

Edexcel GCE

History

Advanced Subsidiary

Unit 2

Option B: British Political History in the 19th Century

Monday 8 June 2009 – Morning

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

(From a speech given by Lord John Russell, introducing the First Reform Bill in the House of Commons, 1 March 1831)

1 The whole measure will add to the electorate about half a million persons, and these are all connected with the property of the country, having a valuable stake amongst us and deeply interested in our institutions. They are persons on whom we can depend in any future struggle in which this nation may be engaged.

SOURCE 2

(From a speech made in parliament by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, 3 March 1831)

5 Any man who looks at the workings of the present system must see that there are several great blemishes. It is necessary to remove these in order to strengthen the bonds of influence, respect and deference which give the constitution authority. The measure before the House is not intended to affect this power, but to give additional reasons for supporting and defending it.

SOURCE 3

(From Sir Robert Peel's speech in parliament in March 1832, opposing the third version of the Reform Bill despite the concessions that had been made to conservative interests)

10 I will continue my opposition, believing as I do that this is the first step, not directly to revolution, but to a series of changes which will totally change the character of the mixed constitution of this country. I am not opposed to a well-considered reform of any of our institutions, but I am opposed to this reform because, by changing our inherited constitution, it tends to root up the feelings of respect,
15 reverence and loyalty, which are the only sure foundations of government.

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

SOURCE 4

(From a pamphlet published by the government in 1833)

The present Ministry began the work of reform by reforming the House of Commons. Patronage, the main weapon of former politicians, inevitably perished and has left the present, and all future ministries, dependent directly on the support of the people. By this we demolished the foundations of all previous administrations.

SOURCE 5

(From N. Gash, *The Age of Peel*, published 1968)

20 The general election of 1832 produced an overwhelming 'Reform' majority but in 1834 the King dismissed the Whig ministry and invited Peel to form a government. It was obvious that the Conservative minority in the Commons could not provide the basis of a government, and an election was needed. Feeling that some public announcement of Conservative principles was essential if the electorate was to
25 support them, Peel produced the Tamworth Manifesto. It was an unprecedented action for a government and a landmark in the development of Conservative principles.

SOURCE 6

(From A. Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain*, published 1960)

The new voters did not bring the system much closer to anything resembling democracy. The social level of MPs changed even less. Yet 1832 is undeniably
30 significant. The new electorate could not be managed by patronage, and neither the Crown nor the Lords would be able to enjoy their former control over the Commons. This was demonstrated in 1835, when William IV wanted Peel to remain in office but the election results forced him to accept the Whig, Melbourne. In the short term it made little difference – Melbourne was no reformer. In the long term,
35 however, it was apparent that the system had changed in fundamental ways.

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

SOURCE 7

(From a speech made in parliament by Gladstone in 1866, in support of parliamentary reform)

Every demand that we have made upon the working classes to show their capacity for self-improvement has been fully answered. They have shown themselves to be careful, honest and industrious. Parliament has been striving to make the working classes progressively fitter and fitter for the franchise. Can anything be more unjust
40 than to embark on this plan and then to refuse to recognise its legitimate outcome – namely the increased exercise of political power by the working classes.

SOURCE 8

(From B.H. Abbot, *Gladstone and Disraeli*, published 1972)

Disraeli was no democrat, as the original drafts of the 1859 and 1867 Reform Bills demonstrate, but by 1867, humiliation and opposition had made Disraeli and many other Conservatives willing to take the risk of household suffrage in order to
45 acquire popular favour. After 1867, he left the problems raised by the 1867 Act for the Liberals to solve. For Gladstone, further measures to end corruption were the logical continuation of reform, happily coinciding with radical pressure and party advantage. Disraeli avoided any further adventures with parliamentary reform. He may have realised that, after borough democracy had been conceded, any further
50 measures would affect Conservative vested interests in the counties.

SOURCE 9

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

The bill to extend the franchise in 1884 was held up by the Lords because it threatened their control of the counties. As *Reynold's Newspaper* argued 'the power of the peers in the counties will be destroyed by the admission of two million voters. The nominees of the aristocracy will be replaced by a real representative
55 of the people.' Eventually the Lords agreed to pass the measure provided it was accompanied by a redistribution of seats.

