

# OCR

Oxford Cambridge and RSA

## Wednesday 17 May 2017 – 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 barcodes.

#### 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 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 Sources as evidence for views on the mass meeting in August 1819 at St Peter's Fields, Manchester. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the sources support the interpretation that the Radical movements 1815–1820 failed because of government legislation. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

### The Radical Threat 1815–20

**Source A:** A local newspaper describes the March of the Blanketeers, 1817.

The streets of Manchester were crowded by thousands prepared with blankets and bundles for the march to London. All who had the appearance of ringleaders were arrested and imprisoned on the spot by Magistrates and the military at their disposal. This precautionary measure was possible because of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In Stockport 200 persons were arrested. One individual was so severely wounded that his life was despaired of. No more than 500, out of the thousands assembled in the morning, penetrated as far as Macclesfield and no more than 20 persons left Macclesfield for Staffordshire. 5

*From the Macclesfield Courier, 12 March, 1817*

**Source B:** The Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire, writes to the Home Secretary after the Pentridge Rising.

There prevails generally a strong and decided opinion that most of the events that have recently occurred in the country are due to the presence and active agitation of Mr Oliver. All the discontented have considered themselves as junior members of a great body of revolutionaries in London, and under its instructions and directions. Without the appearance of Mr Oliver pretending to come from that body of revolutionaries, there would probably not have been a rising. Dangerous thoughts might have been present, but those thoughts would not have led to action. 10

*A letter from Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Sidmouth, 1817*

**Source C:** A moderate radical, an eyewitness to 'Peterloo', remembers the mass meeting in Manchester on August 16 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 children were indiscriminately cut down or trampled.

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

**Source D:** On the evening after the events at Peterloo, the Manchester officials responsible for sending in the cavalry write to the Home Secretary.

From eleven o'clock, columns of people arrived, carrying flags, one saying, 'Equal Representation or Death.' There was no appearance of arms or pikes, but plenty of sticks and staves. The magistrates felt convinced of the appearance of insurrection, enough to terrify all the King's subjects, and such as no legitimate purpose could justify. They also had statements from the inhabitants as to their fears for public safety. The cavalry arrested Hunt. The Riot Act was read and the mob was completely dispersed but not without serious effects. A special constable was killed and four women lost their lives by being pressed by the crowd.

*Letter from the Manchester magistrates to Lord Sidmouth, 16 August, 1819*

**Source E:** Parliament passes the so-called Six Acts in December 1819, which included these provisions.

All meetings for the purposes of training persons in military exercises are hereby prohibited; all who assist this and are legally convicted shall be liable to be transported for any term not exceeding seven years or be punished by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

Pamphlets and printed papers tending to incite hatred of the government have recently been published in great numbers at small prices but after the passing of this Act such pamphlets and printed papers shall be taken to be newspapers and subject to the tax paid by newspapers.

*Acts of Parliament, 1819*

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

Study the five Sources on Disraeli's Foreign and Imperial policies 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 **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to native populations of the British Empire. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that achieving peace was the main aim of foreign and imperial policies under Disraeli. **[70]**

**[Total: 100 marks]**

### Disraeli's Foreign and Imperial Policies

**Source A:** Disraeli speaks at the Crystal Palace about the Empire.

Well, what has been the result of the Liberal attempt to bring about the disintegration of the Empire? It has entirely failed. But how has it failed? Through the sympathy of the colonies with the Mother Country. They have decided that the Empire shall not be destroyed, and, in my opinion, no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects an opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible of our Colonial Empire and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.

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*Disraeli, Speech, 24 June 1872*

**Source B:** The editor of *The Observer* gives his opinion about the Empire.

I do not dispute for one moment that as a nation we do not honestly wish to benefit the natives of India. I believe sincerely that our rule does benefit the natives. But, as a matter of fact, we rule India, not because we wish to benefit the natives, still less because the natives are conscious of the benefits we confer upon them, but because we deem the possession of India conducive to our interests and our reputation. We have got it and intend to keep it. I am convinced that the nation is firm in its conviction that the Empire of England must be upheld at all costs and hazards.

