

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

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

**WEDNESDAY 13 MAY 2015: Afternoon
DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance
MODIFIED ENLARGED 24pt**

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet.

**OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:
12 page Answer Booklet (OCR12)
(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 1815–1853 (pages 4–7)

The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886 (pages 8–11)

England and a New Century 1900–1924 (pages 12–15)

Churchill 1920–1945 (pages 16–20)

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.

Any blank pages are indicated.

The Condition of England 1815–1853

Study the five Sources on The Impact of the New Poor Law of 1834 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 D and E.

Compare these Sources as evidence for conditions in the new workhouses. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the New Poor Law was successful in helping the poor. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

The Impact of the New Poor Law of 1834

SOURCE A: A southern Poor Law Union, largely rural, reports to the new Poor Law Commissioners on the initial impact of the New Poor Law of 1834.

Of the families to whom outdoor relief was refused and an order for the workhouse was given, barely half took the offer, but immediately found means of providing for themselves. Of the rest some stayed one to three days. Excepting two, none remained more than four days. Thus men with their families were at once removed from the degradation of pauperism and taught that they could honestly and independently support themselves by their own industry and efforts.

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Report from the Faringdon Union contained in the 1st annual Poor Law Commission report, 1835

SOURCE B: The Chairman of the Market Harborough New Poor Law Union in the rural Midlands gives evidence to the Poor Law Commissioners.

Persons who before could never be made to work have become good labourers and express no dissatisfaction with the measure. The moral character of the poor is improving; they are more orderly. From my enquiries with respectable farmers and others, I say the measure is working very satisfactorily. Most of the labouring poor have become reconciled to it. They hold the workhouse in great dread and there is a greater inclination to seek employment. The cases of bastardy are declining.

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Langham Rokesby, gentleman, quoted in the 2nd Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1836.

SOURCE C: In the introduction to his book of popular poems on rural life a well-known poet responds to the New Poor Law.

I defend a right of the people to the support of outdoor relief when unable to help themselves. The Old Poor Law cannot be dispensed with. Families now constantly lose their means of support. Large masses can be thrown out of work and into poverty by changes in trade caused by events and governments abroad and by new manufacturing discoveries. Now a reckless new poor law, passed in conformity to the abstract theories of political economists and utilitarians, has worsened matters. These theories have punished many by the abruptness with which they have been carried into practice.

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William Wordsworth, Lyrical Ballads, 1835–6

The Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Gladstone and Ireland 1880–1885 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 D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views on the Kilmainham Treaty. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Gladstone succeeded in pacifying Ireland in his Second Ministry of 1880 to 1885. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

Gladstone and Ireland 1880–1885

SOURCE A: A junior Liberal colleague, later a minister in Gladstone's Third brief Ministry, comments on the Prime Minister's Irish land legislation in 1881 in a later biography of Gladstone.

After the Coercion Act came another Land Bill. Few beyond the Irish MPs cared about it. The Whigs were dissatisfied, the radicals doubted it, the Tories and landlords thought the principle of property was ruined by it. Its basis were the three F's with land courts to establish fair rents. If a policy of purchase had been adopted in 1881 land issues would have been solved once and for all, but opinion was not yet ready for this. Nonetheless, Irish tenants knew it to be a freedom charter, one of Mr Gladstone's greatest achievements.

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John Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, 1903

SOURCE B: The Prime Minister writes to the Irish Chief Secretary about his policy and thoughts on the Irish situation just before negotiations began with an imprisoned Parnell in Kilmainham Gaol.

Until we have responsible elected Irish local government, every plan comes as an English idea forced upon Ireland and is thus condemned. It binds us but not them. Governing Ireland needs support from its people. Yet their MPs, leaders and the Land League are hardly effective for anything but mischief. I have no hope from them. The better the prospects of the Land Act, the bitterer will be their hatred and the more they will do to keep up the agitation which their ultimate ends of Home rule and independence prevent them from abandoning. Instead we must wear them down by good government. The question of careful prison releases, if crime decreases, may become of importance.

