

**OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE
F963/02
HISTORY A**

**British History Enquiries
Option B: Modern 1815–1945**

TUESDAY 22 JANUARY 2013: Morning

**DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance
MODIFIED ENLARGED 24pt**

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

**8 page Answer Booklet
(sent with general stationery)**

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

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.

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 5–11)**
 - **The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–86 (pages 13–19)**
 - **England and a New Century 1900–24 (pages 20–26)**
 - **Churchill 1920–45 (pages 27–33)**
- **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.**

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THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND 1815–1853

Study the five Sources on The Post War Radicals 1816–19 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 methods. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that division between the radicals was the main cause of their failure in the period from 1816 to 1819. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE POST WAR RADICALS 1816–1819

SOURCE A: A radical newspaper reports the speech on parliamentary reform of ‘Orator’ Henry Hunt given to the first, peaceful, Spa Fields meeting in London.

Hunt said ‘I know the superiority of mental over physical force; nor do I counsel any resort to the latter until the former has been found ineffectual.

Before physical force is applied, it is your duty to petition, to remonstrate, to call aloud for timely reform. 5

Those who resist the just demands of the people are the real friends of confusion and bloodshed but if the fatal day (‘hurrah’ from the crowd) 10

should be destined to arrive, I assure you I will not be found concealed behind a counter, or sheltering myself in the rear’. 15

The Examiner, 16 November 1816

SOURCE B: One of the most popular radical leaders of the day writes to the people of Hampshire on the methods they should adopt in their campaigns.

Nothing but a radical reform of parliament can save our country. In pursuing this it is necessary that our petitions be in moderate language so that those who present them are not hindered. I advise my countrymen to have nothing to do with any Political Clubs, any secret plots, any Correspondence Societies. Trust in individual effort and open meetings. As to the Hampden Clubs, especially the London one, where there are very worthy and keen members, I find it difficult to believe that they employ themselves in the most effectual way.

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*William Cobbett, Weekly Political Register,
15 February 1817*

SOURCE C: A cartoonist comments on the Government's 'Gagging Acts'.

Magna Carta:
Bill of Rights;
Habeas Corpus

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Loyal
Gentlemen
Office
Holders

Archbishop's
prayers for our
Regent against
the badness of
people



The French
Revolutionary
Cap of Liberty

The British
Constitution

Evidence of
Spencean
plots and
Spa Fields
conspiracy

Government Ministers (Castlereagh and Lord Chancellor Eldon) stand on the right of a dismantled printing press, labelled 'British Press' which has been converted into a gallows that has hanged 'liberty'. 'Liberty' is shown as a woman who has a large document in her hands representing 'Magna Carta, Bill of Rights, Habeas Corpus'. Castlereagh is holding up the French Revolutionary Red Cap of Liberty on a pole and addressing the gentlemen watching, saying 'Better these restrictions than submit to the Red Cap of Revolution'. Lord Eldon is standing beside him and displaying a large green sack containing evidence of Spencean plots and the Spa Fields conspiracy. To the side of the hanging figure the Archbishop is saying prayers for our Regent against the badness of people. Loyal Gentlemen Office Holders are standing guard beside the platform. Behind the platform the funeral of the Constitution is shown passing a hill with the weeping figure of England surrounded by grieving reformers, Cochrane, Burdett, Hunt and Cobbett.

G Cruickshank, 'Liberty Suspended', March 1817

SOURCE D: A literary radical and journalist comments on his fellow radicals.

Reformers are always governed
by a spirit of contradiction. They **50**
cannot be trained to discipline, for
the first principle of their mind is
the independent right of private
judgement. Their understanding of an
issue must take pride of place or they **55**
will not budge an inch; they cannot
give up a principle to a party. They
would rather have slavery than liberty,
unless it is a liberty precisely of their
own definition. Some reformers get **60**
into committees and set up parties in
opposition to others; abuse, expose,
betray, counteract and undermine
each other passing the initiative into
the hands of our rulers. **65**

W Hazlitt, Preface to Political Essays, 1819

SOURCE E: A radical reformer in the North West comments on activity there in 1816.

