

Edexcel GCE

History

Advanced Subsidiary

Unit 2

Option B: British Political History in the 19th Century

Friday 16 January 2009 – Afternoon

Sources Insert

Paper Reference

6HI02/B

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Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B1 – Britain, 1830–85: Representation and Reform

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1

(An extract from the Duke of Newcastle's diary, dated 14 October 1831, about preparing defences for his country house during riots in Nottinghamshire, which were provoked by the House of Lords' rejection of the Reform Bill. The Duke was a prominent Tory.)

1 When I arrived, I found 200 guards and a troop of yeomanry within the grounds. Such preparations are indeed formidable. But yesterday morning I decided to dismiss the yeomanry and retain twenty picked men, nearly all old soldiers. I made my office a barracks for them and placed a chain of sentries in a ring around the
5 house. One arrested me last night when I forgot the password. We shall soon be all together and comfortable again. I have heard of no fresh aggressions.

SOURCE 2

(From a letter written by John Wilson Croker to Lord Hertford in January 1832. Croker was an Irish MP, and like Hertford, a Tory.)

I believe the danger has narrowed. I really believe that if the King were tomorrow to send for the Duke of Wellington and make him first Minister, we should not have even as much of riot or disturbance as we had when the Bill was rejected by the
10 Lords. The Bill has no friends outside the government.

SOURCE 3

(From private records written by Francis Place. He was a keen supporter of reform and is writing here about the crisis of May 1832.)

We were within a moment of general rebellion, and had it been possible for the Duke of Wellington to have formed a government, the King and the people would have been in conflict.

Sources for use with Question 1 (b)(i)

SOURCE 4

(From a speech given by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, during the parliamentary debates on the Reform Bill in 1831)

The government's aims are to give representatives to the great manufacturing
15 towns, to add to the respectability of the electors, and to increase the number of
those who claim the right of choosing MPs. Ministers have no intention of severing
the existing ties between the middle classes and the aristocracy. The great merit
of the Bill is that it restores the Constitution by placing the middle class in that
situation to which they are entitled.

SOURCE 5

(From the *Poor Man's Guardian*, October 1832. It was a radical newspaper edited by Henry Hetherington, who became one of the early leaders of the London Chartists.)

20 The Whigs' aim was not to undermine or even remodel our aristocratic institutions,
but to consolidate them by reinforcement from the middle classes. The Whigs have
too much to lose to desire real reform. The Reform Act was, in effect, an invitation
to the *shopocrats* of the enfranchised towns to join the *Whigocrats* in keeping down
the people and thereby quell the rising spirit of democracy in England.

SOURCE 6

(From Robert Ellis, *People, Power and Politics*, published 1993)

25 The 1832 Reform Act added just over 200,000 middle-class voters to the electoral
register. Working-class radicals immediately began to express discontent, fuelled by
a sense of betrayal. In 1837, they drew up a People's Charter demanding six specific
reforms to give the people their political rights, and presented it to parliament in
1839 accompanied by over 1.2 million signatures. But Chartist support depended
30 on economic conditions and the pattern of Chartist activity coincided with periods
of depression and unemployment. After 1848 Chartism faded away as the country
entered a period of greater prosperity.

Sources for use with Question 1 (b)(ii)

SOURCE 7

(From a letter written by Disraeli to the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, in February 1867, arguing in favour of amendments to the Reform Bill that would greatly extend the right to vote)

What are called the 'working classes' in the small boroughs are under the patronage of the Upper classes and depend on them for employment and existence. The
35 Liberals will win in the big boroughs, but the Conservative Party can win the small ones, of which there are many.

SOURCE 8

(From Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, published 1966)

It is often believed that, in 1867, Disraeli foresaw that household suffrage would enfranchise a basically conservative class and aimed for this throughout the struggle for the Bill. He persuaded Derby and educated the rest of his party in
40 the process. Therefore, the argument goes, the Conservative breakthrough in the election of 1874 was the result of Disraeli's vision of the new social forces at work. Disraeli encouraged this impression, declaring that household suffrage had been his objective all along.

More accurately, however, Derby later described the Bill in its final form as a 'leap in
45 the dark' and never really denied that its main objective was to 'dish the Whigs' and take credit for electoral reform.

SOURCE 9

(From Paul Adelman, *Gladstone, Disraeli and Later Victorian Politics*, published 1970)

It is now clear that, during the 1867 Reform Crisis, Disraeli was simply seizing an unexpected opportunity. He did not seek to 'educate his party'. Nor did he display either firm principles or consistency of purpose in his support for 'democracy'.
50 Indeed, during these months, Disraeli had only one major aim: to destroy Gladstone's leadership over a united Liberal Party, and by seizing the initiative in reform himself, to consolidate his own leadership of the Conservative Party.