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Gladstone, letter to Forster, 12 April, 1882

SOURCE C: An Irish writer, journalist and, from 1880, Irish Nationalist MP comments on Parnell and the Kilmainham Treaty of 2 May 1882.

The Kilmainham Treaty was a great victory for Parnell. The government's terms are proof of this. The failure of coercion was unreservedly acknowledged and involved the resignation of Forster, chiefly responsible for it. There was to be no renewal of coercion. Gladstone welcomed Irish proposals on further land purchase and remission of rent arrears which had shut out so many tenants from benefiting from the recent Land Act. The days after Parnell's prison release were a triumph and he was recognised as master of the situation. Tranquillity returned to Ireland.

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T P O'Connor, The Parnell Movement, 1887

SOURCE D: A former Fenian revolutionary nationalist, founder and coordinator of the Land League, who pushed for land nationalisation yet worked with Parnell, comments on the Kilmainham Treaty.

Concessions were obtained on condition that the Land League which forced Gladstone to change his policy was to be disbanded. The movement that had given Parnell his position and power was to disappear. The price was too great and the terms so obnoxious to League feeling that, had not the Phoenix Park catastrophe intervened, Parnell's leadership would have been threatened. English rule in Ireland in 1881–2 had never been so shaken. The Land League, with abundant friends and the means to keep going until fundamental change occurred, stood firmly behind Parnell's lead. From the Land League's view, whose policy was to destroy landlordism, demoralise 'English' rule and force a settlement of problems, the Kilmainham Treaty was a victory for English rule and a defeat of Parnell's forces.

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Michael Davitt, 'The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland', 1904

SOURCE E: Gladstone's colleague and first biographer recalls the views he held in 1885 on the five years of Liberal policy in Ireland, before Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule.

Ireland never blows over. Conspirators fled; comparative order was restored; the dire emergency of 1879–1882 brought to an apparent close. Yet little was advanced and policy was only half in place. The scene was not hopeful. There lay Ireland – squalid, dismal, expectant and deep in hostile intent. Some thought Gladstone's phrase about the Irish government 'having no moral force behind it' exactly described the truth.

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John Morley, Life of Gladstone, 1903

England and a New Century 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on New Liberalism and the Dominance of the Liberal Party 1906–1914 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 A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the vision of the New Liberals. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that determined Liberal leadership was the main reason for the Liberals staying in power, 1906–1914. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

New Liberalism and the Dominance of the Liberal Party 1906–1914

SOURCE A: The President of the Board of Trade proclaims his views on the responsibility of government.

The cause of the Liberal Party is the cause of the left-out millions. No man can rely on the State alone or on himself alone. No view of society can be complete which does not include both State organisation and individual incentive. The ever-growing complexity of modern life creates the need for new services which have to be undertaken by the State. There is a feeling, which I entirely share, against allowing those services to pass into private hands. I look forward to the universal establishment of minimum standards of life and work, and their increasing improvement in so far as wealth from production allows.

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Winston Churchill, speech, 11 October 1906

SOURCE B: The Chancellor of the Exchequer addresses a public meeting in Manchester on the problem of poverty prior to the introduction of old-age pensions.

In this rich country you have hundreds and thousands living in poverty. If these poor people are to be saved they cannot be saved by themselves but by others. It is the duty of every class of the community to see that in this great land all this misery and wretchedness should be put to an end. I am a man of the people and I am proud to fight the battles of the class from which I have sprung. The task of reform is difficult. There are hopes to excite, there are fears to calm. There are vested interests to beat down.

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David Lloyd George, speech, 1908

SOURCE C: A political cartoon shows David Lloyd George at the helm of a boat on the side of which are written the words, 'NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL'. He is saying to the others in the boat, 'Now understand, I've brought you out to do you good, and good I will do you, whether you like it or not'. The sea is stormy and the passengers, who are a wealthy man and woman and a working man and a maid, are looking worried and unhappy. The cartoon is called 'The Pitiless Philanthropist'.



