

# OCR

Oxford Cambridge and RSA

## Wednesday 18 May 2016 – 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 (OCR12)  
(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 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 Sources as evidence for attitudes to government involvement in education.

[30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that religion was the main factor in limiting state educational provision in the period from 1833 to 1844.

[70]

[Total: 100 marks]

### Elementary Education

**Source A:** In his newspaper a radical campaigner comments on John Roebuck's educational proposals.

I am not against the lower classes being educated. I am against imposing a tax upon the people, even to a quarter of a penny, for the purpose of promoting what is called 'education'. I will not lend my hand to taxing the industrious to make them pay for the slipshod and idle. It is not just. I have other powerful objections to any plan for 'national education'. It must of necessity put a new and terrible control in the hands of government. Wanted by Benthamite theorists, it will injure both the morals and the liberties of the country.

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*William Cobbett, Weekly Political Register, 21 September 1833*

**Source B:** The Whig Lord Chancellor answers questions put to him by a Parliamentary Committee on Education.

*Do you think that primary education, established by government, would be beneficial?*

It is wholly inapplicable to the present condition of the country and the state of education. Those who recommend it on account of its successful adoption abroad do not reflect upon the funds which it would require, and upon the efforts already made by individual charity. To establish and maintain such a number of schools would be a heavy expense, costing £2 million a year.

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*Do you consider compulsory education to be justified on grounds of public utility or public pressure?*

It is justifiable on neither. If the people are taught to bear it and to be forced to educate their children by penalties, education becomes hateful. The nature of Englishmen will not put up with the type of system military governments like Prussia have introduced.

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*Evidence of Lord Brougham, Minutes of the Committee, 1834*

**Source C:** The Home Secretary outlines to a fellow Whig government proposals to oversee popular education and control any state grants.

A Committee should be set up to supervise any parliamentary sums granted for educational purposes. The Established Church has made great efforts to build National Schools, and the British and Foreign School Societies have tried to encourage the generosity of their supporters. Yet there are insufficient numbers of teachers, imperfect ways of teaching and no proper model on which to proceed. However, local efforts by voluntary associations and individuals are to be encouraged not restrained. The Committee is to assist them, not control them. No plan of education ought to be encouraged in which instruction is not firmly under the control of religious doctrine. 20  
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*Lord John Russell, letter to Lord Lansdowne, 1839*

**Source D:** Methodists and Dissenters comment on the educational proposals of Sir James Graham, the Conservative Home Secretary.

A measure has been introduced to promote the better education of the poor in the manufacturing districts. It is based on unjust principles and calculated to enflame disagreements. Strong disapproval has led to its withdrawal. One ground of our strenuous opposition to it was its obvious tendency to give the clergy of the Established Church an unfair and undue control over the religious teaching in the schools it would have established. 30

*Wesleyan Methodist Conference, minutes, Sheffield, 26 July 1843*

**Source E:** The son of a German factory owner, an early socialist and Marxist, comments on education in a book based on his observations of class in Manchester.

The middle classes have much to fear from workers' education and governments obey them. The working classes have repeatedly demanded of parliament a system of strictly non-religious public education but, thus far, no government has granted it. The present government has only provided tiny and trifling sums for public education. The middle classes are divided into different religious groups and insist on their particular Churches' instruction as the antidote to a proper secular education. As these Churches quarrel amongst themselves for supremacy, workers remain without education. 35

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

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

Study the five Sources on Gladstone's First Ministry 1868–1874, 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 **C** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to Gladstone's Irish policy in his first Ministry. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the achievements of Gladstone's first Ministry outweighed the limitations? [70]

**[Total: 100 marks]**

### Gladstone's First Ministry 1868–1874

**Source A:** In an intellectual political journal, a political commentator remarks on Gladstone as Prime Minister.

Mr Gladstone's mastery of detail, his flowing eloquence, his versatility in debate, have contributed to the success of the Irish Church and Land Bills. 1871 was different. Mr Gladstone entrusted to colleagues the important work and, although he improved their plans in Cabinet, he had not worked out or mastered the details. Thus the budget was Lowe's, the Licensing Bill was Bruce's and the Army Bill was Cardwell's. Their fate would have been different if Mr Gladstone had taken them in hand. Instead he defended, in a dictatorial manner, measures which he scarcely could have approved. 5

*Westminster Review, Article, 'The Session of 1871', July 1871*

**Source B:** In a Whig journal, a Liberal MP, later President of the Local Government Board in Gladstone's second Ministry, comments on its first two years.

