

**OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
AS GCE**

F963/02

HISTORY A

British History Enquiries

Option B: Modern 1815–1945

TUESDAY 14 MAY 2013: Morning

**DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes
plus your additional time allowance**

MODIFIED ENLARGED

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 8–13)
 - England and a New Century 1900–1924 (pages 14–18)
 - Churchill 1920–1945 (pages 20–23)
- 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 Topic 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 Factory System 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 attitudes to female labour in factories. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the Factory Acts did more harm than good. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE IMPACT OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

SOURCE A: An economist comments on the impact of the factories in an influential Whig party journal.

Children aged 9 to 14 are mainly employed in factories. They have been described as stunted, aged prematurely and made miserable for life by prolonged confinement, drudgery and ill treatment. Such were the representations of Mr Sadler's famous Factory Report in 1832, which we believe contained exaggerated and misleading representations and false statements. Were children to be excluded from factories, most would

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SOURCE C: A Northern factory owner comments in a published pamphlet on the effects of factory reform. He is usually considered fair and reforming in his approach to adult and child labour.

The enemies of the factory system assume that all labour is severe and all workers are children of tender years and delicate health. We should no longer be shocked at child factory labour as if we find any under 13 years we have the satisfaction of knowing they only work 8 hours a day. It may also be asked where the children who were discharged from the mills are? Some are working down the mines. Are they, for whose protection the provisions of the 1833 Act were made and enforced, in a better physical and mental condition than before? 30
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**Robert Hyde Greg, The Factory Question of the
Ten Hours Bill, 1837**

SOURCE D: A middle class writer comments on the impact of factory labour upon girls and women.

Those female factory children who survive grow to be young women. Those who have the choice prefer the life of a factory girl to that of a household servant and they are not far wrong. They have comparative freedom and, after the 1844 Act, work only at stated hours. But as well as learning to be independent, they become selfish and impatient with their duties as women. What training has fitted them to be working men's wives? They have not learnt needlework, habits of cleanliness 40
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and order with which to make the most of their husband's wages and give their homes a degree of comfort. The Factory Commissioners state that 'girls' education is even more neglected than boys'.

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Mrs Anna Jameson, *Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Arts, Literature and Social Morals*, 1846

SOURCE E: In the course of introducing a 10 Hours Bill to Parliament one of the leading factory campaigners in Parliament comments on the effects of the 1833 Factory Act.

Despite all the good alterations made since 1833 nothing has been done for those between the ages of 13 and 18. A very large proportion are females and I appeal to Parliament to say whether it is not cruel to take a young female at the tender age of 13 and demand of her precisely the same work as that demanded from adult and vigorous men? How can they learn the details of domestic life which provide so powerfully to the morality of the next generation?

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Lord Ashley, speech to Parliament, 29 January 1846

THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1865–1886

Study the five Sources on Social Reform 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 attitudes to licensing reform. [30]

(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Disraeli's second ministry (1874–1880) did more for living and working conditions than Gladstone's first ministry (1868–1874). [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

SOCIAL REFORM

SOURCE A: A radical liberal, newly appointed President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's first government, comments on approaches to social reform.

Present in the government are many men moved by popular sympathies, foremost Mr Gladstone, who has set himself to devise measures for the good of the people. The working class have no wish to be indulged like children. Mr Disraeli's

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mistaken social theory is the great notion that the working classes would yield themselves up, in return for token gestures, with grateful obedience to the patronising leadership of the aristocracy.

The people desire justice above all. In the recent election questions like the protection of trade union property, the liability of employers, even strikes, were urged by the electors in this spirit of fairness, respect of rights and equality of claims.

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**John Bright's Speeches, North British Review,
December 1868**

SOURCE B: A Nonconformist newspaper comments on Bruce's 1872 Licensing Bill.

The nation has been asking for protection from the evils of alcohol – from the sickness, poverty and crime it brings; heavy burdens which reduce the sources of national wealth. The Government has offered a wretched Licensing Bill, framed with a total disregard to the wishes of the sober, virtuous and religious part of the community. This Bill agrees with the expressed wishes of the brewing industry who live and thrive on the wages of sin and who devote themselves to demoralising the people. Proper laws on alcohol are of much greater importance than Irish Disestablishment, repeal of the education clause or the Ballot Bill.