Hampden Clubs were set up throughout the country. We set one up near Manchester which prospered. Members increased; the funds, raised by contribution of a penny a week, 70 became more than sufficient for all outgoings and we rented a chapel to hold our meetings on Monday and Saturday evenings. We sent delegates to a meeting in London 75 and passed resolutions that all males of eighteen who paid taxes should vote, that parliaments should be elected annually, that government placemen should not sit in them, that 80 every twenty thousand should send a member to the House of Commons and that talent and virtue were the only necessary qualifications.

Samuel Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical, 1841

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THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Gladstone's Campaigns against Disraeli's Foreign and Imperial policies 1876–1880, 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 C.

Compare these Sources as evidence for reactions to Gladstone's campaigns. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Gladstone campaigned against Disraeli's foreign and imperial policies purely on moral grounds in the period from 1876 to 1880. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

GLADSTONE'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST DISRAELI'S FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL POLICIES 1876–1880

SOURCE A: During the Midlothian campaign against 'Beaconsfieldism' Gladstone writes to John Bright, a close radical colleague, who had raised the issue of him resuming the Liberal party leadership.

Firstly, at my age, my health would not be up to it. Secondly, the anti-imperial work to be done was so formidable my courage failed. Thirdly and more weighty, was that a Liberal government under me would be the object of such hostility that its power for good would be neutralised. Fourthly, I must give loyal allegiance to Granville as leader of the party in the Lords and to Hartington as leader in the Commons. I could not consider any proposal that displaces them. Fifthly, I could not force myself

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upon the Queen. The enthusiasm in Scotland is wonderful and I hope you are contented with the progress of opinion.

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Gladstone, letter, 28 November 1879

SOURCE B: A major and influential London newspaper, increasingly conservative, comments on Gladstone's first Midlothian campaign.

In a statesman who aspires to the direction of public affairs we expect a certain calmness of judgement, some reserve of language and considered argument on England's policies abroad. A more passionate temper may for a while command some popular enthusiasm. But it sacrifices the confidence of the more thoughtful voting classes; and without the support of those it is, happily, impracticable at present for any government to maintain itself in England.	20 25 30
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The Times, 29 November 1879

SOURCE C: A member of the audience describes, in a public journal, his experience at a London meeting addressed by Gladstone during the 1880 general election.

Surrendering to the general feeling it seemed as if someone had touched and searched our hearts. We were launched upon a sea of passion. In that torrent of emotion, petty politics became matters of great principle and the opinions of the people became moral commands. Through a speech of tortuous sentences he gave us an ability to understand. Concluding he said: ‘You are shortly to pronounce your verdict. Whatever it may be I hope it will be the true one’. We leapt to our feet and cheered. When I stood outside in the free air the ecstasy seemed beyond reason. Clearly I had been ‘Gladstonised’; and I voted for him at the election.

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W L Watson, Outlook, 1880

**SOURCE D: Much later in life Gladstone
comments on his campaigns.**

**In 1876 I hoped the government would
recognise our moral obligations to
the subject races of the east. I was
slow to observe the real leanings of
Disraeli and his strong sympathy with 55
the Turks. I allowed Mr Forster to take
the Liberal lead on this. Eventually I
was compelled to publish on Bulgaria.
From then, until 1880, I made the
Eastern question, Afghanistan and 60
South Africa the main business of
my life. I acted under a strong sense
of individual duty without a single
thought of leadership: nevertheless
it made me leader again whether I 65
wanted it or not. In 1880, Midlothian
leading the way, the nation, not the
upper classes, answered the call of
justice.**