Philanthropist = person who tries to help others

A Punch cartoon, June 1912

SOURCE D: The leading Conservative in Lancashire comments on a meeting of his party's county organisation. The meeting condemned the announcement by Bonar Law that the promised referendum on tariff reform, which they made in 1910, no longer applied.

A majority at the meeting wanted to abandon Tariff Reform altogether. On 11 January we shall pass a resolution calling upon Bonar Law to guarantee that there should be some appeal to the country before such Food Taxes are imposed. If we had settled this in 1906 the party would be in a much better position now. I am not going to be browbeaten by the food taxers any more. They have persistently ignored the fact that Lancashire hates Tariff Reform and paid no respect to our wishes. A split seems to me inevitable, unless the food taxers give way. 25 30

Lord Derby, letter, 25 December 1912

SOURCE E: A leading Fabian expresses her views about the relationship between the Labour Party, its supporters and the Liberals.

In his friendliness to Lloyd George, MacDonald [leader of the Labour Party] represents the views and hopes of the bulk of Trade Unionists. The British Workman has been persuaded by the propaganda of the Independent Labour Party that a Labour Party is useful but the closer the Labour Member sticks to the Liberal Party the better the workman is pleased. So far as he has any politics he still believes in the right of the middle classes to do the work of government. He does not believe his own mates are capable of it, and roughly speaking he is right. 35 40

Beatrice Webb, Diary, 6 February 1914

Churchill 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources C and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for attitudes to Churchill's policy towards the Gold Standard. [30]

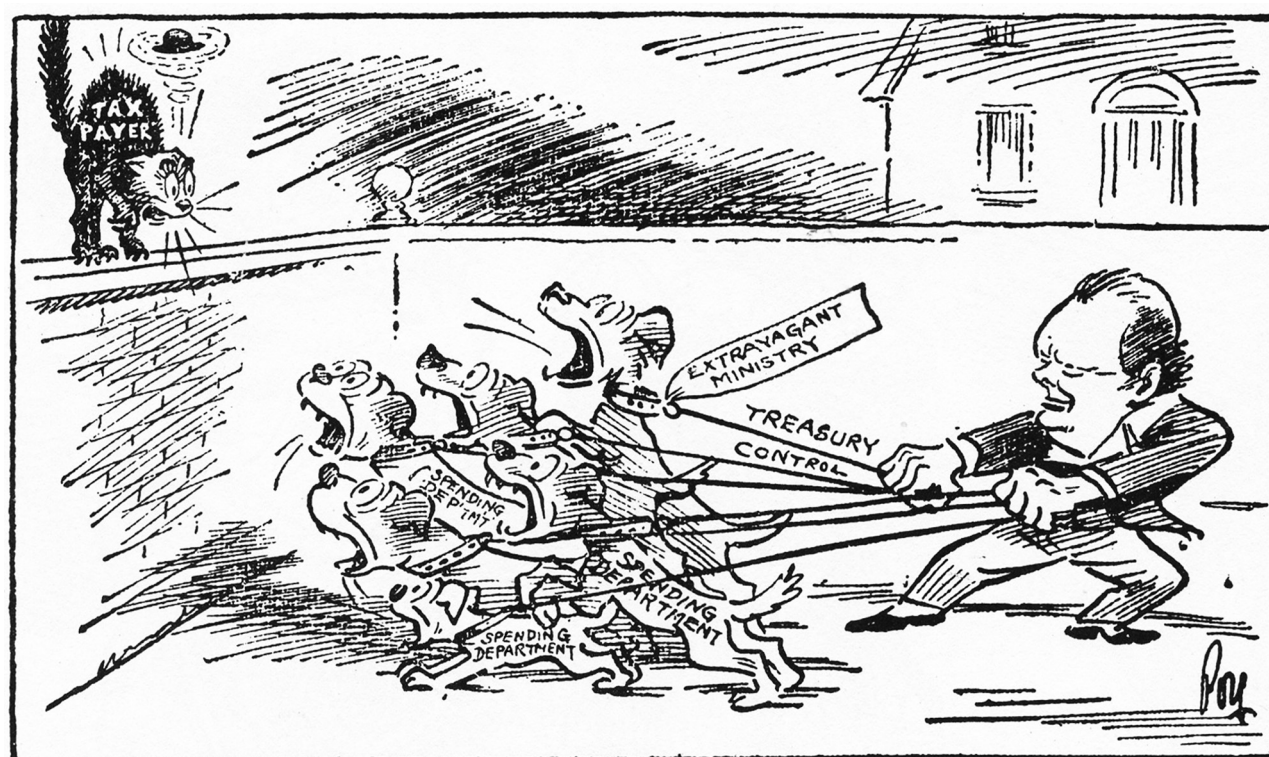
(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill's period as Chancellor of the Exchequer damaged his political reputation in the 1920s and later. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer