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Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B2 – Poverty, Public Health and the Growth of Government in Britain, 1830–75

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10

(Poor Law expenditure in England and Wales, 1783–1838)

Years	Average expenditure per year	Costs per head of the population
1783–85	£2,004,000	5s 2d (26 pence)
1803	£4,268,000	9s 2d (46 pence)
1813	£6,656,000	12s 2d (61 pence)
1814–18	£6,437,000	11s 7d (58 pence)
1819–23	£6,788,000	11s 2d (56 pence)
1824–28	£6,039,000	9s 2d (46 pence)
1829–33	£6,758,000	9s 8d (49 pence)
1834–38	£4,946,000	6s 7d (33 pence)

SOURCE 11

(From a letter written by Thomas Malthus to Samuel Whitbread MP in 1807. Whitbread had sought his advice on reforming the Poor Laws, after reading Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population*.)

1 Compulsory provision for the poor in this country has produced the natural result of encouraging population growth in the lower orders of society, and therefore the numbers of the poor. Much stress has been laid on the financial concerns arising from the rapid increase in rates in recent years, but I do not consider this
5 of greatest importance. The worst consequence is the increasing proportion of dependent poor encouraged by the existing poor laws. These burden the working labourer and lower the real price of labour, while the whole business of Settlement is a tyranny that binds them in dependency. These arrangements destroy all honourable feeling and spirit among the lower ranks of society and will make more
10 and more of the community dependent.

SOURCE 12

(From the *Report* compiled by the 1832 Commission of Enquiry into the Operation of the Poor Laws, published 1834)

The first and most essential of all conditions is that the situation of the pauper in relief shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class.

Sources for use with Question 2 (b)(i)

SOURCE 13

(A Resolution passed in 1833 at a meeting of local doctors who had received a report from the Leeds District Surgeon, Robert Baker, on the 1831–32 cholera epidemic)

We, whose names are undersigned, are of the opinion that the streets in which
15 malignant cholera prevailed most severely were those in which the drainage was most imperfect; and that the general health of the inhabitants would be greatly improved, and the probability of a future visitation from such malignant epidemics diminished, by a general efficient system of drainage, sewerage and paving and the enforcement of better regulations as to the cleaning of the streets.

SOURCE 14

(From the Annual Report presented to the Privy Council by John Simon, Chief Medical Officer of Health, in 1870)

20 It is now certain that the faulty water supply of a town may be the essential cause of the most terrible epidemic outbreaks of cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery and other allied disorders. Furthermore, there are doubts as to whether such outbreaks can spread in a town unless a faulty water supply develops them. Dr Snow in 1849 was not able to provide proof of his theory, but afterwards distinct experiments,
25 as well as much additional information, established as almost certain that his bold conjecture had been substantially right.

SOURCE 15

(From *The Medical Revolution*, published for the Schools' Council in 1976)

Since the 1840s, new information about disease had gradually been gained by the study of medical statistics. From 1836 onwards, all births and deaths had to be registered. By the 1860s, researchers were able to produce statistics for
30 different diseases, compiled over thirty years, which showed beyond any doubt that bad living conditions and disease of all kinds were closely connected. By 1870, therefore, although much research into human disease still remained to be done, the government and general public knew that if they wanted to prevent disease they first had to get rid of dirt.

Sources for use with Question 2 (b)(ii)

SOURCE 16

(From Peter Murray, *Poverty and Welfare, 1830–1914*, published 1999)

35 The authors of the 1834 Act intended that all outdoor relief to the able-bodied would cease relatively rapidly. In the south this was happening by the late 1830s and in the rural north from 1842. But, elsewhere, particularly in the new industrial towns where periodic trade depressions plunged thousands of workers at a time into unemployment, guardians continued to give outdoor relief to the able-
40 bodied, and this was recognised in 1852. By the late 1860s most parishes had been incorporated into poor law unions, but by 1871 only one in six unions was operating the ban, and the cost of outdoor relief had risen by 25%. One of the central policies of the New Poor Law was, in fact, impossible to implement.

SOURCE 17

(From a report to the Poor Law Commissioners from Assistant Commissioner William Day about difficulties in enforcing restrictions on the provision of outdoor relief in the north of England in the 1840s.)

The people refused to accept it, and though compelled to submit to the law, took
45 every opportunity of evading it. Hence, though the law was carried out to the letter, it has been paralysed as to the spirit, and the abuse of medical certificates has made it meaningless. I have reported this abuse to you over and over again, but you have been unable to suggest a remedy.

SOURCE 18

(From a circular issued by the Local Government Board in 1871)

Many causes have doubtless contributed to the increase in out-door relief which
50 has taken place, but the Board do not believe from the information before them that it is caused by defects in the law or the orders that regulate out-door relief. It is therefore attributable to defective management or administration of the law, and the remedy is in the hands of its local administrators, the Guardians, and may be at once applied by them.

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