Gladstone, Reminiscences, 1896

**SOURCE E: A modern historian
comments on the politics of
Gladstone's campaigns.**

The Bulgarian agitation was	70
undoubtedly the vehicle of a great	
deal of politics. Chamberlain, the	
emerging radical leader, cared little	
for the Bulgarians but a great deal for	
Gladstone's return to the leadership at	75
the expense of the Whigs. Gladstone's	
pamphlet overnight made him the	
leader of the agitation. As he put it:	
'the game was afoot and the question	
yet alive'. By 1879 his 'abdication' was	80
little more than a fiction. There was	
no real doubt that Gladstone would	
be prime minister and he felt only	
slight embarrassment at supplanting	
Granville and Hartington.	85

***R Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism,
1974***

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY, 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on The Labour Party 1900–1924 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 B and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the attitude of the Labour Party to the unemployed. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that power was more important than principles to the Labour Party in the period from 1900 to 1924. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

THE LABOUR PARTY 1900–1924

SOURCE A: One of the most prominent figures in the Labour Party – an MP from 1906 and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government of 1924 – recalls his early propaganda work with the Independent Labour Party.

A large number of local speakers were attracted to the movement by the ethical appeal of Socialism. The movement was something new. It was politics inspired by idealism and religious fervour. Vocal Unions were formed which accompanied cycling clubs into the country at week-ends. Audiences gathered on village greens attracted by the singing of the choirs; then short and simple addresses on Socialism were given. The cyclists distributed leaflets and pasted slips on gates and sometimes stuck them on cows, bearing such slogans as 'Workers of the World Unite'. Sometimes processions were organised.

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P Snowden, Autobiography, 1934

SOURCE B: A radical member of the Labour Party explains his frustration with the moderate stance of the party leadership in Parliament on key issues.

The Labour Party has no teeth or claws, and is losing its growl, too. 20
The conduct of our blind leaders is nothing short of betrayal. They have displayed greater activity for temperance reform than for Labour interests. Labour MPs could have been in Manchester supporting textile workers suffering starvation through unemployment instead of mouthing empty and meaningless slogans at Liberal meetings. The 25
worst of the winter is coming on and thousands will perish for lack of bread, before the Liberal Government will have approached the subject of unemployment. They will sandwich 30
unemployment between the reform of the House of Lords and Welsh Disestablishment. 35

B Tillett, Is the Parliamentary Labour Party a failure?, 1908

SOURCE C: A leading member of the Fabian Society expresses her disappointment with the record of the Labour Party before the First World War in her diary entry on the annual Gala days of the ILP.

The leaders were painfully divided. MacDonald seems almost preparing his exit from the ILP. I think he would welcome a really conclusive reason for joining the Liberal Party. Keir Hardie is 'used up' with no real faith left in the Labour movement as a revolutionary force. At least one member of the Labour Party shone out by standing up for its principles when he carried his resolution – however impractical – that Labour Members ought to vote on all questions and at all times 'according to the merits' of the particular issue before the House. The rank and file are increasingly critical.

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B Webb, Diaries, 1914

SOURCE D: The future leader of the Labour Party explains how the local Labour Party in Poplar, East London, which won control of the local council there in 1919 and which he led as Mayor, 1919–20, organised the ‘Poplar Rates* Rebellion’ in 1921.

The local Labour Party programme included the equalisation of rates to aid support for the poor and unemployed. I suggested we refuse to pay our share to the central London County Council from the rates. The central authorities summoned us to the High Court. We were escorted there by the local ratepayers with a band and banners. We stood firm and 30 of us were sent to prison for six weeks. The unemployed sang outside the prison walls. We joined in the chorus of the Red Flag. I made speeches from my cell window. After our release a conference was held and it was agreed that the cost of	60
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paying for the relief of the poor should be levied over the whole of London.

G Lansbury, My Life, 1928

*** The rates: local taxes used in part to support the poor and in some London boroughs, like Poplar, the unemployed, and other services provided by authorities for London as a whole.**

SOURCE E: In his opening address to the conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain the chairman attacks the Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald.