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The British Temperance Advocate, 1 May 1872

SOURCE C: The conservative Bishop of Peterborough comments on Licensing reform in the House of Lords.

I have the strongest dislike for this permissive Bill. I cannot express it in a stronger form than by saying that if I must take my choice (and this is really the alternative offered by the permissive Bill) whether England should be free or sober, I should say it would be better free than compulsorily sober. With freedom we might in the end attain sobriety; but with compulsion we should eventually lose both freedom and sobriety. This may sound strange coming from one of my profession.

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William Magee, speech, 2 May 1872

SOURCE D: Disraeli's Home Secretary comments on the principles of the Artisan's Dwelling Bill to the House of Commons.

It is not the duty of the government to provide citizens with the necessaries of life, including one of the main ones – good and habitable dwellings. If the State did so it would make that class dependent on what was done for them. Nor is it wise to encourage organisations to provide the working classes with houses at greatly lower rents than the market value. However, no one doubts the right of the State to interfere in sanitary matters. There is much to be done here to take the working classes out of miserable conditions.

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Richard Cross, speech, 8 February 1875

TURN OVER FOR SOURCE E

SOURCE E: A popular magazine comments on Gladstone and Disraeli's drink and housing legislation. The pub landlord (Bung) and his customer, a local ratepayer, voter and slum landlord (Bumble) are portrayed as 'injured innocents'. Landlord Bung is talking to the customer who is having a drink at the bar: 'Talk of harassing legislation! It was our turn last session; now it's yours!' Customer Bumble replies, 'A regular cross, I call it. Might just as well have the other lot back again!'



INJURED INNOCENTS.

Landlord Bung: 'Talk of harassing legislation! It was our turn last session; now it's yours!'

Customer Bumble: 'A regular cross, I call it. Might just as well have the other lot back again!'

Cartoon, Punch, 6 March 1875

ENGLAND AND A NEW CENTURY, 1900–1924

Study the five Sources on The Impact of Social Reform before 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 C and D.

Compare these Sources as evidence for the impact of the social reforms, 1909–12. [30]

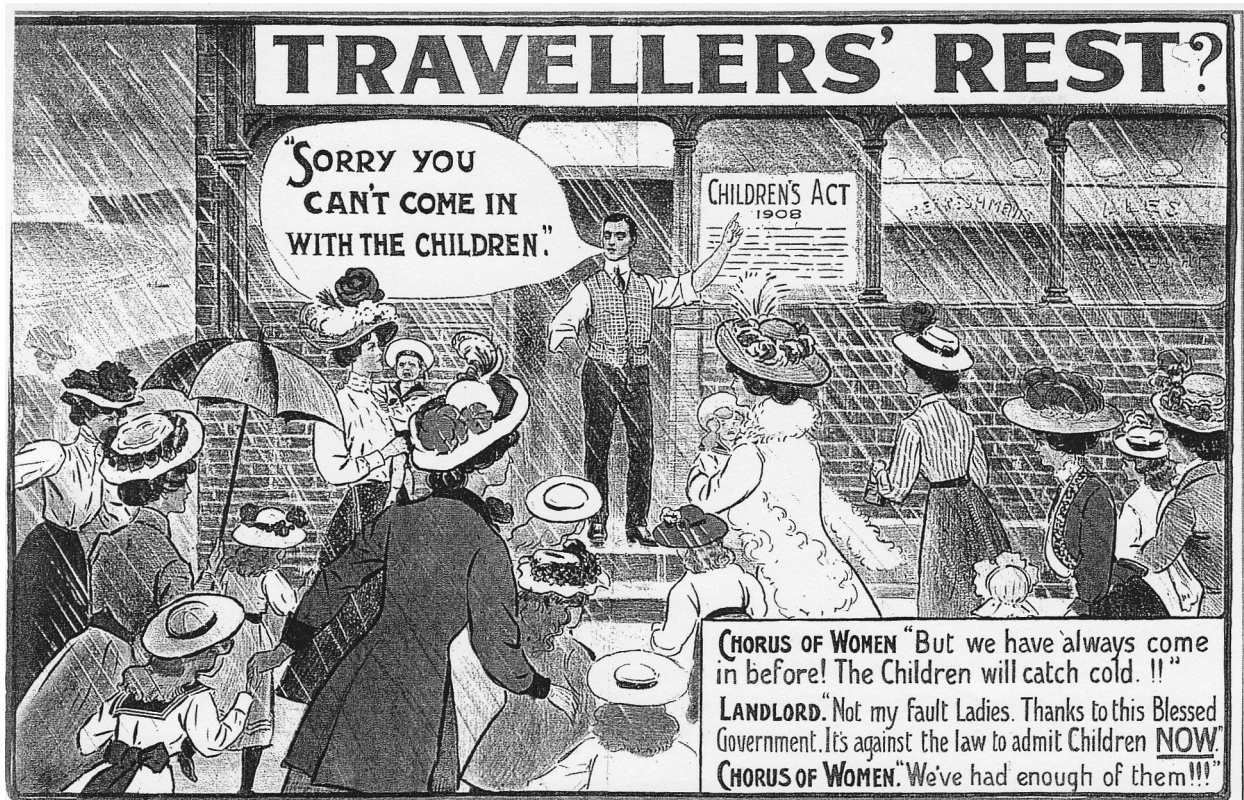
(b) Study ALL the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that the social reforms of the Liberals of 1906–14 attracted more opposition than support. [70]

