Edexcel GCE

History Advanced Subsidiary

Advanced Subsidiary Unit 2 Option B: British Political History in the 19th Century

Wednesday 20 January 2010 – Morning

Sources Insert

Paper Reference 6HI02/B

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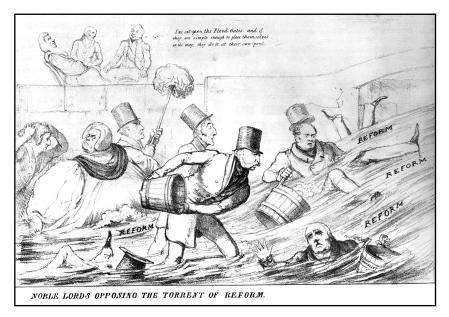
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B1 - Britain 1830-85: Representation and Reform

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1

(A cartoon about the Reform Bill, published in the satirical magazine, *The Looking Glass*, in 1831. The magazine had Radical sympathies. The figure at the top is Lord Grey, who is saying 'l've set open the Flood Gates and if they are simple enough to place themselves in its way they do it at their own peril.')



SOURCE 2

(From a report, in *The Times* newspaper, of a speech made by Lord John Russell at a banquet on 28 July 1837)

1 Lord J. Russell said that he was not for further change in the great institutions of the country. He went on to observe that he was sure, whenever the opinions of the people were unequivocally declared, the House of Lords would know its place and would not oppose the wishes of the country.

SOURCE 3

2

(From a letter written by Richard Cobden to John Bright in 1849. The two had worked closely together and were both middle class, radical MPs.)

⁵ The citadel of privilege in this country is terribly strong. We are a servile, aristocracyloving, lord-ridden people who regard the land with as much reverence as we still do the peerage and the gentry. Half a dozen great families still decide on the choice of candidates for parliamentary seats. The most discouraging situation is

in the Lancashire boroughs, which apart from Manchester, are in the hands of the stupidest Tories in England, thanks to the power of the aristocracy and their allies, the snobs of the towns.

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

SOURCE 4

(From Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism*, published 1840. Carlyle wrote this pamphlet to draw attention to the conditions of working-class life, which he believed to be the cause of Chartist violence.)

A feeling very generally exists that the condition and attitudes of the Working Classes poses a threat at present. Where does this bitter discontent come from? What will condemnation and banishment to Botany Bay do to end it? Chartist

15 violence is just a symptom of this discontent. You abolish the symptoms to no purpose if the disease is left untouched. Frenzied Chartism is forcing thinking men to consider this vital matter.

SOURCE 5

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

The Chartists built up an extra-parliamentary organisation that was bound by its nature and composition to pursue measures that a half-reformed House of 20 Commons could never accept. They were doomed to failure. Even had the leaders agreed about methods (which they did not) they could never have forced their vision of Parliament on the country.

SOURCE 6

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

Although Chartism failed in its aims it kept the issue of reform firmly on the political agenda. It had also demonstrated that the concentration of large 25 numbers of workers in industrial towns, together with improvements in literacy and communications, meant that working people could now be organised on an unprecedented scale in support of a political programme.



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

SOURCE 7

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

Disraeli's real innovation was the introduction of social reform as official Conservative party policy. Gladstone might offer participation in government to the masses, 30 but Disraeli more practically offered improvement of their living conditions. The election of 1874 was a triumph for Disraeli and his interpretation of Conservatism.

SOURCE 8

(From an article on the election results of 1874, published in the *Fortnightly Review*, a radical journal edited by the Liberal MP John Morley)

Party organisation is not the cause of our defeat, nor is undue influence. There are no great landlords in Marylebone. The Carlton Club cannot pull the strings of Manchester and Sheffield. The truth is that the middle class has a Conservative

³⁵ sense of 'leave well alone', which suits the self-interest of the comfortable citizens who pour forth daily from thousands and thousands of smug villas round London, Manchester and Liverpool. Conservatism has opened its arms to the middle classes and they have gone over to the enemy, bag and baggage.

SOURCE 9

(From Eric Evans, Parliamentary Reform c.1770–1918, published 2000)

- A crucial element in the Conservative political revival was improved organisation 40 from the centre under the guiding hand of John Gorst. The Tory emphasis was explicitly on building up the loyalty of working class voters. Both parties gave much more attention to political organisation after 1867 and both, too, remodelled their structures after electoral defeat in 1868 and 1874. The other requirement was to get to grips with 'public opinion'. Party leaders debated a range of political,
- 45 moral and religious issues, and presented them directly to the electorate. In the famous Midlothian campaign of 1879 Gladstone attacked the moral weakness of Disraeli's policies at home and abroad.