1869 and 1870 were marked by great achievements. The huge monopoly of army purchase has been swept away. Universities have opened wide their gates. The Trades Union Act is fair to both employers and employed. Local Government is opened to a comprehensive system of sanitary regulation. The secret ballot is assured. Any one of these would have made the reputation of previous governments. But, intoxicated by the success of the first two years, the government undertook more than could be successfully achieved and engaged too many enemies at once. There was a fear of not keeping up with the extreme wing of the Liberal party, which more than once led them into difficulties. 10

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*J G Dodson, Edinburgh Review, 'The Session and its Lessons', October 1871*

**Source C:** In an intellectual political journal, an anonymous writer comments on the government's Irish policy in the month after the narrow defeat of Irish University reform in the House of Commons.

Since 1868 Mr Gladstone's Irish policy has borne bitter fruit. He had the mischievous idea of governing Ireland according to what the Irish demanded. The extent of their outcry determines the legislation they gain. Recent legislative measures on Church and land should have been based on English political justice, not Irish ideas and demands. If this had been the case we should not now be in the present muddle over the 'poison' of their educational grievances. We have imposed upon ourselves an unnecessary Irish University Bill that should never have arisen. The result will be to give a powerful stimulus to Home Rule.

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*Westminster Review, 'Irish University Education and the Ministerial Crisis', April 1873*

**Source D:** In an election address the leader of the Conservative opposition comments on Gladstone's first Ministry.

I do not think the great end of improving the condition of the people of England is advanced by incessant and harassing legislation. The English people are governed by their customs as much as by their laws and there is nothing they more dislike than meddling in their affairs. I say of the Administration of the last five years that it would have been better for us all if there had been a little more energy in our foreign policy and a little less in our domestic legislation.

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*Disraeli, Address reported in the Times, 26 January 1874*

**Source E:** A Liberal journalist in the 1870s, later politician and first biographer of Gladstone, comments on the first Ministry's Irish reforms.

Through Disestablishment the alien dominance of the Church of Ireland was removed and she was able to prosper as a free rather than privileged faith. Irish tenant farmers, who had given value to the land by their own work, were given an indirect but definite interest of possession. As outlined by Mr Gladstone in 1868 a third aspect of the poison of the Protestant ascendancy, Irish university reform, awaited his axe. This was the hardest, for it involved direct concessions by a Protestant English nation to a Catholic Church, headed by a Cardinal of uncompromising opinions and iron will.

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*John Morley, Life of Gladstone, 1903*

### England and a New Century 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on Ireland 1912–21 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 reactions to the Easter Rising, 1916. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the difficulty in finding a solution to the problems of Ireland from 1912 to 1921 was the reluctance of the Irish to co-operate with England. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

### Ireland 1912–21

**Source A:** Drafted by Sir Edward Carson, the document expresses the position of Ulster Unionists on Home Rule.

Being convinced that Home Rule would be disastrous for Ulster, the whole of Ireland and the unity of the Empire, we, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V, hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant to stand by one another in defending our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom. We also pledge to use all means which may be necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. In the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly pledge ourselves to oppose its authority. 5

*The Solemn League and Covenant, 30 September 1912*

**Source B:** An English newspaper describes a serious incident.

An attempt at gun-running by the National Volunteers near Dublin yesterday resulted in clashes between them, the public, the police and the military. Four persons were killed and sixty injured. The incident is from every point of view deplorable; but it is emphatic evidence of the true position across the Irish Channel. The nation to which a Liberal Government was to bring a message of peace is mobilised for an internal war. Hope of a settlement seems to have vanished. One spark from such a collision may serve to start the long-anticipated conflict. 10

*The Times, report, 27 July 1914*

**Source C:** A resident of Dublin describes Irish attitudes to the rebels involved in the Easter Rising, which had ended the day before.

This is not Ireland's rebellion – only a Sinn Fein rising. How often have I laughed over the idea of an Irish Republic! It is so utterly un-Irish. We want our own country free from foreign rule but anyone with sense must see that it must come by England's consent, not against England's will. The Sinn Fein leaders were such good men. What wild madness came over them? But, as sure as the sun rises in the East, if England doesn't get things right – if there's not immediately conciliation, love and mercy poured out on Ireland – all the Sinn Fein leaders will become saints!

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*Mary Flanagan, journal, 30 April 1916*

**Source D:** Speaking in the House of Commons, a leading Irish Nationalist MP warns the British government of the dangers of executing the leaders of the Easter Rising.