[TOTAL: 100 MARKS]

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL REFORM BEFORE 1914

SOURCE A: The Children Act tackled many aspects of child welfare. This poster presents a view of the regulations it contained concerning the access of children to establishments selling alcohol. In the poster it is raining and a group of women with small children are rushing for shelter in a place called the 'Travellers' Rest?' The landlord is pointing to a sign by the door which says, 'Children's Act 1908' and saying 'Sorry you can't come in with the children.' The 'Chorus of Women' says 'But we have always come in before! The children will catch cold!!' The landlord replies 'Not my fault Ladies. Thanks to this Blessed Government. It's against the law to admit children NOW.' The 'Chorus of Women' says 'We've had enough of them!!!'



A Conservative Party Poster, 1908

SOURCE B: The author lived as a boy in a poor working class area of Salford, near Manchester, before the First World War. Here he comments on the views on old age pensions held at the time.

The small sums involved meant life itself for many elderly poor. Old folk, my mother said, spending their allowance at the shop, 'would bless the name of Lloyd George as if he were a saint'. The government met with much opposition to the introduction of a pension scheme from both middle and working classes. Free gifts of money, many argued, would dishearten the thrifty who saved for their old age, and encourage laziness. Lord Rosebery thought old age pensions 'might deal a blow at the Empire which could be almost mortal'.

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R Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, 1973

SOURCE C: Keir Hardie, who founded the Independent Labour Party, expresses his views on the recent social reforms in a House of Commons debate on a motion for an investigation into the causes of industrial unrest.

Pensions have been given to the aged, at least, but the need for pensions is due to low wages which the workers have to endure until they are seventy. Insurance! Attached to it are irritating conditions and a burdensome payment which a small addition to income or land tax would have covered. Every improvement in the condition of the worker is made a fresh excuse by the capitalist class for

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enriching themselves. The recent Minimum Wages Act for miners increased the cost of getting coal by 3d.[1p] per ton and as a result there is to be a permanent increase of 2s.6d.[12p] per ton in the price charged to the consumer! 20

Keir Hardie, speech, 8 May 1912

SOURCE D: At a public meeting at Kennington, London, the Chancellor of the Exchequer offers a vigorous defence of the social reforms of the Liberal Government.

Lloyd George: When the head of the family cannot work, his children are at the mercy of the wolves of hunger. The Insurance Act comes into operation that abolishes that state of things for ever – a protection between the people and the poverty that sickness and unemployment arises from. Another source of protection was Old Age Pensions and between them they will help millions from stumbling into wretchedness. The Tory Press regard the Insurance Bill as an act of tyranny and think it will lose us elections. 25
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A voice: It will win many more.

