 1945

Source D: Churchill appeals to Stalin for peaceful cooperation, stressing his support for the Curzon Line, and for Russia's territorial claims in Poland.

No-one has pleaded the cause of Russia with more fervour and conviction than I. I was the first to raise my voice in support when Germany invaded Russia on 22 June 1941 and I proclaimed to a startled world the justice of the Curzon Line for Russia's Western Frontier. It is as a sincere friend of Russia that I make my personal appeal to you to come to a good understanding with the western democracies about Poland, and not to smite down the hands of comradeship, which we now extend. 20

Churchill, telegram to Stalin, 1 April 1945

Source E: Churchill expresses his concerns about Russia to the new US President, Truman.

I have always worked for friendship with Russia but, like you, I feel deep anxiety because of their misinterpretation of the Yalta decisions, their attitude towards Poland, their overwhelming influence in the Balkans, excepting Greece and the difficulties they make about Vienna. I am worried about the combination of Russian power and the territories under their control or occupation, coupled with the Communist technique in taking control, and their power to maintain very large armies in the field for a long time. 30

Churchill, telegram, 12 May 1945

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