Edexcel GCE

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

Monday 23 January 2012 – Afternoon
Time: 1 hour 20 minutes

You must have:
Sources Insert (enclosed)

Instructions
• Use black ink or ball-point pen.
• Fill in the boxes at the top of this page with your name, centre number and candidate number.
• Answer question part (a) and part (b) of the topic for which you have been prepared. There is a choice of questions in part (b).
• Answer the questions in the spaces provided – there may be more space than you need.

Information
• The total mark for this paper is 60.
• The marks for each question are shown in brackets – use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.
• Questions labelled with an asterisk (*) are ones where the quality of your written communication will be assessed – you should take particular care with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression, on these questions.

Advice
• Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
• Keep an eye on the time.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B1 – Britain, 1830–85: Representation and Reform

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert. Answer Question 1, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4. You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 1

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 1, 2 and 3.

How far do the sources suggest that the political system before 1832 was in need of reform?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that Chartism was driven more by economic motives than by political motives?

Explain your answer, using Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the 1867 Reform Act was largely a result of ‘public pressure for reform’ (Source 9, line 43)?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
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**

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.

Answer Question 2, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

**Question 2**

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 10, 11 and 12.

How far do the sources suggest that the New Poor Law was successfully implemented in the period 1834–40?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 10, 11 and 12.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.*

Do you agree with the view that the decision to amend the old Poor Law was based mainly on financial concerns?

Explain your answer, using Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.*

Do you agree with the view that the main obstacle to improvements in public health in the period 1848–75 was the opposition of local councils?

Explain your answer, using Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 2 = 60 marks)
Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box [ ]. If you change your mind, put a line through the box [ ] and then indicate your new question with a cross [ ].

Chosen Question Number:

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(a) ..........................................................................................................................................................
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Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

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((b) continued)
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 his daughter by Sir Philip Francis, a Whig politician, after being elected MP for the pocket borough of Appleby in 1802)

1 I was unanimously elected by one elector to represent this ancient borough in parliament. There was no other candidate, no opposition, no poll demanded. On Friday morning I shall quit this triumphant scene with flying colours, and a noble determination not to see it again in less than seven years.

SOURCE 2
(From a speech made in Parliament by Sir Robert Inglis, a Tory MP, in March 1831)

5 The House of Commons is the most complete representation of the interests of the people. Within it are those who can urge the needs and defend the claims of the landed, the commercial and the professional classes of the country; those who are bound to uphold the prerogatives of the Crown, the privileges of the nobility, the interests of the lower classes and the rights and liberties of the whole people.

SOURCE 3
(From the speech made by Lord John Russell, when introducing the Reform Bill to the House of Commons, 1 March 1831)

10 The chief grievances of which the people complain are these: first, the nomination of Members by individuals; second, the elections by closed Corporations; third, the expense of elections. With regard to the first, the nomination by individuals, it may be exercised in one of two ways; either over a place containing scarcely any inhabitants, and with a very extensive franchise, or over a place of wide extent and numerous population, but where the franchise is confined to very few residents. We have addressed ourselves to both these evils.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From R. G. Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement 1837–1854, published 1854. Gammage joined the Chartists in 1840 and met many of its leading members.)

It may be doubted whether there ever was a great political movement of the people without a basis in material needs. The chief aim of mankind is to possess the means of social enjoyment. Secure them in the possession of these, and small is the care they have for political theories. It is the existence of great social wrongs which principally teaches the masses the value of political rights.

SOURCE 5
(From E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, published 1963)

The line from 1832 to Chartism is not a pendulum swinging between ‘political’ and ‘economic’ agitation, but a direct progression, in which simultaneous and related movements converge towards a single point. This point was the vote. There is a sense in which the Chartist movement began, not in 1838 with the six points of the People's Charter, but at the moment when the Reform Bill was passed.

SOURCE 6
(From Eric Evans, Chartism, published 2000)

Chartism was, indeed, a political movement. However, most Chartists supported the People's Charter not because they were believers in some abstract political theory about male democracy. They wanted the Charter because they believed it would bring them material benefits such as reduced taxation, fair prices, better wages, improved working conditions and no more fears of degrading poverty and the workhouse. Chartism cannot be understood outside the context of its urgent economic and social agenda.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From a letter written by Disraeli to the Conservative Home Secretary, Gathorne Hardy, 18 May 1867. He is describing his actions in responding to the amendment to the Reform Bill moved by the Liberal MP Grosvenor Hodgkinson, on 17 May 1867.)

