

**Edexcel GCE**

# History

**Advanced Subsidiary**

**Unit 2**

**Option B: British Political History in the 19th Century**

Thursday 20 January 2011 – 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 letter written to King William IV in 1830 by Lord Grey, arguing in favour of parliamentary reform)

1 There is a universal feeling that reform is necessary. I am myself convinced that public opinion is so strongly directed to this question, and so general, that it cannot be resisted. Failure to reform would leave the government deprived of all authority and strength and unable to deal with popular outrage. In short, we would face a  
5 revolution.

#### SOURCE 2

(From a letter written to Francis Place by his fellow London Radical, William Bowyer. He is referring to violence in London in October 1831, which accompanied popular demonstrations in favour of parliamentary reform after the Reform Bill had been rejected by the House of Lords.)

The violence came from a group who followed the main procession and were beyond our control. The main procession was perfectly peaceable, consisting of shopkeepers and skilled craftsmen. We intended to create, if possible, an impression that popular violence would be provoked if the Reform Bill were any  
10 longer obstructed. There was scarcely a cheer, or a groan, except by word of command.

#### SOURCE 3

(From the diaries of Charles Greville, a well-informed observer of political life. This entry was written during the May Days of 1832, when the Duke of Wellington was trying to form a government.)

There is so much wonder and curiosity and expectation around that there is less abuse and exasperation than might have been expected. But it will all burst forth if the Duke succeeds. London is fearfully quiet.

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

### SOURCE 4

(From John Briggs et al., *Crime and Punishment in England*, published 1996)

15 The basic problem for radical reformers like the Chartists was how to rouse popular opinion, apply pressure and organise demonstrations without their followers crossing the line separating moral from physical force. If that happened, the immediate consequence was the loss of respectable support and a gift to the government of perfect justification for repressive action.

### SOURCE 5

(From *The Life of Thomas Cooper*, written by himself, published 1872. Cooper was a leading Chartist journalist. Here he is recalling a speech that he made to strikers in Nottinghamshire when he visited the area in 1842.)

20 By six o'clock there were thousands gathered on Crown Bank, where I was to speak. I had heard about the violence at Longton that day. I began by telling the crowd that there had been destruction of property that day, and I warned all who had been part of it that they were not the friends, but the enemies, of freedom. I told them that this strike for the Charter would bring ruin, if those who claimed to be its  
25 supporters broke the law.

### SOURCE 6

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

After the defeat of the second petition in 1842, Chartism lost much of its vitality. Even before the business revival began, its appeal was being undermined by personal and political differences among the leaders, by the growing power of the Anti-Corn Law League and the revival of trade unionism. The economic crisis of  
30 1847–48 gave it a final lease of life, but the 'fiasco of Kennington Common', where the small crowd was easily dispersed by heavy rain and the police, showed clearly why it was doomed to failure.

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

### SOURCE 7

(From an editorial in the *Tory Quarterly Review* of April 1835, commenting on the publication of the Tamworth Manifesto. This Manifesto was part of Peel's attempt to secure a Commons' majority after William IV invited him to form a government.)

In former times such a publication would have been thought insulting and challenged as unconstitutional, and would have been both. But the new  
35 circumstances in which the Reform Bill has placed the Crown, by making its choice of Ministers immediately and absolutely dependent on the choice of the electors, have made such a course not only sensible but necessary.

### SOURCE 8

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

In the end, party would take the place of royal patronage. However, in the period between the Reform Acts, the modern concept of a party programme and a  
40 'mandate' from the electors had little significance for ordinary MPs, or even for their leaders, as Peel showed in 1846. The twenty-two years following the repeal of the Corn Laws saw no great issue or unifying leader emerge to stimulate party loyalty. It was a period of easy-going rivalry between a number of aristocratic factions and the mass of the electorate was content to leave them to it.

### SOURCE 9

(From Eric Evans, *Political Parties in Britain, 1783–1867*, published 1985)

45 By 1859 both Lords and monarchy had accepted a limited constitutional role. The struggle for power centred on control of the House of Commons and it was waged between two political parties and their organisations, both at Westminster and in the constituencies. The deciding factor between them was the general election. In 1868 Benjamin Disraeli, now Prime Minister, lost the election to Gladstone and  
50 the Liberals. He resigned as soon as the results were known, not waiting like his predecessors for the inevitable defeat in the House of Commons. In doing so he acknowledged the effective sovereignty of the electorate and the emergence of modern politics.