Lloyd George: I agree with my friend: we live on higher ground and can see further ahead.

David Lloyd George, speech, 1912

SOURCE E: Writing in a left-wing publication, called Solidarity, the author argues that the introduction and operation of labour exchanges disadvantaged the workers.

The reforms of the labour market were presented as a measure of generosity of the government to the working class. In fact, they were designed to further the interests of business by tightening the shackles of slavery around its exploited wage-slaves. The labour exchanges ensure non-union men are sent to masters. From the standpoint of the individual worker this system is venomous in the extreme. Of course, a worker could please himself whether he registered at the labour exchange. But with the introduction of Part II of the Insurance Act, workers who come within its scope are obliged to register with the exchange.

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**J Wills, 'An exposure of Labour Exchanges',
September 1913**

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CHURCHILL 1920–1945

Study the five Sources on Churchill's Defence Proposals in the 1930s, and then answer BOTH sub-questions.

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

4 (a) Study Sources A and B.

Compare these Sources as evidence for views on Britain's armed forces. [30]

(b) Study all the Sources.

Use your own knowledge to assess how far the Sources support the interpretation that Churchill was proposing unrealistic policies with regard to gaining international support against Germany in the 1930s. [70]

[Total:100 marks]

CHURCHILL'S DEFENCE PROPOSALS IN THE 1930s

SOURCE A: In his account of the lead up to the war Churchill comments on government policy.

It would have been possible in 1933 or even 1934 for Britain to have created an air force which would have imposed the necessary restraints on Hitler's ambitions or perhaps would have enabled the military leaders of Germany to control his violent acts. Had we acted with reasonable prudence and healthy energy, war might never have come

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to pass. Based on superior air power Britain and France could safely have invoked the aid of the League of Nations and all the states of Europe would have gathered behind them.

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Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, 1948

Source B: Britain's military leaders offer a view of the defence situation in 1937 which was discussed in the British cabinet.

Our naval, military and air forces in their present stages of development are still far from sufficient to meet our defence commitments which now extend from Western Europe through the Mediterranean to the Far East. Without overlooking the assistance we might obtain from France, and other possible allies, we cannot foresee the time when our defence forces will be strong enough to safeguard our territory, trade and vital interests against Germany, Italy and Japan simultaneously. We must stress the importance of any political or international action to reduce the numbers of our potential enemies.

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Chiefs of Staff, memorandum, 8 December 1937

SOURCE C: Churchill speaks to the House of Commons about defence and foreign policy.

If a number of states were assembled round Great Britain and France in a solemn treaty for mutual defence against aggression: if they had their forces marshalled in what you might call a Grand Alliance; if they co-ordinated their military planning; if all this rested, as it can honourably rest, on the Covenant of the League of Nations; if this were sustained by the moral sense of the world; and if this were done in the year 1938, then I say that you might even now prevent this approaching war.

Churchill, speech, 14 March 1938

SOURCE D: In a letter to his sister, the Prime Minister reflects on Churchill's proposals for changes in foreign policy.

The plan of the Grand Alliance, as Winston calls it, had occurred to me long before he mentioned it. I talked about it to Halifax and we submitted it to the Chiefs of Staff and Foreign Office experts. There is everything to be said for it until you come to examine its practicability. From that moment, its attraction vanishes. You only have to look at the map to see that nothing that France or Britain could do could possibly save Czechoslovakia from being overrun by the Germans if they wanted to do so.

Chamberlain, letter, 20 March 1938

SOURCE E: The Keeper of the Churchill Archive presents evidence about an appeal Churchill made to the people of the USA.

On October 16 1938, Churchill broadcast directly to the US on an American radio channel. He appealed for the English-speaking peoples to stand together and defend democracy against dictatorship.

Many of the letters he received from American listeners are among his papers. One said ‘we know American frontiers are at the Rhine and our battlefield is wherever democracy is put in peril’. But others were more critical, blaming the British and their government for the mess they were in: ‘Why ask America’s help while the British retain in power a government that betrayed its friends?’ ‘Why should we trust Britain who time after time expresses empty promises and then walks out on democracies?’.

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**Allen Packwood, Impressions of America
from the Churchill Papers, 2004**

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