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 on these questions with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression.

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 party political organisation was effective by 1884?

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 popular pressure played a key role in the passing of the 1832 Reform Act?

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 Chartists were successful’ (Source 7, line 47)?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge. (40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
6HI02/B – British Political History in the 19th Century

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 main obstacle to public health improvements in the 1840s was the costs involved?

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 main reason for opposition to the new Poor Law was the fear that the poor had of the new system?

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 advances in public health provision in the period 1848–75 came about mainly as a result of progress in civil engineering?

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:

Question 1 ☐ Question 2 ☐

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

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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 sent by Joseph Cowen, the radical Liberal MP for Newcastle, to the Reverend J Harwood Pattison in the USA, 1880)

The process of popular organisation is very simple. Men form themselves into a society and try to influence public opinion by means of lectures, public meetings and other political mechanisms. There is not much mystery about the business and there is no settled plan of proceeding. There has been an attempt recently to establish what are called Liberal associations, but the movement has been a failure.

SOURCE 2
(From a speech made by Joseph Chamberlain in Newcastle, January 1884. Chamberlain had been involved in the creation of the National Liberal Federation.)

I know that there are some who express alarm at the recent development of our Liberal organisations. I am not surprised that the Tories dislike it. I do not wonder that they feel so painfully what they unsuccessfully try to imitate. These great, open, popular representative associations are not at all favoured by them. The ‘Primrose League’ is more to their liking, with its silly sentimental title. I am surprised when I find Liberal organisations criticised by many who claim to be in sympathy with the democratic movement.

SOURCE 3
(From a letter sent by Lord Randolph Churchill to the Marquess of Salisbury, 3 April 1884. Both politicians were leading members of the Conservative Party.)

The old methods of party organisation are utterly obsolete, and will not secure the confidence of the masses who were enfranchised by Mr Disraeli’s Reform Bill. The time has arrived when the centre of organising activity should be an elected, representative and responsible body. If the Conservative Party is to obtain popular support, it will have to copy the representative organisation that contributed so greatly to the triumph of the Liberal Party in the general election of 1880.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From Bob Whitfield, *The Extension of the Franchise 1832–1931*, published 2001)

The long struggle in Parliament to pass the Reform Bill took place against a backdrop of meetings, petitions, demonstrations and occasional riots in the country. The existence of the reform campaign was a vital element in the passing of the Reform Bill through the two houses of Parliament in the face of determined opposition. The Whig case was that a reform of Parliament was needed to avoid revolution. This argument was made convincing by agitation outside Parliament, and the apparent willingness of the radical leaders to consider using violence.

SOURCE 5
(From Robert Pearce and Roger Stearn, *Government and Reform, Britain 1815–1918*, published 1994)

The Whigs were motivated in part by political opportunism; they undoubtedly hoped to gain the votes of those whom they enfranchised. Also - and too easily forgotten – there were the Whig principles which included the support for a more representative system. Many politicians felt that, although universal suffrage would be a disaster, the old system had too many inconsistencies to be allowed to continue. We should also give due weight to divisions within the Tory Party at the end of the 1820s.

SOURCE 6
(From *The Times* newspaper, reporting on a meeting held at Newhall Hill near Birmingham, 7 May 1832)

Last Monday, the largest ever political meeting gathered. Its proceedings were remarkable for their agreement and good order. It was held to assist our most excellent King and his ministers in the accomplishment of their great measure of reform. The men of the Midlands showed their determination to support the Reform Bill and not to submit to any alteration of its great provisions. This will silence the Tory cry that the people are indifferent to reform.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From Harry Browne, Chartism, published 1999)

During the lifetime of the movement, Chartism failed to achieve any of its political aims. Yet for the ten years in which it flourished, it saw the rise of a movement, almost entirely working class, which effectively raised fundamental constitutional questions in Parliament. Within twenty years, the 1867 Reform Act would mark the beginning of a shift towards the Chartists’ main aim of universal suffrage. It is therefore tempting to suggest that in the long term – as well as the short term – the Chartists were successful.

SOURCE 8
(From Hugh Cunningham, The Nature of Chartism, published 1990)

Once the state had transformed itself by a combination of repression and reform, Chartism no longer had a role to play. It is possible to trace connections between Chartism and later movements. However, it is only hindsight which permits us to trace these links with the future. Political advances were achieved not because the Chartists had voiced them; rather they were conceded by a state which had defeated Chartism and no longer felt threatened.

SOURCE 9
(From Thomas Cooper, The Life of Thomas Cooper, published 1872. He had been a leading Chartist.)