SOURCE A: A newspaper cartoon comments on Churchill's problems as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Winston Churchill is shown holding the leads of 'Treasury Control' on barking dogs which are pulling towards a terrified cat which is standing on the top of a wall. The cat is labelled 'Tax payer' and the dogs are labelled 'Extravagant Ministry' or 'Spending Department'. Under the cartoon it says, 'Now comes the Tug-of-War. Hold them, Winston!'



NOW COMES THE TUG-OF-WAR

HOLD THEM, WINSTON !

Daily Mail, 28 January 1925

SOURCE B: In the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer defends his policy towards the Gold Standard

I do not present myself here as a currency expert, but on the issue of the return to the Gold Standard, we have the support of every Committee and Conference that has been held since the war. I had to rely on expert advice. We are often told that the Gold Standard will shackle us to the United States. No, it will shackle us to reality. The reality is that this crowded island could not support its present population by the unaided efforts of its agriculture, its manufactures, or even its shipping, unless these efforts were supplemented by our world-wide finance and business interests. It is these interests for which the Gold Standard is essential.

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Churchill, speech, 4 May 1925

SOURCE C: A leading banker addresses a meeting of shareholders of the National Provincial Bank. This speech, along with those of other leading bankers, was sent by Churchill to his cabinet colleagues in a memorandum in February 1926.

Our return to the Gold Standard took place at the right moment, and the results have shown that it was not a rash step, as some have said, and that we were prepared and equipped for it. It is not merely because it is in the interests of the banks that we have advocated and supported it. In fact, it is essential to trade. We can now compete with other countries on equal terms; we can secure raw materials and food at the lowest prices. I need not dwell on the importance of the restoration of our position as the leading financial centre. The pound has once again regained its position as a standard of value all over the world.

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Sir Felix Schuster, speech, January 1926

SOURCE D: A Canadian politician writes to a colleague about Churchill's speech in the House of Commons about the impact of his previous policies.

Speaking in 1936, Mr Churchill declared that the Gold Standard, once so respected, was gone. It was unhonoured and its passing was regretted by no one. It was rightly dead. It belongs in the Hell to which it has returned. He acknowledged that his policy of deflation, with balancing the budget through reduction of public expenditure and increasing taxation, had brought England to destruction. Wholly justifying the end of orthodox finance* and the balanced budget, he said that he had been the last Chancellor of the Victorian age – and there was laughter and cheers.

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G McGreer, letter, March 1936

***Orthodox finance = balancing the budget to ensure that annual expenditure did not exceed income and linking the issuing of paper currency to the gold reserves in the Bank of England.**

SOURCE E: A leading Conservative politician of the 1920s and 1930s reflects on Churchill’s period as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Churchill stubbornly maintained a combination of deflation and free imports. This had as its immediate effect wage reductions, drawn-out industrial conflict between workers and employers, and continuous heavy unemployment. Its long-term results were the conviction among the working class that socialism alone could provide a cure for unemployment. The main reason for the defeat of a great prime minister in the election of 1945 was Churchill’s actions as Chancellor of the Exchequer, twenty years before.

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L S Amery, My Political Life, 1955

END OF QUESTION PAPER



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