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*Edward Dicey, Article, September 1877*

**Source C:** A music-hall song expresses popular opinion about the crisis as Russia threatened Turkey.

The 'Dogs of War' are loose and the rugged Russian Bear,  
Full bent on blood and robbery, has crawled out of his lair, 15  
It seems a thrashing now and then, will never help to tame,  
The brute and so he's bent upon the 'same old game'.

Chorus ; We don't want to fight, But by Jingo if we do,  
We've got the ships, we've got the men, We've got the money too,  
We've fought the Bear before, And while we're Britons true, 20  
The Russians shall not have Constantinople.

*G W Hunt, Song, 1877*

**Source D:** A newspaper describes the return of Disraeli and Salisbury from the Congress of Berlin.

In Dover the return of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury won a popular ovation. There was a large crowd, which cheered heartily. The town was decorated. The following address, which was beautifully illuminated, was presented to Lord Beaconsfield. 'We, the members of the Dover Workingmen's Constitutional Association, humbly bid your Lordship a cordial welcome to our shores on your return from that Congress, at whose deliberations, by the blessing of God, you have, by your great intellect and firm demeanour, added so materially to the restoration of peace and the assertion of England's might and position among nations.' 25

*The Times, Report, 17 July 1878*

**Source E:** Gladstone's biographer gives an account of a speech Gladstone made in November 1879 as part of his Midlothian Campaign.

He insisted that we should ever remember the rights of the savage, as we call him. 'Remember', he exclaimed, 'that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan, among the winter snow, is as inviolable in the eyes of Almighty God as is your own life. Remember that He who has united you as human beings in the same flesh and blood, has bound you by the law of mutual love, which is not limited to this island nor to the boundaries of Christian civilisation. It passes over the whole surface of the earth, and embraces the lowest along with the greatest in its unmeasured scope.' 30

*John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 1903*

## England and a New Century 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on Reform of Working Conditions 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 **E**.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the response of government to unemployment. [30]

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that government measures to deal with working conditions were solely motivated by political considerations. [70]

[Total: 100 marks]

## Reform of Working Conditions

**Source A:** A member of the shadow cabinet of the Liberal Party explains the need for new Liberal policies.

We have a great Labour Party sprung up. Unless we can prove, as I think we can, that there is no necessity for a separate party to represent the rightful demands of working people, then you will find that the Liberal Party will be practically wiped out. In its place you will get a more extreme and revolutionary party, which will sail under the colours of Socialism or Independent Labour. It rests with the Liberal Administration, which we can see on the horizon, to prevent such a state of things from coming about.

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*Lloyd George, Speech, 7 November 1904*

**Source B:** An official investigation of the Poor Laws and the relief of poverty stresses the importance of improving the conditions of the working class.

The condition of the working class is a discredit and a peril to the whole community. Combating this evil can only be performed by a united and untiring effort to convert useless and costly inefficient workers into self-sustaining and economically useful members of society. No country, however rich, can permanently hold its own in the race of international competition, if hampered by an increasing load of this dead weight. No country can successfully perform its role of sovereignty beyond the seas, if its own folk at home are sinking below the civilisation and aspirations of its subject races abroad.

10

*The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Majority Report, 1909*

**Source C:** A leading Liberal politician and social administrator analyses causes of and remedies for unemployment.

Unemployment is the result of changes and fluctuations in the scale of industry. The organisation of the labour market is the first step in the permanent solution of the problem of unemployment. In this respect government has a moral duty. Labour Exchanges are required to reduce to a minimum the intervals between successive jobs. When, all over the country, there is a connected system of Labour Exchanges, no man will apply anywhere else either for workers or employment. Insurance is required to tide over the intervals that will still remain. No plan, other than insurance, is really adequate. 15  
20

*William Beveridge, Unemployment: A Problem of Industry, 1909*

**Source D:** Bonar Law, a member of the Coalition Government, explains his support for a state-subsidised housing scheme.

