

Edexcel GCE

History

Advanced Subsidiary

Unit 2

Option B: British Political History in the 19th Century

Thursday 10 June 2010 – Afternoon

Sources Insert

Paper Reference

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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 *The Rotten House of Commons, being an Exposition of the present state of the Franchise*, published in 1836 by the London Working Men's Association, which drew up the Charter in 1838)

1 Is the Landholder a fit representative for working men, when his interests lead him to protect his rents by unjust and exclusive laws? Is the capitalist any more suited to the task, whose interest is to keep wages low? The House of Commons is the People's House, and there our opinions should be stated, there our rights ought to
5 be defended, there we ought to be represented, or we are serfs.

SOURCE 2

(From William Lovett and John Collins, *Chartism: A new Organisation of the People*, published 1840)

The People's Charter secures their fair share of political power to all classes of society, and forms an essential step to all social improvement. We therefore desire to see the energies of everyone peacefully directed towards causing the Charter measure to be enacted as one of the laws of our country. Unhappily the
10 conflicting opinions held by some of the working-classes, regarding the means of accomplishing this, have hitherto greatly hindered it. But we trust that experience has led them to see that no other means are likely to be so effective as a peaceful combination of millions seeking intellectual and moral progress.

SOURCE 3

(From the *Journal* kept by General Sir Charles Napier, written in 1839 and published in 1857. Napier commanded forces sent to control Chartist unrest in the North of England in 1839–40.)

If I had gone to Australia I would have been saved this work, produced by Tory
15 injustice and Whig stupidity. The doctrine of slow reform when men are starving is of all things the most silly. Famished men cannot wait.

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

SOURCE 4

(From a speech made to the House of Commons by the Whig MP, Thomas Babington Macaulay, in 1831)

Every argument which would lead me to oppose Universal Suffrage leads me to support the reform now before us. I am opposed to Universal Suffrage because I think it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan [the Reform 20 Bill] because it is our best security against a revolution.

SOURCE 5

(From G. M. Young, *Portrait of an Age*, published 1953)

Until 1832 parliament was, effectively, a single-chamber assembly. A large part of the Commons was appointed by the Lords, who, having one vote in the Upper House, might easily control half a dozen or more in the Lower. After 1832 the two Houses were separated, but conflict was usually avoided, and reform never 25 addressed. This was because the landed interest that continued to control the Commons had no hostility towards its leaders in the Lords. In a crisis the Lords would give way – as they did in 1832 and 1846. But neither surrender cost the Lords as a House, or the aristocracy as a class, one particle of their real power.

SOURCE 6

(From Eric Evans, *Liberal Democracies*, published 1990)

In the short term the 1832 Reform Act defused a major political crisis, as was its 30 intention. Popular pressure was a major factor in its passage, but this did not alter the Whigs' determination to pass an essentially non-democratic reform. Their solution was more radical than most parliamentarians wanted, and Tories who opposed reform remained convinced that catastrophe would follow. Events proved them wrong, but there is at least a case for arguing that the successful passage of 35 the 1832 Reform Act, and the means by which it was achieved, set Britain on a road whose only logical conclusion was democracy.

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

SOURCE 7

(Extracts from letters written by the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli, in September 1866. Pressure for Reform had been stirred up by recent Liberal attempts to deal with the issue, but Disraeli was reluctant to address it.)

[17 September]

I am coming to the conclusion that we shall have to deal with the question of Reform. The Reform movement grows in strength, and is orderly but determined.

⁴⁰ [24 September]

The Queen spoke to me about it the other day. She said she was most anxious to see it settled. I am not in favour of resisting all Reform, for which I believe there is a genuine demand now, however it may have been stimulated.

SOURCE 8

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

⁴⁵ When Derby and Disraeli returned to power in 1866 it was Derby who took the lead in proposing a Conservative reform bill. Before succeeding to his earldom, Derby had helped to draft the Reform Bill of 1832. He steered the 1867 measure through the House of Lords and held the party in unity, telling them that his aim through the whole process was 'to act so as to place the Tory party permanently in power' by gaining popularity while enacting the most conservative measure possible.

SOURCE 9

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

⁵⁰ The Conservative myth of Disraeli as the educator of his party is no longer convincing. Disraeli's biographer, Blake, has pointed out that it was only as Gladstone's first ministry progressed that the idea of Tory democracy began to dawn on Disraeli. Blake argues, however, that 'for what he did in 1867 he deserves to go down in history as a politician of genius, a superb improviser, a parliamentarian of unrivalled
⁵⁵ skill'.