In our old Chartist time, thousands of working men in Lancashire were in rags, and many of them lacked food, but their intelligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You would see them in groups discussing the great doctrine of political justice that every man ought to have a vote. Now, you will see no such groups in Lancashire. Working men have ceased to think and want to hear no thoughtful talk.
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 a speech by Charles Newdegate, Tory MP, in the debate on the Health of Towns Bill, 18 June 1847)

I object to the establishment of a commission which would impose taxation upon those who have before been exempt. I object to the Bill on the grounds that it takes away the powers that were placed in the hands of the municipal authorities. Instead of this, a new authority is proposed that is totally foreign to every principle of the English Constitution; it is one step more towards the adoption of the continental system of centralisation.

SOURCE 11
(From The Report to the Board of Health on the Sanitary Condition of the Parish of St. Thomas, 1849)

In 1841, the Exeter Water Company laid main pipes along the three streets in the parish of St Thomas. The service-pipe outside the premises they keep in repair; inside the repairs are borne by the consumer. The proceedings of the water company are decidedly reasonable. The quantity of water they allow is unlimited, and given continually. Yet only about 5.7% of the population profit directly by the supply. The cause of this is the objection on the part of the landlord to incur any expense that he is not forced to do.

SOURCE 12
(From a journal, The Economist, 27 October 1849)

All the nuisances of unflushed sewers and coffins bursting are continued, but although these supposed causes of cholera are still in existence, the disease has happily disappeared. These nuisances are wrong and ought to be removed. However, as they have been in existence for years, it would be wrong to blame them for cholera and proceed to create new institutions to deal with them. Under the alarm of cholera, we seem to have adopted the opinion that everyone must look after every other person’s business.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From Peter Murray, Poverty and Welfare, 1830–1914, published 1999)

The poorest sections of English society had many reasons to oppose the new Poor Law. The new system threatened to remove their traditional right to a basic level of support from their parish when they fell on hard times. Rumours spread about the new Poor Law; the worst were based on the fear that the workhouses had been built as extermination centres for the poor. Hard-working people worried that they would be thrown together with the roughest elements of society in the workhouse.

SOURCE 14
(From Felix Driver, Power and Pauperism: the Workhouse System 1834–1884, published 1993)

The strength of local resistance to the new Poor Law in the industrial north varied considerably. Where popular radicalism was already influential, the Anti-Poor Law Movement succeeded in delaying the implementation of the new law. Its marked success in Huddersfield during 1837 reflected the considerable influence and organisation of the local radicals, as well as the tactical alliance with the Tories. Both radical and Tory opponents of the new Poor Law exploited the language of local independence, and the threat of centralisation provided them with a common focus.

SOURCE 15
(From the Poor Law Commission Second Annual Report, published 1836. Here it is discussing the introduction of the new Poor Law in Devon, a county in the south-west of England.)

Where there were some disturbances, we found that the poor people were acting under enormous deceptions. There was not anything too horrible or absurd to be circulated, and nothing too incredible for their belief. Few really understood the intended proceedings of the guardians. The opposition was not against the implementation of the laws, but the falsehoods in circulation. As soon as the intentions of the law were understood, the most riotous submitted and received the alterations gladly.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16
(From Theodore H. MacDonald, *Rethinking Health Promotion*, published 1998)

The great and measurable improvements in public health did not follow on as a result of improvements and breakthroughs in medical science. What is clear is that the social organisation of health, in the form of public health initiatives such as sewerage systems, underpinned the improvements in health. It was the civil engineer, Joseph Bazalgette, who planned and developed the sewerage systems of both Manchester and London, and who thereby saved more lives and contributed more to general health improvement than any other person.

SOURCE 17
(From *The Times* newspaper, 21 July 1858)

The truth is that this is a case where the fool’s argument ‘Something must be done’ is applicable. The sewage of a mighty city lies in a broad stream under our very noses. The actions of the London Metropolitan Board were crippled in two most important respects. It had no money and it had no power. The stench of June was only the last ounce of our burden. That hot fortnight is forcing us to address the sanitary administration of the Metropolis.

SOURCE 18
(From E. C. Midwinter, *Victorian Social Reform*, published 1968)

Between 1858 and 1871, there was a rapid spread of local boards of health, mainly under the influence of John Simon*. As Simon said, ‘sanitary legislation with teeth in it’ was passed. The 1866 Public Health Act catalogued detailed provisions for municipal sanitation and local inspection, and removal of nuisances became enforceable. This was followed by the Public Health Act of 1872 which mapped out England and Wales into well-defined districts under well-defined authorities. There was a further significant breakthrough in the compulsory appointment of medical officers of health in each of these authorities.

* John Simon was the Government’s Chief Medical Officer 1855–76

Acknowledgments

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