He believed that three-quarters of Europe might convert to Bolshevism. He believed that Great Britain would hold out, but only if the people were given a sense of confidence – only if they believed that things were being done for them. We had promised them reform time and time again, but little had been done for them. So long as we could persuade the people that we were prepared to help them and to meet them in their aspirations, he believed that the sane and steady leaders amongst the workers would have an easy victory over the Bolsheviks among them. 25

*Cabinet Minutes, 1919*

**Source E:** In addressing the Conservative Party Conference at Plymouth, the prime minister outlines his views about unemployment.

Since the war there has been a significant increase in population. It will also be a long time before the economic reconstruction of Europe is complete. We face the danger of ‘dumping’ of accumulated stocks from the Ruhr to the detriment of our own manufactures. I have no doubt that Parliament will take steps to see that no trading of the kind is allowed. If we potter along with the same policies, unemployment will be with us to the end of time. The only way to fight unemployment is by protecting the home market which only government can do. 30

*Stanley Baldwin, Speech, 25 October 1923*

### Churchill 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill in 1940 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 the role of Labour in bringing about a new government in 1940. **[30]**

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

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill became prime minister in 1940 because of his outstanding abilities. **[70]**

**Total: [100 marks]**

### Churchill in 1940

**Source A:** Chamberlain's private secretary recalls views about Churchill in May 1940.

In May 1940 the mere thought of Churchill as Prime Minister sent a cold chill down the spines of the staff at 10 Downing Street where I was Chamberlain's private secretary. Churchill's impetuosity had, we thought, contributed to the Norwegian fiasco, and General Ismay had told us in despairing tones of the confusion caused by his enthusiastic interference in the orderly discussions of the Chiefs of Staff. His restlessness made unnecessary work, prevented real planning and caused friction. 5

*John Colville, Action this Day, 1968*

**Source B:** Churchill recalls a meeting between himself, the prime minister, the chief whip and Lord Halifax on 9 May 1940.

I have had many important interviews in my life, but this was certainly the most important. Usually I talk a good deal, but this time I was silent. Mr. Chamberlain evidently had in his mind the stormy scene in the House of Commons two nights before when I had seemed to be in such a heated controversy with the Labour Party. Although this had been to defend the prime minister, he nevertheless felt that it might be an obstacle to my obtaining their support at this time. I do not recall the actual words he used, but this was the implication. He preferred Lord Halifax. At length, Halifax spoke. He said that he felt his position as a Peer would make it very difficult for him to discharge the duties of Prime Minister in a war like this. 10

*W S Churchill, The Gathering Storm, 1948*



**Source C:** A former Conservative minister who resigned in 1938 over Munich recalls the situation after 10 May 1940 in his memoirs.

On 10 May the Germans invaded Holland and Belgium. Chamberlain's first reaction was that this gave him an excuse to remain in office. He was persuaded that the events meant that he should depart immediately. Churchill's reputation had risen sharply since 1939. He had shown himself a highly competent First Lord of the Admiralty. His speeches in the Commons had been better than any of his colleagues. Everything that he had prophesied in the past had come disastrously true. Halifax had merely remained the foreign minister of Munich. The choice was obvious. 15

*Duff Cooper, Old Men Forget, 1953*

**Source D:** A Conservative politician who admired Churchill recalls the situation in 1940.

The news of Chamberlain's intentions to stay was given out. The Labour leaders, Attlee and Greenwood, said they were willing to serve in a new national government, but not under Chamberlain. The Cabinet was left in doubt what their attitude would be, but Churchill knew that the task of forming a government would certainly fall on him because he alone was the man for the task. 20

*Leo Amery, My Political Life, 1953*

**Source E:** A modern historian, the Keeper of the Churchill Archives, analyses Churchill's position on his appointment as prime minister in 1940.

Churchill became prime minister on 10 May 1940. It was not a result that had been wanted by all, it emerged rather suddenly from a specific crisis, and Churchill began his famous premiership in a rather precarious political position. He was dependent upon the good will of Chamberlain and Halifax, who at this stage continued to command more loyalty and support than Churchill from the Conservatives. His ability to form a government rested upon the support of the Labour and Liberal opposition parties. There were many in the Civil Service and the establishment who were sceptical about the new prime minister. With a massive unfolding political crisis even Churchill's large popular following could easily turn against him. 30

*Allen Packwood, A Week in London, 2008*

**END OF QUESTION PAPER**





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