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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 Thomas Malthus, Population and Poverty, published 1798)

- 1 For the assistance that some of the poor receive, the common people are subjected to a set of inconvenient and tyrannical laws. The settlement laws are contradictory to all ideas of freedom. The parish persecution of men whose families are likely to become chargeable, and of poor women near to giving birth, is a most disgraceful
- ⁵ and disgusting tyranny. And the restrictions caused in the labour market by these laws add to the difficulties of those who are struggling to support themselves without assistance.

SOURCE 11

(An order made by Cheshire JPs for the removal of Mary Duncalf and her child from the township of Dutton, Cheshire, in 1804)

The Overseers of the poor of Dutton have complained that Mary Duncalf, wife of John Duncalf now in prison in Chester, and Ellen their daughter aged one, live in

10 the township without a legal settlement there. And being chargeable to the said township, we authorise and command that the said Mary and Ellen be removed immediately from the said township and conveyed by the most direct way to their last legal settlement.

SOURCE 12

(From a claim made in 1835 by William Douse to the overseers of Halton parish, his legal place of settlement. Douse was living in Wainfleet and was helped from the Halton poor rate despite continuing to live at Wainfleet.)

From 1807 I hired myself each year at Spilsby Fair. I served for a year at William
Brickhill's in Halton, then at Beatoft, Friskney and in 1811 at Robert Bank's of East
Ford. I married my wife Ellen 11 years since at Thorpe, and live at Wainfleet. On
Monday last I broke my leg falling from a stack in Wainfleet, having done nothing
to gain a Settlement script as aforesaid.



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

SOURCE 13

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

- Every penny bestowed that tends to render the condition of the pauper more 20 eligible than that of the independent labourer encourages laziness and vice.
- When the pauper class is placed in its proper position, below the condition of the independent labourer:
 - 1. Their industry has been restored and improved.
 - 2. Frugal habits have been created and strengthened.
- 25 3. The permanent demand for their labour has increased.

SOURCE 14

(From D. Englander, Poverty and Poor Law Reform in 19th Century Britain, published 1998)

The Poor Law Commission did not accept the Malthusian case for the abolition of poor relief, and the workhouse was always something more than a test of destitution for the able-bodied. It was also the continuing home for a large number of helpless persons in a common lifestyle and under one management. Its multiple

³⁰ roles – general hospital, almshouse, orphanage, schoolhouse, lunatic asylum, and home for the handicapped – made for difficult relationships.

SOURCE 15

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

The principle of less eligibility inevitably meant that the new system had to be harsh. Some historians accept the claims made by the Commissioners that centralisation protected paupers from the abuses of the old Poor Law, but others

35 view the workhouse system as an example of institutionalised cruelty. Inside the workhouse every aspect of life was governed by detailed regulations that were designed to be unpleasant. Those who remained outside because of their fear and hatred of the workhouse certainly experienced hardship. But of 236 men who applied for relief in Cuckfield in 1836, only 11 accepted the offer of the workhouse, 40 and of these, three left after a few hours.



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

SOURCE 16

(From a *Report on the Condition of the Town of Leeds* written by a local resident, James Smith of Deanston, in 1844)

In 1842, a plan was drawn up by Captain Vetch of the Royal Engineers, for the complete sewerage of the town. It carried the main sewer clear of the town and river. The Council's surveyor miscalculated the level of the first sewer he attempted by some two feet, which caused stagnation of the water, and the plan was

45 abandoned. Some time later a new proposal was made to follow Captain Vetch's plan, and I attended the debate. The Council was incompetent to judge on such matters, and adopted their own surveyor's plan. It was more calculated to save money than to ensure efficiency, and discharged the sewers straight into the river, thereby continuing the pollution.

SOURCE 17

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

⁵⁰ Before the 1860s the foul, insanitary condition of the towns was accepted. The effort to bring in any measure of reform was fiercely resisted in the Commons and by local authorities. For here was an issue that touched private property in every city in the country, and the vast body of affected interests stood firm against the handful of reformers, including the short-lived Board of Health set up in 1848.

SOURCE 18

8

(From an editorial in *The Times* newspaper, July 1854. The newspaper campaigned strongly against the work of the Board of Health.)

55 We prefer to take our chance with cholera and the rest, rather than be bullied into health. There is nothing a man hates so much as being cleansed against his will. Mr Chadwick has great abilities, but it is not easy to say what they can be applied to. Perhaps a retirement pension with nothing to do.

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