I admit they were wrong but they fought a clean fight and did not act against the usual customs of war. The great bulk of the population were not in favour of the insurrection. However, thousands of people in Dublin are furious with the government on account of these executions and that feeling is spreading throughout the country. We, who speak for the vast majority of the Irish people, who have risked a great deal to persuade people to support Britain in this great war against Germany, were entitled to be consulted before this bloody course of executions was entered upon in Ireland.

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*John Dillon, speech, 11 May 1916*

**Source E:** The leader of the Irish Republican Army, and one of the signatories of the Treaty of 1921, explains to the Irish Parliament why he accepted partition.

We have stated that we would not coerce the northeast. Surely we recognise that the northeast corner does exist, and surely our intention was that we should take such steps as would sooner or later lead to mutual understanding. The Treaty has made an effort to deal with the problem, in ways that will lead very rapidly to goodwill, with the northeast under the British Parliament [applause]. It is not an ideal arrangement, but if our policy is, as has been stated, a policy of non-coercion, then let somebody else find a better way out of it.

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*Michael Collins, speech, December 1921*

**Churchill 1920–1945**

Study the five Sources on Churchill, Germany and Rearmament 1933–38 and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two-thirds of your time in answering **(b)**.

**4 (a)** Study Sources **D** and **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to the Munich Agreement. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill was right to criticise government policies towards rearmament and defence 1933–38. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

**Churchill, Germany and Rearmament 1933–38**

**Source A:** A senior government minister, later to be foreign secretary, speaks about Rearmament in parliament.

Are we to judge the situation so serious that everything has to give way to the military modernisation of our Defence Forces? Such a conclusion, in fact, seems to rest on the assumption not only that war is inevitable, but on a degree of certainty that it is likely to break out in the near future. I am not prepared to accept this.

*Lord Halifax, speech, December 1935.*

**Source B:** The Prime Minister speaks in the House of Commons on the problems of rearming Britain.

From 1933 there was probably a stronger pacifist feeling running through the country than at any time since the Great War. You will remember the by-election of East Fulham in 1933. Supposing I had gone to the country and said that Germany was rearming and we must rearm. Does anyone think that this pacific democracy would have rallied to that cry at that moment? I cannot think of anything that would have made the loss of the election from my point of view more certain. 5

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*Stanley Baldwin, speech, 12 November, 1936*



**Source C:** A former political opponent considers the reaction to Churchill's demands for rearmament.

The memorable series of speeches by Churchill in which the case for rearmament was argued with a skill, lucidity and earnestness which, if it failed to convince the Labour benches, at least earned him admiration. Among the Tories his advocacy of more adequate defence preparations, far from gaining unqualified support, created considerable confusion. He was scorned by former colleagues, most of whom were political midgets in comparison.

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*Emmanuel Shinwell, Churchill by His Contemporaries, 1956*

**Source D:** During the Munich debate, Churchill speaks about the policies he urged prior to 1938.

I find unendurable the sense of our country falling into the power, into the orbit and influence of Nazi Germany, and of our existence being dependent on their goodwill or pleasure. It is to prevent that that I have tried my best to urge the maintenance of every bulwark of defence – first the creation of an air force superior to anything within striking distance of our shores; second the gathering together of the collective strength of many nations; and thirdly, the making of alliances and military agreements, all within the Covenant of the League of Nations, in order to gather together forces to restrain the onward movement of Germany. It has all been in vain. Every position has been undermined and abandoned on seemingly plausible, but in fact unwise, excuses.

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*Churchill, speech, October 1938*

**Source E:** A leading military planner of the 1930s reflects on Britain's military strength and the Munich policy in 1938.

It was impossible to feel satisfied with the progress of rearmament, and neither Parliament nor public opinion had any idea of the vital need for urgency. Nothing had been done to call up the territorial anti-aircraft units, responsible for the defence of London or the fighter squadrons of the Auxiliary Air Force. Mr Chamberlain decided to fly to Germany and see Hitler. My first reaction was resentment at the idea of us seeming to go hat in hand to an unscrupulous gangster; but on further reflection I was immensely relieved that he was not prepared to let us drift into war. After the Munich agreement, I gave little thought to the price that had been paid. All that mattered was that the dreaded explosion of war had been postponed. I defended Munich with the greatest vigour.

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*Lord Ismay, Memoirs, 1960*

**END OF QUESTION PAPER**





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