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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

(From *The Times* newspaper in 1834, commenting on the proposed Poor Law Amendment Bill. The paper's owner, John Walter, had been criticised by the 1832 Commission of Enquiry into the Operation of the Poor Laws for being too generous in granting outdoor relief as a magistrate in Berkshire.)

1 The Bill is against the deep-rooted habits of this nation that the localities govern themselves in their domestic concerns. Should it be carried, it will disgrace the statute book that contains Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

SOURCE 11

(From a letter written to the Poor Law Commission in 1837 by George Tinker, a Poor Law Guardian in Huddersfield)

The Huddersfield district has been organised as required, but there are violent 5 measures being taken that make it dangerous to put the Law into operation here. At a recent meeting of the local Board of Guardians, a mob of 6–8000 persons, led on by the notorious Oastler, broke open the gates of the workhouse and threatened to pull it down if they did not immediately end their meeting.

SOURCE 12

(From a letter written to his brother in 1840 by Major-General Napier, who commanded the troops sent to put down Chartist violence in the North)

Misery is running riot through the manufacturing districts of Nottingham. The 10 gentry are good-hearted and the Mayor raised £4,000 in a few days, despite the Poor Law people, who said we were encouraging idleness. The poor here have resolved to die rather than go into the union houses, and I have no doubt that many would have starved rather than go there. However, the misery is so horrid that the Poor Law rules are, of necessity, set aside and outdoor relief is given. But 15 they still separate parents and children, which the people will not bear, and they are right. The hatred of this law is not confined to Chartists – it makes Chartists.

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

SOURCE 13

(From Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*, published 1842)

The various forms of epidemic disease amongst the labouring classes are caused by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings. The annual
20 loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death or wounds in any wars in which the country has been engaged in modern times. The most important and practical measures that can be taken by public administration are drainage, the removal of all refuse from habitations, streets and roads, and the improvement of supplies of water.

SOURCE 14

(From the *Leeds Mercury*, 1865)

25 There was no power to compel the owners of property to sewer land before building on it, no power to compel the sewerage and paving of streets, no power to forbid cellar dwellings, no power whatever to compel the owners of old properties to connect them to drains.

SOURCE 15

(From Rosemary Rees, *Poverty and Public Health, 1815–1948*, published 2001)

A key mover behind the 1866 Sanitary Act was John Simon, medical officer to the
30 Privy Council. By working with local opinion and walking away where he could do no good, he achieved more than Chadwick had done by bullying and outright opposition. Then, in 1867, the Reform Act effectively gave the vote to working men in towns. Politicians had to pay attention to their problems, which included public health issues. There was a third cholera epidemic in 1865–66 in which 20,000
35 people died. In the same year Louis Pasteur proved conclusively that germs caused disease and were not caused by it.

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

SOURCE 16

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

It appears to the pauper that the Government has decided to set aside the ordinary laws of nature. That is, to ensure that children shall not suffer for the misconduct of their parents, or the wife for that of the husband. That no one, however lazy,
40 extravagant or wicked, shall lose a comfortable subsistence. In short, that the penalty which must be paid by someone for idleness and improvidence is to fall on the owners of the lands and houses in the area where the pauper lives.

SOURCE 17

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

In the late 1840s, Henry Mayhew was recruited to the *Morning Chronicle* to act as London correspondent for their national investigation into labour and the poor. He
45 concentrated mainly on the street folk, who lived precariously by selling, buying and working on the streets, and he claimed that he published their stories exactly as told to him. From his experience he drew two conclusions: first that the level of poverty they experienced was desperate and unacceptable; secondly that their condition was not necessarily of their own making. 'The deserving poor', he wrote,
50 'are really those who cannot live by their labour, whether from underpayment, lack of employment, or by physical or mental incapacity.'

SOURCE 18

(From Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, published 1959)

The 1834 Act was directed mainly at the able-bodied adult male. Neither Chadwick nor the Commissioners had wanted different 'classes' of poor to be concentrated in 'mixed' workhouses. As the years went by the principle of less eligibility was
55 whittled down and modified. But the stigma of the workhouse remained.

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