The Labour Government has no intention to support the workers and combat capitalism. It has rightly been called conservative as it is so anxious to conserve the whole worn out fabric of Parliament. It is the Communist Party that will save the Labour movement. Having promised to take office for a short period the Labour Government now talk of carrying on in the service of capitalism for two or three years. This is sheer treachery to the working class. This wholesale scrapping of principles by the Labour Government is causing disquiet amongst their own followers in Parliament.

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W Gallacher, speech, 17 May 1924

CHURCHILL 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill as a War Leader and the Bombing of Germany, 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for Churchill's attitude to bombing Germany. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill showed poor judgement in his support for the bombing of Germany. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

CHURCHILL AS A WAR LEADER AND THE BOMBING OF GERMANY

SOURCE A: Churchill and Roosevelt, who had met at Casablanca, justify the bombing operations in a letter to Stalin.

We believe more daylight and night air attacks will lead to greatly increased damage to German resources and morale and rapidly reduce German fighter strength. We are already containing more than half the German air force in Western Europe and the Mediterranean. Our intensified and diversified bomber offensive will divert further German air and other forces from the Russian front.

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*Churchill and Roosevelt, letter,
25 January 1943*

SOURCE B: Churchill speaks to the people of London about the bombing campaign.

Three years ago, Hitler boasted that he would ‘rub out’ the cities of Britain and certainly we suffered heavy damage. But now those who sowed the wind are reaping the whirlwind. In the first half of the year, the RAF has cast on Germany thirty five times the tonnage of bombs which has been discharged on this island in the same six months. Not only has the weight of bombing grown and its accuracy multiplied, but our measures of defence have improved. In one single night, we successfully discharged upon Düsseldorf millions of tons of terrible explosive and incendiary bombs.

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Churchill, speech, 30 June 1943

SOURCE C: In a speech to the House of Lords, Bishop Bell of Chichester expresses a minority view about the bombing of Germany.

Do the Government understand the full force of what area bombardment is doing and is destroying now? **30**
How far the destruction of European culture has already gone? We ought to think once, twice, and three times before destroying the rest. In 1939 **35**
Mr. Churchill referred to ‘millions who stand aloof from the Nazi Party machine’. Why is there this blindness to the psychological side? Why is there this inability to reckon with the moral and spiritual facts? Why is there this forgetfulness of the ideals by which our cause is inspired? How can the War Cabinet fail to see that this progressive devastation of cities is threatening the roots of civilization? **40**
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Bishop Bell, speech, 4 February 1944

SOURCE D: Churchill expresses some concerns to senior RAF commanders after the bombing of Dresden.

**It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under
50 other pretexts, should be reviewed. Otherwise we shall come under the control of an utterly ruined land – the destruction of Dresden remains a
55 serious query against the conduct of allied bombing. I feel the need for more precise concentration upon military objectives rather than on more acts of terror and wanton destruction,
60 however impressive.**

Churchill, Memorandum, March 1945

SOURCE E: This German historian, born in 1926, served in the Second World War and worked closely with the former German armament minister Albert Speer on his published diaries. Here, in a biography of Speer, he comments on British bombing strategy.

At the turn of 1941–2, Britain had gone over to ‘area bombing’, the systematic destruction of the military and industrial centres of the Reich in keeping with Churchill’s instructions to Arthur Harris, the new chief of Bomber command. But Harris soon widened the strategy into one of wearing down Germany psychologically by extensive attacks on residential areas. Towards the end of March 1942 he opened that theatre of war with a raid on Lübeck. In retaliation Germany bombed old towns in England. The Anglo-American forces stepped up their aerial terror against the civilian population to ‘round the clock

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**bombing'. Rather than discouraging
or disheartening the population, the
horror of ceaseless bombing further
hardened it, and it closed ranks
with Hitler's regime as never before.
Abandoning the bombing of vital
war industries was nonsensical and
costly. Furthermore, it considerably
prolonged the war.**

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***Joachim Fest, Speer:
The Final Verdict, 1999***

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