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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 David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, published 1817. His ideas were widely known in the 1820s and influenced the enquiries upon which the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was based.)

- 1 The poor should understand that prudence and forethought are necessary and profitable virtues. By impressing on them the value of independence, by teaching them that they must not look to charity for support, but to their own exertions, we shall gradually reach a healthier state. No scheme for the amendment of the Poor
- 5 Laws merits the least attention unless its ultimate objective is their abolition.

#### SOURCE 11

(From an article by William Thackeray, published in *Punch* magazine, about the work of Henry Mayhew in revealing the state of the London poor in 1850–52. Mayhew's articles had explored the causes and extent of their poverty.)

These horrors have been lying by your door and mine. We only had to go a hundred yards to see it, but we never did. We had no idea that there was such horrific and complicated misery. How should we? We are of the upper classes and until now we have had no contact with the poor, let alone considered any causes of their poverty

10 but themselves.

#### SOURCE 12

(From Samuel Smiles, *Self Help*, published 1859. The book became a bestseller.)

Help from others is often enfeebling, but individual effort always invigorates. Whatever is done for men or classes, takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves. And where men are subjected to over-guidance, or over-government, the inevitable tendency is to make them comparatively helpless.

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

### SOURCE 13

(A table showing the cost of Poor Relief in the early nineteenth century. It was compiled and published in 1962.)

Year	Average expenditure per year	Cost per head of population
1814–18	£6,437,000	11s 7d
1819–23	£6,788,000	11s 2d
1824–28	£6,039,000	9s 2d
1829–33	£6,758,000	9s 8d
1834–38	£4,946,000	6s 7d
1839–43	£4,773,000	6s 0d
1844–48	£5,290,000	6s 2d

12d (pennies) = 1s (shilling)

20s = £1

### SOURCE 14

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

15 In all communities, circumstances will occur in which an individual is exposed to the danger of starvation because he has no means of earning a living. To refuse relief in such situations is unacceptable. In all civilised communities, therefore, help is given to the indigent [destitute], but only in England is help also given to the poor. We believe that relief of the destitute can be administered, and repression of the  
20 idle and vagrant poor can be achieved, by adopting sound principles, so that the situation of the pauper shall not be so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class.

### SOURCE 15

(From D. Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in 19th Century Britain, 1834–1914*, published 1998)

That the principles of the 1834 Poor Law were progressive and praiseworthy became part of the accepted thinking of Victorian Britain. Under the Old Poor  
25 Law the poor were out of control; under the New, they were properly regulated. Modern historians take a different view. The principles of 1834 have few defenders. The consensus is that Poor Law Reform was a terrible error, a ghastly mistake.

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

### SOURCE 16

(From a report made by the sanitary engineer, Robert Rawlinson, to the Whitehaven Board of Health, set up in 1849. He had been called in after the death rate in Whitehaven rose to 49 per 1000, more than twice the national average.)

I persuaded some of those opposed to making changes to accompany me on a personal inspection of the poorer parts of the town. They declared in the strongest  
30 terms that they had no idea of the state of things existing around them. But this I  
have found in every town I have visited – few besides the medical gentlemen know  
anything of the utter wretchedness and misery produced by lack of proper sanitary  
regulations.

### SOURCE 17

(From an editorial in *The Times* newspaper in August 1854, celebrating the end of the Central Board of Health. The paper had campaigned consistently against the extension of central government control into local areas, and against Edwin Chadwick in particular.)

The Board of Health has fallen. Everywhere its inspectors were bullying, insulting  
35 and expensive. Mr Chadwick set to work everywhere, washing and splashing, and  
we were scrubbed and rubbed until the tears came to our eyes.

### SOURCE 18

(From C. Harvie, *Revolution and the Rule of Law*, published 1984)

The scale and cost of work needed for improvements in public health posed particular problems, while enforcement infringed individual liberty. But in this golden age of local self-government, the strongest initiatives came from the great  
40 cities and from a new generation of largely Scottish-trained doctors who were  
committed to change. Liverpool appointed the first Medical Officer of Health in  
1847 and the City of London appointed the dynamic Dr John Simon a year later.  
By 1854 the appointment of Medical Officers was compulsory, and their work  
45 provided a fund of knowledge that laid the foundations of change in the decades  
that followed.

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