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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 an editorial in the *Leeds Intelligencer* of 1838, criticising attempts by the City Council to regulate conditions in slaughterhouses)

1 Parliament has not yet given the Council the authority to dictate how tradesmen shall carry out their business, as, for example, how often they shall whitewash their buildings. And if the Council is once permitted to usurp such authority, then no man's place of business or even his private house would be safe.

SOURCE 11

(From *An Act for the better lighting, cleansing, sewerage and improving the borough of Leeds*, 1842)

- 5 Be it enacted that it shall be lawful for the Council:
- from time to time to cause such common sewers, drains, wells and pumps to be constructed as they may think necessary;
 - to order the owner of every house, already erected or to be hereinafter erected, to provide a suitable middenstead* for the use of the occupants;
- 10 – from time to time to cause all or any of the streets within the scope of this Act to be cleansed and watered and the dirt, ashes and rubbish to be removed.

All costs of the cleansing, sewerage and improving the townships in Leeds shall be charged upon the improvement rates to be levied in the respective townships.

*middenstead - lavatory or latrine

SOURCE 12

(From *The Working Classes of Leeds*, a survey conducted by James Hole, published 1863)

The sanitary state of Leeds is still far from satisfactory, and the responsibility lies 15 upon those who have the greatest power to improve it – the City Council. If they have not the power to remedy all ills, they can readily obtain them by a new Improvement Act, as the Corporation of Bradford has recently done.

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

SOURCE 13

(From Anne Cole, *Poor Law Documents before 1834*, published 1993)

Workhouses were in existence long before the Poor Law Unions were created in 1834. One of the duties of the Overseers as defined in 1601 was to find work for
20 paupers, and buildings were erected, purchased or rented where paupers lived and were employed. There are many references in eighteenth-century settlement examinations to people dying or being born in workhouses, or running away from them. Some workhouses were shared among several parishes and townships, while other parishes had no workhouse at all.

SOURCE 14

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

25 The purpose of the Poor Law Amendment Act was radically to reform the system of poor relief in England and Wales, making it cost-effective and efficient. To this end it set up a central authority to supervise and regulate the administration of the Poor Law. It grouped parishes into Unions to provide relief efficiently and establish workhouses, and set out to discourage (but not abolish) outdoor relief for the able-
30 bodied.

SOURCE 15

(From a circular issued by the Local Government Board to Poor Law Inspectors in 1871)

Making every allowance for the increase in population, bad trade and seasonal variations, the increase in the cost of outdoor relief is so great as to raise fears and suggest that further measures must be taken. Outdoor relief is in many cases granted by the Guardians too readily. There is great diversity of practice in the
35 localities. In numerous instances the Guardians disregard the advantages to the poor themselves of refusing outdoor relief. Such relief takes from the labourer all motive for saving and organising his resources and removes every incentive to self-reliance and prudent forethought on his part.

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

SOURCE 16

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

In the 1860s and 1870s new political and social issues transformed the idea of
40 'reform'. During the first half of the century reform was based upon two ideas – the
liberty of the individual and the greater efficiency of the machinery of the state.
However, attempts to extend the franchise also highlighted social conditions, and
with the growth of democracy a new idea of the state developed. It ceased to be
an ogre that suppressed the people in the interests of the ruling class. Reformers
45 argued that the greatest freedom for every individual was only possible through
state intervention.

SOURCE 17

(From a speech made by Benjamin Disraeli to leading Conservatives in 1872)

Another great aim of the Tory party is to elevate the condition of the people.
The health of the people is a most important question. It has many branches. It
involves their dwellings, which have moral as well as physical consequences, their
50 need for air, light and water, the purity of their food and drink and all the means by
which you may wean them from habits of excess and of brutality. Yet the Liberals
dismiss this as 'the policy of sewage'.

SOURCE 18

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

The outbreak of the cholera epidemic in 1865–66 marked the real turning point in
the story of public health in the nineteenth century. Continuing outbreaks of the
55 disease, the achievements of those municipal authorities who had taken action
and the granting of the vote in 1867 to working men in towns, meant that the
government was at last forced to accept that public health could not be left to
individuals or to a few interested town councils.

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