I waited until I felt that the critical moment had arrived. Then, having resolved everything in my mind, and, without in the slightest degree receding from our principle and position of a rating and residential franchise, I believed that we might safely take a step which would destroy the present agitation and extinguish Gladstone and Co.

SOURCE 8

The form taken by the 1867 Reform Act undoubtedly owed much to Disraeli's parliamentary opportunism. In the course of debate he saw his chance to enhance the Conservative party and boost his own career. However, we must take account of other factors, including reform agitation.

SOURCE 9
(From Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, British Political History 1867–1990, published 1992)

Public pressure for reform was growing. The membership and number of branches of the Reform League grew, so that by 1867 the figures stood at 65,000 and 600 respectively. Robert Lowe, the Liberal critic of reform, had ironically proved to be one of the League's best recruiting sergeants. His bitter attacks on the working class and their inability to use the vote sensibly, stung them into demanding the vote. The whole nation's attention and coverage in the press created an interest in the reform issue that had previously been missing, and the banking crisis of 1866 followed by a short, sharp slump with wages falling and unemployment rising to 8% combined to fuel a popular outburst, which any government would have found hard to ignore.
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 evidence given by Mr Gilbert of River Poor Law Union, Kent, to the Poor Law Commission in 1836)

1 A paper maker belonging to Buckland, preferring parish relief in idleness to work, became what he wished to be, a regular weekly pauper. However, on finding, under the new system, he could no longer obtain his parish relief, he now prefers the laborious exertions of excavating for the tunnels in Dover Harbour to encountering the discipline of the workhouse.

**SOURCE 11**
(From the Sixth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1840)

The depressed condition of the manufacturing population made us extremely unwilling to take any step in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire which might have even a remote tendency to produce a disturbance. We have deemed it right, therefore, to abstain during the past year from making any change in the administration of relief, the relief of the poor being still administered by the parochial authorities.

**SOURCE 12**
(From the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on the Continuance of the Poor Law Commission, 1840)

The Poor Law Commission has existed for little more than five years. Yet in this time only a few Unions remain that do not possess an efficient workhouse and are still giving out-door relief to able-bodied paupers. All the other harmful varieties of the old method of relief – the allowance system, the roundsman system, the labour-rate system – have ceased.
Magistrates told the 1824 Select Committee on Labourers' Wages that under the 'Roundsman' system labourers had no incentive to work hard or to respect their employers because they were convinced that the parish would look after their needs. It also noted that another effect of the Speenhamland system was to reduce wages. Farmers had no need to pay proper wage rates when they could get cheap, subsidised labour from the parish. Widespread agricultural disturbances in the early 1830s convinced the government and the ruling elites that the rural population was getting out of control and that this was largely a result of the way the Poor Laws were operating. France was once again in political turmoil and the fear of revolution in Britain was real. The demand for reform became increasingly based on social and political concerns as well as economic motives.

Expenditure on poor relief, which had fallen to below £7 million in 1820 and below £6 million in 1822, began to rise again following the financial crisis of 1826. By 1831, the figure topped £7 million once more, and higher poor rates gave rise to a renewed debate. It has often been said that, had it not been for the increased demands of poor rates, there would have been no new Poor Law. This is certainly true.

The most injurious portion of the Poor Law system is the out-door relief. I do not serve a day without seeing some new mischiefs arise from it. In such a parish as ours, where we administer relief to upwards of 2000 out-door poor, it is utterly impossible to prevent considerable fraud, whatever vigilance is exercised.
Politics is all about power and the exercise of power. In local government, power was often in the hands of vested interests – the water companies, the shopkeepers and the builders – who frequently put their interests, and those of the rate payers who elected them, before the wider interests of the community. Political wheeling and dealing delayed reform. It took Birmingham, for example, fourteen years to establish a single authority to oversee public health.

We prefer to take our chance with cholera than be bullied into health. There is nothing a man hates so much as being cleansed against his will or having his floor swept, his hall whitewashed, his dung heaps cleared away and his thatch forced to give way to slate. It is a fact that many people have died from a good washing.

After all the exposing of frightful conditions by the Health of Towns Association and other bodies, and all the demands for reform, a Royal Commission in 1869 still thought it necessary to say that among the things ‘necessary for civilised life’ were good water supplies and proper drainage, removal of nuisances, healthy houses, clean streets, inspection of food, and provision of adequate burial grounds. This shows the extent of public apathy, and for this the community at large was responsible. It will not do to blame only narrow-minded councils intent on keeping rates low.